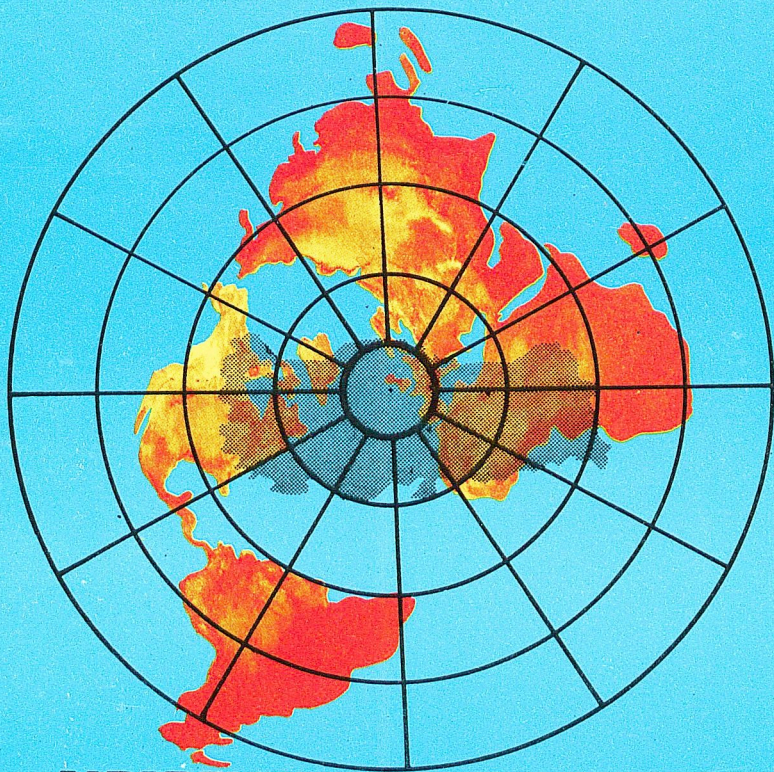


TURKEY AND THE WORLD



**ALPARSLAN
TÜRKEŞ**

1 -- A GENERAL GLANCE AT WORLD PROBLEMS

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Turkey is, the... in a struggle for the survival of the democratic regime.

Turkey is... the unity of the state, the country and the nation.

If crises of such depth and variety exist in a country, and if they are piled one on top of the other, this means that everybody...



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1 — A GENERAL GLANCE AT WORLD PROBLEMS

Today our country is face to face with manifold problems and crises. The economic and social depression adding on to our crises in the fields of culture and politics, have placed Turkey in very dangerous straits. When such deep rooted crises exist in a country, the preservation of democracy becomes more difficult, since democracy can stand on its feet healthily in harmonious social structures. In addition to the crisis present at the foundations, the external and internal forces which wish to establish the oligarchic hegemony of a small minority in our country, under the disguise of "proletarian dictatorship", seizing this opportunity, have intensified their assaults.

Turkey is today struggling against heavy economic and social depressions.

Turkey is, the same time in a struggle for the survival of the democratic regime.

Turkey is also in a struggle to defend the unity of her state, the country and the nation.

If crises of such depth and variety exist in a country, and if they are piled one on top of the other, this means that everybody who believes in the democratic system and

wants people to live in peace and brotherhood, are burdened with historical responsibilities.

Turkey has the potential to overcome these depressions. But the dangerous misfortune in our country is the fact that, some persons of responsibility, instead of accepting and performing these duties, are interested in a "crisis trade": The exploitation and incitement of the depressions.

But still, these troubles arise an awakensness of conscience and a will of endurance in our nation.

The troubles in Turkey are a product of inner and outer sources; the problems in our country are closely linked to the problems in the world.

Yet no nation on earth can live alone, on her own. Human race faces the necessity of living together in the world more seriously than ever. As a result, nations should learn to live together in peace, equality and freedom. In this age, such a ruthless struggle exists between nations, ideologies and regimes that, some great powers welcome the problems that arise in various parts of the world, in appetite, exploit them, nurture the wounds into cangrene, in order to enlarge their sphere of hegemony.

A "ROBINSON'S LIFE" IS IMPOSSIBLE

A Robinson Crusoe life, at this stage, is out of question for nations, as well as individuals. In our age, both individuals and nations live in an interwoven network of destiny. Not only due to the diffusion of information and news, cultural and ideological currents in a novel manner, but also due to some other reasons as well, the destiny of each nation, after a certain point, seems to be closely connected with the general destiny of humanity.

I shall try to outline these reasons, which I regard of utmost importance.

As economy and technology in our age have reached gigantic dimensions, no nation can suffice with her own national markets, or her own raw materials, some countries can not even suffice with their own labour force. This has resulted in the setting up of regions and organizations of economy, technology and trade where nations unite forces. Other than groupings of economic necessity, nations attached to a certain regime and world outlook draw closer, seeking co-operation and solidarity around common benefits and values. Therefore, contemporary politics is not only between states, but also between regimes and alliances. Thus, the political forces in the world, show a tendency of growth, rather than a tendency of dispersion or crumbling. On such a basis, economy and ideology, in close connection with the international conditions, attain increasing importance. It is not without reason that some people name our present age, "The Age of Ideology".

As Turkey, like other nations, is situated in such a world and is closely effected by the international relations network, the world will influence Turkey and Turkey will influence the world.

Also, the nuclear threat that I will mention later on, is a problem of common interest for all mankind.

Although keeping the national characteristics firmly in mind, the crisis in Turkey cannot be isolated from the world and the world does not have the choice of not showing interest in Turkey's crisis. All the forces in the world will show some sort of interest in Turkey. This interest may attain two different characteristics: An expression of goodwill so that Turkey may overcome the present troubles, or coming to the surface of bad intentions in order to choke our country within these troubles.

Essentially, part of the crisis in Turkey, is a reflection of the crisis in the world. On the other hand, the crisis in our country forces Turkish statesmen to certain attitudes, sometimes right, sometimes wrong. Thus a quarrel between political alternatives is formed, that attains an international character of close interest both for our region and for the world balance.

That is why, the title "Turkey and the world" seems proper for this essay, since we cannot diagnose the depressions of our country, unless we carefully examine Turkey and the world together. Only thus can we break the effect of the bright, hollow and therefore dangerous slogans and find a trustworthy solution.

A WORLD THAT CHANGES CONTINUOUSLY

The world is not only composed of four and a half billion people. The world also, does not have a static structure where various states stay as they are. That is why, thinking of the world, to visualise a picture consisting of various colours and boundaries, although essential, is at the same time sterile and misleading. Above all, various ideologies rising from every part of the world cannot be accepted as merely academic problems or artful arguments symbolising the desires of the heart and the brain. Since ideologies come forth with active, operational policies aiming to change the future of the world, states show economic, cultural and diplomatic activities outside their national boundaries. Our world is in a continual change. "The Better World" exalted by all ideologies, political philosophies, is not only an academic argument; it is a vital problem originating from the conflicting directions and orders offered to the world. In the same style, the depressions, desires, reactions, loves and enmities of the four and a half billion people living on our planet, will closely effect the future order of the world

where we all live together. During such a radical process of change, history has shown that states cannot take refuge in a Robinson's Island invented by themselves, away from the world and influences.

At this point, national problems and problems of humanity, domestic politics and economy and international politics and economy, national culture and international human culture come into close contact.

As members of the Turkish nation and as Turkish nationalists, thinking of the problems of our country, we must also consider the relations of these problems with the world and try to find realistic solutions in this context. As a matter of fact, recognition of our own identity is dependent on our recognition of the world. As we shall not be able to acknowledge the world before we acknowledge ourselves, we shall not be able to acknowledge ourselves unless we determine our position on earth. But this, is not so easy and simple as it seems.

If an individual, from birth onwards was brought up in a tube which provided merely the biological necessities, even at the age of maturity, he would not be able to perceive his life as a human being and attain a conscience of human existence. As he would not acknowledge himself, he would not be able to acknowledge the universe as well.

THE STEREOTYPE OF THE TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGY

Today, some totalitarian ideologies in Turkey and the world, are trying to conceal the experience and heritage of humanity, the national characteristics of nations and the basic fundamentals of main problems, thus setting up such a "tube" for some brains, making use of a conditional reflex mechanism. As such brains cannot perceive the world as it is, they are ruled by slogans that are the com-

mands of a conditional reflex mechanism. So humanity comes face to face with communist, nazi or fascist "robots". These robots did not suffer any pain in their conscience while committing cruel murders that could not be committed even by wild animals. On the contrary, they took sadistic pleasure in such activities. As they could not feel "human" in their own conscience, they also did not see their opponents as "human beings", but as "material". For them, history was not the sad or happy "life" of humanity. For them, history was the shadow-play of a pre-drawn scenario, and they were the chosen tools to implement this scenario using the shadow tricks.

Such conditioning, a conditioning which conceives human beings as "means" or "tools", has brought disaster to every country. Such ideologies, even in the countries where they have been successful, have destroyed "mankind", have degraded him to the position of a "production machine" or a "war machine". If man was a machine, naturally his work would be to work continually in order to realize a statistical target, or succeed in an occupation. He would not have any basic rights or freedoms. So much so that, while even machines have a right of depreciation, man did not have the right to get tired, or the right of leisure.

Is not today's world face to face with such a threat?

But all such ideologies have budded and developed in the milieu of very heavy depressions which have stunned men. In healthy societies, the effective zone of these ideologies have been narrowed down to a negligible minimum. Insecurity, hunger, immorality have been instrumental in the formation of a psychology that can be outlined as "One who falls to the sea, will hold on to a snake". This psychology has embraced the society like a contagious disease.

Today, as Turkey is in a crisis of increasing intensity, doesn't such a threat exist in our country? Aren't there

internal and external forces that have set up their mechanisms in order to implement such a threat?

Now is the time for Turkish intellectuals to take up their position in order to ascertain our place in the world, to find humanistic, moral, free and scientific solutions and also to break the conditional reflex mechanism created by the crisis.

I do not want to go into political polemics. My main wish is to be able to carry out my duties towards my country and my people.

OUR OLD WORLD

Physically, our world is old. The civilisations, tribes, values buried in the graves of history are so numerous that, we may state from this account also that our world has aged. But the immortal creative aspect of God, is continuously creating new lives, new powers in our world. The hopelessness of mortality and the liveliness of creation lie side by side.

In this respect, our world is as youthful as its elderness, and therefore it is impossible for us to specify a lifetime for the world.

We are to find our way and walk on our feet in a continually changing, developing, varying complex world panorama.

Today the world panorama is really complex and even confusing.

The majority of the world population, a majority that can make one's conscience shiver, is in complete hunger. These people are using human energy, which is of utmost value, in such an extravagant way so as to obtain the essential food for their next meal. It has been understood, although only at a scientific scale for the time being, that

the existing hunger in the majority of the world population does not help the extravagant affluence of the world minority any more. On the contrary, this fact poses a major threat. But still, we live in a milieu where people do not feel responsibility for their neighbours' hunger. The continuation of this situation is leading the whole humanity into a dreadful confusion. Let us see what sort of spectacle the world will show in the year 2000. In not so long a future... A future that most people alive today will be able to see...

TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000

Even if we accept the world population as a constant datum, the great majority outside the 30 percent that live in the developed countries, will still be in absolute or relative poverty by the year 2000. It is being calculated that Africa and Asia will be at the lowest rungs.

Nobody can expect peace and security out of such a future.

What is more, as we have seen in the striking example of petroleum, various resources of raw material are near exhaustion.

The "Limitations to Growth" Report issued by the eminent 'Club of Rome' in 1972 stresses five important trends in the world:

- Intensification of industrialization,
- Fast population growth,
- Spreading of malnutrition,
- Exhaustion of unrenueable natural resources,
- Pollution.

These five trends are not absolute, but carry a high probability. In this sense, they are not inevitable. If the necessary measures are adopted in time, it will be possible to scatter these dark clouds that stand like the messenger

of disaster upon the horizons of humanity. We still have the chance to set up a freer, more just and more humane world. These negative trends can be prevented by the adoption of a just and free international co-operation and understanding. Thus, the blessings on earth could be distributed in a more just and productive manner. The scientific and technological developments can find new resources for human consumption. Measures can be taken to prevent pollution. Economic development could be spread throughout the world in a more balanced way.

Let us repeat, these negative probabilities will face us in such a near future that nobody can ignore them. Some economists are even determining specific dates for the exhaustion of some raw materials which are the main inputs of industry. According to them, mercury, silver, copper, natural gas, petroleum, zinc, aluminium, tin and lead reserves in the world will be exhausted in 40 to 70 years.

In such a world, a handful of people with national income per capita climbing to 10 thousand dollars are living side by side with the overwhelming majority that thrives in misery. All are on the same boat.

THE CROSSROADS

The economic, political, social and cultural problems of our age show that humanity has reached a junction. Either the necessary measures desired by people of commonsense will be adopted for the future of the boat carrying humanity in which we are all included, or the evils threatening all countries, will effect first the poor nations, but soon afterwards all mankind. We must re-evaluate the past and the present carefully.

Together with many scientists, philosophers and artists, the political cadres as well, observe these probabilities. But today on the political arena, instead of seeking common

solutions, egoistic and opportunistic tendencies dominate. The practice of opportunistic, oligarchic and fanatical political attitudes, aimed only to maximize personal benefits and carrying no sense of responsibility towards mankind or any moral principles, is rendering the solution of the problems more difficult.

When a boat is faced with the danger of sinking, there is only one way to salvation for the people on it: To mend the boat in harmonious joint effort in order to take it safely to its destination... But if everybody breaks a part of the ship in order to construct a life-boat to save his own self, then sinking will only be hastened.

Today's world politics, unfortunately, gives one the impression of exactly such an attitude. This attitude should be reproached, but as I will point out later on, it should also be accepted as a fact. It is essential to find the way for salvation starting from this fact.

Both the sensitive and unjust balance of the world today, and also the threat of scarcity that will come to the surface tomorrow, is inciting imperialism and blocking the roads for a solution. The imperialist policies in our time, instead of visualizing the nations as the sharers of a common and general destiny, tend to evaluate people as the "proletariat" or the "work camps" of metropol. That is why, the solution that must be primarily political, is contradictorily being blocked by politics.

This harmful reality has two results: The threat upon nations has intensified and new methods have been developed during the balance of horror established by the presence of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, politics has come under the influence of a national and international public opinion and this situation keeps alive the hopes for a solution.

Here are two basic and contradictory possibilities that have stamped our age: Collective death or life! Collective

slavery or freedom! Collective misery or affluence! George Orwell's "Animal Farm" or a humane world so longed for!

On a short term basis, many zigzags, variable situations may be possible; but in the long run, there seems to be no other alternative except these for the future of mankind.

The military and political strategies in our age, cannot be considered leaving this fundamental aside. Today, although humanity longs for a free and bright future, it is also face to face with the maximum threat of totalitarian strategies. Both the desires and the threats in our age exist within the framework of the nuclear balance of horror.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE FACT OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICS: NUCLEAR THREAT

Nuclear weapons are undoubtedly the most effective, painful and frightening fact of the contemporary period. Not only the military and political strategies of our age, but also the psychology, art and thought have been severely effected from the nuclear threat.

As we know, nuclear weapons are produced using the colossal energy that is released with the fission or fusion of the nuclei of the atoms.

The first atom bomb has been deployed against the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki towards the end of the Second World War by the Americans. Thus a new stage in the history of the world was initiated. This bomb produced a shock effect on all humanity. The sort of disaster that would arise as a result of human beings using modern technology in the devastation of their own species was thus illustrated. The atom bomb also entered the agenda as an immensely important element affecting military and political strategy.

The power of the atom bomb deployed against Japan, was 20 kilotons, equal to 20 thousand tons of TNT. The terror and devastation produced by this bomb, although so great, is very small in comparison to the thermonuclear weapons today. In fact, the weapons produced through the fusion of hydrogen atoms today, have reached the power of 100 megatons. This comparison would in itself, be enough to determine the nature of the threat and the destructive capacity directed towards mankind.

At present, countries like the USA, Soviet Union, France, England, Canada, China, own large stocks of nuclear capacity. Lastly, India has started the manufacture of nuclear weapons. There are rumours that Israel has nuclear capacity as well. The nuclear weapon stocks of the first two states are sufficient to erase all humanity from the surface of the earth. Moreover, the means of delivery have developed tremendously. The elaborate missile technology has made possible the nuclear bombing of every part of the world, any time and with very high hitting probabilities. The atmosphere, seas and underground of our sphere is within the scope of usage of nuclear weapons.

It would not be possible to dream of a winner subsequent to a war which would wipe all presence of humanity from the surface of the earth and surround the world with poisonous clouds. No benefit, no objective can be valid and hold sense in such a world. If a regional fight were to escalate into a nuclear war, it would be extraordinarily difficult to limit it and take it under control. Since, first of all, it is not possible to keep the nuclear establishments under control.

A nuclear bomb has various effects. Its sound deafens ears, its light causes blindness. But, the destruction, fire and radiation effects are even more important. The very

high temperature caused by the explosion of the bomb, initiates large fires and expanding air causes atmospheric currents with a crushing effect on everything they come in touch with. In such a war, not only buildings, military establishments, industrial centres will be destroyed, including human beings and food resources as well. The radiation effect of the bomb is also very important. A nuclear dust cloud is formed depending on where the explosion takes place: In the air, on the surface or below the surface. This nuclear sprinkle continues for some years, depending on the power of the bomb, decreasing gradually in effect. It is circulated by the winds, and nuclear pollution spreads everywhere. Thus, it becomes impossible to control the effective zone of the bomb. While the bombing of the enemy, a friendly neighbouring country will be threatened by nuclear pollution as well.

Therefore, it is extremely difficult to keep the war to a limited scale.

The destruction that could be caused by a nuclear war, has been the subject of various films and novels. None of these can reflect the horrors of a nuclear war in essence. One thing is certain: If humanity faces a nuclear war, this will be the end of humanity. If the existence of humanity is desired, the possibility of a nuclear war should be minimized and gradually erased.

Even if the nuclear weapons in a war are not deployed for military goals directly, but used in a rather indirect manner, this will still cause a major catastrophe. Since through using nuclear weapons at a certain angle and depth, it is possible to block waterways, irrigation canals, rivers and straits. Such a possibility would mean the flooding of parts of the world, and droughts in others.

In such a world, the colour of the flag to rise victorious does not carry any significance.

While meditating of the disasters that a large scale war could bring to humanity, it is essential not to forget the existence of weapons other than the nuclear weapons and maybe as dreadful as they are. Chemical and biological or bacteriological weapons will also cause a world without human beings, a dead planet, through implementing fatal diseases in large groups of human beings and destroying food resources.

The nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons named NBC in military literature are standing on our horizon in the form of a threat that will cause the wholesale death of mankind due to the smallest error of the politicians.

Today everybody in the world is aware of this horrible threat. Horror lies in the grassroots of today's world. The existing balance in our world is based on this horror and therefore, it is called "The Balance of Horror".

PUBLIC OPINION MUST DEFEND PEACE

Though mankind is aware of the nuclear threat, the struggle between nations and alliances in the world has not stopped. On the contrary, this struggle has attained new methods, new dimensions. From Clausewitz onwards, war has been regarded as "the continuation of politics through other means". Today war presents itself, as the continuation of politics, in the shadow of weapons, but with other means as well.

As a matter of fact, "cold war", after a short mild period, has now turned into "hot peace".

Statesmen and public opinion must be aware of this reality that shapes contemporary strategies and form policies accordingly. We must form a policy which does not aim at worldwide terror, but on the contrary at a trustworthy peace based on strong social, economic, and cultural balances.

But this is such a sensitive problem that, confusing the goal with the means would cause the unfortunate result of strangulation in the whirlpools of the road leading to peace. France, in history, has been the bitter example of such a situation. To weaken our defences for the sake of peace would rouse the temptation of the enemy and this could result in the loss of national independence. As observed in history, such a blunder would not serve peace, on the contrary it would incite war.

THE COMMON FATE OF HUMANITY

Statesmen, scientists, artists, the press and the public opinion as a whole must defend peace absolutely. But it should not be forgotten that, peace cannot be realized in a miraculous way and that it can only be approached step by step, through the adoption of a careful, prudent, balanced international politics. Above all, provocative behaviours that weaken the national defence and invite aggression should be carefully avoided in politics. Great care should be taken to prevent such blunders.

Peace must be the common fate of mankind. Though all states, all movements of thought sing songs of peace in an orchestral harmony, why does humanity still feel the horrors of a large scale war? Why do fights, though on the regional scale, still continue?

This question brings to light the following reality: peace cannot be realized by mere words.

It follows therefore, that the road that can lead our world into peace, is not paved of words. Various, extremely complex economic, social, ideological problems, have opened cliffs, erected rocks hard to surpass and set up traps on the road that should lead to peace.

PEACE ROMANTICISM

Thus, as a nation or as mankind, it is essential to start off full of determination to walk towards peace, but also to be able to see the dangers on the way in a realistic manner. Blinding the eye of the adversary who is trying to walk this path is one of the ugly methods of the continuing contemporary struggle.

In our age, one of the words that is most used by all nations and all ideologies is probably 'peace'. But if peace is still not realized under these conditions, there is only one reason for this: The struggle is going on. The fight is continuing with other methods. In some instances, even the word 'peace' is being used as a slogan of war. Since, even if the sound of the word 'peace' is the same, the desired orders of peace are different, even contradictory.

In order to open a peaceful path of development based upon the sufficient and realistic fundamentals of our age, and at the same time to assure the development of Turkey upon this path in security and without weakening her national defences, we must be aware of this struggle that continues under the shadow of the nuclear threat and ascertain our position, our duties in a correct manner. The foreign policy enthusiasms that are blind to such a realistic evaluation, will be nothing more than psychological and demagogical slogans and like every hollow slogan, they represent blindness, mistake, illusion, wrong attitudes. Nations are punished in a very heavy and merciless manner for political blindnesses, mistakes, wrongs in our age.

2 — NATIONAL INTERESTS LIE AT THE ROOTS
OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE STRUGGLE

I had mentioned the kind of future the world is facing in the realm of raw material resources. Raw material resources are of vital importance both for industrialized and developing countries. The fear from nuclear suicide either does not permit, or has made very difficult the capture of these resources by sending the army, as in the colonialist era.

That means, other methods that are not openly militaristic and that are not likely to provoke nuclear retaliation should be found.

But seeing the struggle in our world as a simple fight for raw materials and markets, would be a sterile assessment. The contemporary struggle is a political struggle that contains ideological motives such as the esteem of the state, expansion of influence, political prestige, even hegemony, as well as a fight for raw materials and markets. From this point of view, a "Grand Scale Policy" formed of extremely complex goals such as the enlargement of the political influence zone, becoming a major force on the

seas of the world, establishing the acceptance of the model ideology of the state by other countries, has put its stamp on our age.

THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS DETERRENT

In a period, when wholesale war has been postponed to an unknown future due to nuclear horror, "Grand Scale Politics" is deploying other means such as cold war or hot peace.

Nuclear weapons are an important factor in contemporary world peace. But today, which nation can survive by entrusting her security to the deterrence of nuclear weapons? Furthermore, which nation can feel herself in security, taking into account the reality that the continuation of the ideological struggle and the economic race has been advertised and is being advertised even while the honeymoon period of the much propagated 'detante'.

Yet, the most important and vitally threatening contemporary struggle, is this policy of "hot peace" current under the shadow of the nuclear weapons. This policy is aggressive to the threshold of a nuclear war. This policy may be instrumental in setting up of any fire that does not lead to a nuclear explosion. This policy is directed towards world hegemony not through a sudden upsurge of the world balance, but gradually, smoothly and firmly. The "warm peace" tends to fry humanity on a red hot political surface, while the free world seeks comfort under the shadow of nuclear weapons.

THE INSURMOUNTABLE REALITY OF NATIONS

National interest lies at the basis of this policy. For every nation, the protection and improvement of national benefits is fundamental. Even the ideologies that seem

international have not been able to overcome the reality of the nation. The communist ideology that aims to put international class benefits to the fore instead of the nation, is today, in her own camp, living in the midst of struggles of opposing national benefits. The reason for the widening of the gap between Russia and China is a conflict of national interests. Both sides are trying to hide this conflict under ideological disguises. National interest lie at the base of the conflict between Russia and Yugoslavia and conflicts that arise from time to time between other Eastern European countries. While such countries try to defend their national interests against Russia, Russia on the other hand, aims to force her own national benefits upon these countries.

In such a world, peace can only be attained if national interests are balanced within a rightful and just world order and developed collectively. But, great powers want to force their own interests on other nations, through various means. This is the essential threat. This threat is Soviet communism itself that was accepted as an academic hypothesis previously, but which today is marching on step by step in the form of a fait accompli, in some countries of Asia and Africa.

3 — THE UNCHANGING RUSSIAN POLICY AND NUCLEAR PROBLEMS

SOVIET RUSSIA CHALLENGES

It is evident that today's Soviet Union is different from Stalin's Russia. But is this a change in the basic nature of communism and Russian policy, or is it a fact that while these continue fundamentally in the same way, the methods and political tactics deployed have changed due to the change in the world conditions?

All humanity is obliged to meditate on this problem.

In the Stalin era, two important historical events that are irrelevant for today's Russia, have defined Soviet policy: One is the realization of collectivization in the Soviet Union, and the other is the Second World War... Today, these are events of the past. The change in Russian policy and communism is solely due to the fact that these events are past and that both Russia and the world today are in different conditions. The change is the result of a compulsory adjustment. Otherwise, the aims of Soviet communism is today the same as it was during the Stalin period. The targets that Russian geopolitics dictate to Moscow are, today, the same as those of yesterday. So much so that, new methods and dimensions have made these targets more attractive and provocative for the Russians.

THE CONSTANT SOVIET POLICY

The savage and aggressive character of the Stalin period rests as a bloody and horrible memory in the minds of mankind. Even the Soviet Union has been forced officially to condemn this period, in order to divorce herself from the responsibilities of Stalin's bloody memory and prepare a suitable platform for new propaganda efforts. In various parts of the world, many people are tending to underestimate the Soviet threat, because they cannot penetrate into the nature of the contemporary methods deployed by this threat. As a Stalin or Hitler style rough and bloody approach has lost its viability in our contemporary age, the Soviet Union has adopted changes in attitude and strategy suitable to the new circumstances. But the point of interest and importance that should not be forgotten is that, internally the rigid totalitarian system and externally expansionism continues. The Eastern European countries occupied by Stalin have been re-occupied and colonized by his successors.

As the same political system continues together with the same ideology and the persistence on ideological war is openly declared, how can we imagine that the attitude of the post-Stalin Soviet policy is at all different from that of Stalin.

THE STALIN PERIOD

Undoubtedly, the perseverance on the Stalin type post-war policy supported by the Red Army in a sort of balance established through weapons in exactly the same style is out of question today. But the only change is in the method.

As a matter of fact, some new developments in world politics and Soviet economy today, has made the traditional international goals of Russian communism even more attractive. Hence the western nuclear superiority that

blocked Stalin's path, has today been converted into a sort of nuclear balance and mutual deterrence. It has been possible to aim even higher than Stalin, without upsetting this delicate balance. As a matter of fact, Stalin was able to set up "friendly regimes" only by the brute force of the Red Army. Contemporary Soviet policy, on the other hand, owns the means of setting up "friendly regimes" through methods like economic aid, military aid, political aid.

WHY IS THE IRON CURTAIN PARTLY RAISED?

The Stalin era was instrumental in the establishment of a strong economic structure in the Soviet Union. The cost was the blood and the lives of tens of millions of people. After Stalin, 'foundation' was not any more the fundamental problem of the Soviet economy. Foreign markets became essential to absorb the extra production. This was the most important problem for the assurance of the productive functioning of the already established economic structure. From now onwards, the Soviet economy should seek to find channels not 'behind the Iron Curtain', but rather 'beyond the Iron Curtain'. Stalin used to follow an otarchic policy, in his time. The existence of human and raw material in plentiful, coupled with otarchic and totalitarian methods, was instrumental in the conversion of Russia into an industrial country. Otarchy was not a factor of assistance for the Soviet economy any more. On the contrary, it was essential to open to the world in a large scale. This is the reason that lies behind the 'partial raising of the Iron Curtain'.

If one reason behind the change in the Soviet policy as put forth in the 20th Communist Party Congress is political, the other is surely economic in character. The will to establish economic and political relations with the world, resulted in a 892 per cent increase in the trade between the Soviet Union and the underdeveloped countries

in a time span of 13 years (from 1955 to 1968). If we recall that 60 per cent of this trade scale is directed to Asian and 30 per cent to African countries, it could be easier to visualize the geopolitical goals of the Soviet policy.

In a time when Soviet economy felt the need of international relations and discovered the suitable methods for the setting up of such a framework, evidently, the rough Stalin type of methods could not be considered valid and useful.

SOVIET SEA POWER

Soviet targets have been determined by Commander of the Naval Forces Admiral Gorshkov's sea strategy. Gorshkov, in various speeches stated that their aim was the presence of the Soviet flag on the oceans and the seas of the world. Everybody, including Gorshkov himself who is a very talented admiral, knows very well that, unless the straits opening up to the warm seas, are secured through setting up Russian logistic and military bases, the "presence of the flag on the seas of the world" would only be an unattainable dream. Soviet efforts, to set up bases around the Indian Ocean, Cuba's interventions in Africa by proxy, placed in the framework of a strategical planning, clearly illustrates the gravity of the threat that Turkey and other states in the region are faced with.

These strategical targets will not be obtained by dispatching the Red Army in a full scale war. The method to be applied is the setting up of 'friendly regimes', a practice first introduced by Stalin into the history of diplomacy. Even at the end of the Second World War, when Soviet Russia openly demanded land from Turkey, Stalin tried to camouflage this deliberate assault directed to the soil integrity and sovereignty of Turkey, by stating that their fundamental aim was the establishment of a 'friendly regime in Turkey' and if this was implemented, there would be no ground for further demands.

NUCLEAR BALANCE

It is true that the threat of nuclear destruction diminishes the importance of geographical concepts. But today's nuclear balance, has again increased this importance. The new methods of aggression within this terror balance, have placed 'geography' once more among the crucial elements of international politics. In a period when Asia and Africa are once more on the top of the agenda, Turkey faces a potential Soviet threat because of her multi-directional geopolitical importance. This threat has not decreased, on the contrary it has increased and is continuing to increase. As matter of fact, it is not only Turkey that is under such a threat. All countries of similar geopolitical importance and lying on the same geopolitical belt are equally effected by this threat.

That is why, communist movements adopting the Soviet model in Turkey, in countries of the same geopolitical belt, or in any other part of the world are worth a careful study.

This menace sometimes appears in the form of official Soviet policy and sometimes manifests itself in the disguise of 'ideology'. The discussions on ideology and method among socialist countries, stress once more the importance of ideologies in the policies of such totalitarian states. Russia is able to occupy other countries in order to preserve the hegemony of a certain type of communist ideology. Thus, preference for a certain type of totalitarian ideology, automatically means preference for that same state.

Therefore, communist models adopting the Soviet model, in Turkey or in any other country lying on the same geopolitical belt, attain the identity on an external threat directed towards the independence of these countries. The problem is not only one of preservation of the existing regime within the country.

That is why, the events, political developments, provocations, ideological or ethnical incitements happening on the geopolitical belt extending from our country to the Chinese border, are in this sense, extremely serious incidents. These countries cannot regard Soviet type communist ideological provocations, in the same spirit that Europeans regard 'Euro-Communism' What is more, even the European communist parties have not yet attained a clear and stable identity. They still pose a problem for democracy and foreign policy.

THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE

Stalin wanted the delivery of Libya to Soviet protection as a booty in the Yalta Conference. This was a demand for a colony. Because, according to Stalin and his foreign minister Molotov, Russia as a "Great State" had a right of protection over "smaller states". This old method of western colonialism, now buried in the dusty pages of history, was adopted in great appetite by "young communism."

Behind this demand lied the unification of the world-wide claims of communism with the policy of a "great state". The world-wide targets of communism have been unified with Russian strategy. As the same goals persist, a similar policy has been proclaimed by Brezhnev in the second half of 20th Century. And this time in the form of a doctrine, shaping state policy!

The basis of this thought, named the Brezhnev Doctrine, is a disguise for the aims and methods of Soviet policy in the form of a 'doctrine'. Russia is in the effort of legalizing everything necessary for her own benefit, in the name of socialism.

According to the Brezhnev doctrine, the sovereignty of socialist countries can only be defended against non-socialist

countries. Between socialist countries themselves, no absolute sovereignty right can exist. Socialist countries have two types of sovereignty. The sovereignty of socialist countries against Soviet Russia can only be "a limited sort of sovereignty". If socialism in a country is threatened, other socialist countries and naturally primarily Russia may intervene militarily. This country cannot claim any sovereignty in such a case. Thus, the second sovereignty concept of the Brezhnev Doctrine comes to light: Russia's absolute sovereignty... As a matter of fact, no socialist country can decide that socialism in Russia is threatened and intervene according to the Brezhnev Doctrine. But Russia reserves the right to act in such a manner against every country.

POLITICS OF FORCE

In reality, the Soviet Union believes in a "politics of force". As a matter of fact, the development of Russia's foreign policy theses show parallelisms with her growing strength. Therefore, we are obliged to consider, how the steadily escalating Soviet challenge will tomorrow tend towards a certain type of actual policy.

I had mentioned earlier: The vital problem in the Stalin period was the preservation of the Iron Curtain and the solution of internal economic and political problems in Russia. This was reflected in foreign policy, as well.

Soviet thesis on "the definition of aggression" during the League of Nations period is extremely interesting. According to the Soviets, "the dispatch of soldiers of a state to another country, even if invited by a legal government as a friend or an ally" should be defined as an aggression.

The absolute contradiction between the Soviet thesis at that time and the Brezhnev Doctrine is striking. The change in the foreign policy concept, parallel to the strengthening of the Soviet Union is so clear and evident.

It can be concluded that, Soviet Russia is following a "policy of force".

THE FACTS THAT COME TO LIGHT

Actually, the Brezhnev Doctrine has brought to light many facts. Even if not openly declared, the stand adopted by this doctrine is that, Soviet Communism considers the sovereignty of all countries except Russia as 'limited' and her own sovereignty 'absolute'. It is the natural consequence of communist logic that, a doctrine that dares to describe the sovereignty of a socialist country as 'limited', is bound to accept the sovereignty of non-socialist countries even more 'limited'. A logical evaluation starting from the Brezhnev Doctrine, inevitably arrives at such a result. If this is not declared openly yet today, the reason is that the world conditions and the methods prevailing under these conditions are not suitable for the time being. In fact, a mentality that takes pride in being the vanguard of world communism and adopts an imaginary victory as a result of the world-wide ideological struggle as the pillars of its official policy, does not possess the option of thinking otherwise.

This situation reveals the goals of Soviet communism parallel to its official policy: to export Soviet communism everywhere and thus enlarge the application zone of the Brezhnev Doctrine! In any case, national interests lie at the roots of contemporary ideological struggles and this is also the reason behind the divisions within the socialist world.

NUCLEAR HORROR BALANCE AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Ali Sabri's efforts in Egypt to form a junta toeing the Moscow line even while Nasser had very close relations

with Russia, the revolution attempt organized by formal Soviet officials in Mexico, Soviet communist propaganda and activities observed in Asia and Africa, and finally the activities of the illegal TKP (Turkey's Communist Party) in Turkey, are all informally the integral parts of a major plan. Soviet diplomacy should be considered within the same totality. Ignorance of this reality would mean the sacrifice of established facts just for the sake of protocol.

In our age, efforts that aid the triumph of a certain ideology in a given model are synonymous with the capturing of a colony! Within the limits of the milieu created by the nuclear horror balance, the continuation of ideological struggles in such a form that will not result in a nuclear war, has attained great importance. Not only the capturing of the brains, but also various subversive methods, separatism and totalitarianism have become the favourite means of new colonialism. In this way, states are converted into 'satellites'.

The Brezhnev Doctrine is only a minor part of the iceberg that can be observed above the water level. The bulk of the iceberg is a policy of force, a major challenge that threatens not only the socialist countries, but all the countries it can reach, primarily the countries on the sensitive geopolitical belt.

4 — TURKEY FACES THE SOVIET THREAT

If there is one state on earth that does not wish for strained relations at all between Turkey and Soviet Russia, that state is undoubtedly Turkey. Turkey's fundamental policy is directed towards the preservation of the integrity of her soil and independence, development within the free democratic regime and helping world peace. A different policy alternative cannot even be imagined. Therefore all Turkish governments have followed a common national policy of developing the good neighbourly relations between Turkey and Soviet Russia. An atmosphere of mutual trust between the two parties would serve to decrease the tension in the region. As a matter of fact, Turkey did not carry the smallest blame for the grave tension that developed between the two states in recent history. The sole reason that gave rise to the tension was Russia's demand of land from Turkey's eastern provinces and bases on the Straits.

The Russian menace has been a major factor in Turkey's entry to NATO and the western defence system. Our choice of democracy as our political regime and frank insistence on this practice in spite of temporary depressions, has also led us to our present place among the democratic countries in the world.

Turkey is located in a very important and sensitive geopolitical region. The only waterway that links the Black Sea countries to the Mediterranean and the world seas passes from the Turkish Straits. The Anatolian Peninsula is also the shortest highway, a sort of bridge between Europe and Asia. Geography and history have been instrumental in the development of mutual influences between Turkey and the Balkan and Middle Eastern countries. Any social, political or economic change to take place in Turkey, or the Balkans or the Middle East today will inevitably closely effect the other two. If we consider the importance of the Balkans and the Middle East in world politics, Turkey's key position will automatically become apparent. Any change in Turkey's position in the world status, will automatically effect the policies of Soviet Russia, Balkan and Middle Eastern countries and even the Mediterranean states. Undoubtedly, such an occurrence will also effect NATO exceptionally.

THE GEOPOLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY

The location of Turkey at the junction of three continents, Asia, Europe and Africa, increases both the geopolitical importance of our country and its sensitivity against various threats.

Our geopolitical situation imposes a basic and stable national policy upon us. At the roots of this policy lies world peace. Since, it is not possible for such a vital region to remain outside a full scale general war. At least, it is extremely difficult for Turkey to stay out of such a war. Moreover, any major changes on the political balance will effect Turkey in spite of her own will. This situation, unites the fates of Turkey and the Balkan and Middle Eastern countries, after a certain point. No sort of benefit, claimed by any one of these countries at the expense of another, can

be as great and vital as the common benefit of them all. Therefore, misunderstandings and tension between these countries are naturally temporary and the most suitable atmosphere to prevail between these countries is an atmosphere of peace and co-operation.

None of these states may pose any sort of threat against Russia. If any sort of threat will prevail in the region, this will be a threat arising from the Soviet Union. Hence if there is any tie between the concepts of 'threat' and 'force'; it is not possible to think otherwise.

After Stalin's death, Russia's attitude against Turkey has changed and softened considerably. Soviet administrators have observed that Stalinist methods against Turkey did not work at all; even during Stalin's lifetime. Today, good neighbourly relations are developing between Turkey and the Soviet Union. But is this sufficient to prove that no Soviet threat in the potential sense exists for Turkey?

The anxiety of Turkey arises from not being able to answer this question positively at the end of a realistic evaluation and carried in a calmness of the heart. Unfortunately, Turkey does not possess this possibility.

TURKEY AND THE SOVIET UNION

The Russians show every effort to prove that no threat will be directed from them towards Turkey. They adjust their attitudes very carefully in order to remove the lack of confidence Turkey feels towards the Soviet Union. But they declare openly their displeasure at Turkey's persistence to remain within the NATO Defence system. In addition to this, the communist propaganda toeing the Soviet line in Turkey, uses slogans like "Long Live the Soviet Union" and campaigns strongly against NATO at the same time.

Under these conditions, every Turk devoted to the democratic regime and national integrity feels the necessity of a logical evaluation in the light of realities:

First of all, the Soviet Union is well aware of the fact that no threat will be directed from Turkey to their country. In this respect, the communist foci in Turkey, distort the facts and claim that the NATO bases in our country threaten the Soviet Union. According to them, these bases are inciting the Soviets, and in a probable war, Turkey will be subject to a Soviet aggression because of these bases. This is a ridiculous lie and a vulgar propaganda, since Turkey does not have any NATO base of offensive character. All the establishments are directed to observation and early warning. Therefore, they are not aggressive in identity, but are only helpful for the defence of Turkey and NATO.

But since the Soviets claim that they have no desires on Turkey, then they have no reason for anxiety because of these early warning establishments; on the contrary, they should feel more comfortable. Our northern neighbour should perceive that the presence of these installations would help Turkey to reach a feeling of security and thus better relations could be developed between the two countries. The Russian attitude towards these installations is an accurate test for the nature of their motives against Turkey.

Since there is a close relationship between threat and force, Turkey naturally has both the right and the need to seek security against a potential or probable Soviet threat and therefore stay in NATO.

EMBARGO AND THE SOVIET UNION

Soviet reaction to the conditional lifting of the American embargo on Turkey, is worthy of attention. According to the Soviets, the lifting of the arms embargo would upset the balance of forces in the region and thus harm peace. However, the application of the embargo in the first place, had upset the balance of power in the region. The lifting of the embargo would return the balance to its original form and therefore aid peace.

There were positive developments in the Turkish-Soviet relations when the embargo issue was not on the agenda. At that time, the Soviet Union did not claim that arms sales and military aids to Turkey were upsetting the balance. As the lifting of the embargo establishes the original balance once more, why do the Soviets feel unhappy about it?

It is certain that this original balance is not a threat for the Soviets. Nobody can pretend otherwise. Therefore, Russia should not feel uncomfortable about a positive development in the Turkish defence. What is more, this development would not add any new element to the Turkish defence, but only restore the original form.

NATO AND TURKEY

We observe that no logic based on good-will can argue healthily for Turkey's leaving NATO. On the contrary, our persistence in NATO is a necessity. Turkey's persistence in NATO is not a prohibiting factor for the formation of relations based on close friendship and co-operation with other countries and especially with the developing countries. We attach utmost importance to the development of these relations. A Turkey, that can set up good relations with

the Soviet Union in spite of being a NATO member, would not face any difficulty in this field. This is closely linked to the consequences of the policy Turkey will follow.

We place special emphasis on the setting up of good and frank relations with the countries of the Third World. Besides the economic, technological and cultural conditions of our present age necessitate the establishment of close relations between all nations. Non-interference in other states' internal affairs, equality, respect of the integrity of soil and mutual benefit should be the main principles lying at the bases of these relations.

Though, it must also be stressed that, setting up of strong friendly relations with countries of the Third World is one thing, and getting out of NATO and joining the Third World is completely another thing. Our geopolitical situation and national defence conditions necessitate our persistence in NATO. Therefore, we oppose all efforts directed towards a switching of the bloc ties. We support the expansion and strengthening of mutual close relations with all countries and especially with the developing countries, all of which share many common interests with us. However, no foreign policy preference should result in the breaking off of Turkey from the free world, or from the Northern Atlantic Alliance.

EITHER DEMOCRACY OR COMMUNISM

It is an established fact that the communist activities in our country gain momentum and the strongest among these activities is the one controlled by TKP (Turkey's Communist Party), who participates in the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, and with the rightful sensitivity originating from our foreign policy, are we not in a position internally to defend democracy and our soil's integrity against communism in full awakensness of the conscience?

Do not the current events around us show clearly how the regimes and the basic political preferences of countries are changed in one night? Or do we not observe how order in these countries is sabotaged by ideological slogans? Is it not our right, and duty at the same time to defend democracy, national unity and conscience against communism; to illuminate our citizens in this respect, in a period when some countries are face to face with ideological assaults, civil wars and even separatist movements? Are we not justified to feel anxious about those that shout "Long Live the Soviet Union" in the streets? While all these happen in front of everybody's eyes, how can we not feel uneasy about the false allegations of 'fascism' of some people who in this way only encourage the communists?

5 — THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE ECEVIT GOVERNMENT

Under such internal and external conditions, the attitude of the Ecevit administration aroused our and the majority of Turkish citizens' anxiety. Ecevit's foreign policy has been based on a fallacy that the Soviet threat on Turkey does not exist. He destroyed stability, which is the most important element of persuasiveness and effectiveness in foreign policy. What is more, the statement about the absence of the Soviet threat on Turkey is contradictory to the realities of Turkey, to the logic of our presence in the NATO Alliance and to the realities of the world. Perhaps, worst of all, this statement has encouraged the acceleration of the pro-Soviet propaganda within Turkey.

In order to evaluate Ecevit's style of propaganda in a correct manner, it is essential to observe the new ideology he brought to the Republican People's Party and the alliances he formed within and outside his own party.

İnönü deployed the 'left of centre' slogan in order to launch a struggle against the extreme left that was attaining a dangerous character through subtly exploiting the problems created by industrialization. But the sole use of this slogan by a historical personage who was of great service in the foundation of the Republic, was instrumental in the legalization of a wide spectrum of left wing ideolo-

gies. Thus, this slogan encouraged the propaganda of communism in Turkey. But İnönü never underestimated or ignored the active communist and separatist threats.

ECEVIT CHANGES THE ROUTE OF RPP TO 'DEMOCRATIC LEFT'

After İnönü's liquidation by the Secretary General Ecevit who was able to receive the backing of every colour of the left, RPP's sensitivity disappeared, and not only its ideology, but also its struggle changed.

After Ecevit got hold of the party mechanism, first of all he preferred to quit the 'left of centre' slogan and use the 'democratic left' platform instead. The 'left of centre' slogan was restrictive and expressed close links with the central platform in politics. But the 'democratic left' is an obscure slogan. It is well known that everywhere around the world, communists use the term 'democracy' in a special and totalitarian sense. If we consider the anarchy of concepts that is dominant in Turkey, it would be easier to assess that the 'democratic left' concept does not even restrict the left within political democracy. In this way, a terminology suitable for exploitation and camouflage was discovered.

Especially after the 12 th of March Memorandum, every sort of communist and left-wing activity in Turkey sought protection under the RPP banner. This coincided with Ecevit's internal party struggle against İnönü. The active leftist elements infiltrating the party gave dynamic support to Ecevit. As a matter of fact, İnönü himself, before he left the presidency, stated in a press interview that DEV-GENÇ, which was the military youth organization of the communists in Turkey, had infiltrated the RPP. According to İnönü, Secretary General Ecevit had got hold of the steering wheel of the party administration and opened

the ranks of the party to DEV-GENÇ militants. Such an organized minority was exerting pressure in local party conventions and thus usurping the power.

Years later, the president of the RPP Youth Organization, who had democratic left tendencies himself, in a report warned the party officials that the communists had gained great strength in the party mechanism.

Ecevit formed a 'wide front' containing every colour of the left around the obscure concept of the 'democratic left' and thus intensified his hegemony over the party structure. But such a co-operation did not only bring Ecevit to the leadership, most important of all, helped the extreme left in the occupation of key positions within the party mechanism. What is more, the illegal Turkey's Communist Party today dares to state that it controls an important number of deputies in RPP's parliamentary group... This is the justified claim of The Voice of TKP Radio broadcasting from socialist countries. Various news and articles are published in the Turkish press elaborating and explaining the TKP infiltration in RPP. Unfortunately, the RPP administrators do not show any reaction or sensitivity in this respect. In various press conferences, I myself have invited the honourable Mr. Ecevit to come forward with a satisfactory explanation about the TKP. He has persistently refrained from such an explanation.

MAY DAY RALLIES AND THE RPP

Ecevit's attitude in this respect, was manifest in the May Day rallies. While TKP militants were marching with red flags and the pictures of communist leaders in Taksim Square, a considerable number of RPP deputies participated in the meeting. The behaviour of a small minority would not carry any significance, but the presence of RPP representatives in a rally where Lenin's photographs were carried is undoubtedly an affair of utmost gravity.

RPP deputy for Izmir, Süleyman Genç stated openly that they had participated in the rally "conscientiously and willingly". Such a declaration was sufficient for standing ovation in the RPP parliamentary group. In the face of the strong reaction in the public opinion, Ecevit as the Prime Minister stated that he could not reproach the TKP propagandists, he could not reproach those that used the slogans "Freedom for the TKP". It was the same Ecevit, who as the leader of opposition previously had gone so far as to attack the governing parties and their leaders as "thieves, murderers, gangsters and fascists". When he was given the duty of forming the government, he labeled the Nationalist Action Party and the Justice Party as fascist and refrained from meeting the leaders of these two parties. We sincerely feel the anxiety arising from the possibility that a person who violates the democratic traditions, may, through the use of various means and methods, destroy the democratic regime, as well.

THE ONLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ECEVIT AND ORTHODOX COMMUNISM

There is only one slight difference between the views Ecevit propagates in one of his books and orthodox communism. This, following Ecevit's own terminology, is, whether "to break the door or not". This is to say, whether to realize the revolution with an armed struggle or through utilizing the political power and the state force. While he was Secretary General of RPP, Ecevit wrote in his book called "Atatürk and Revolutionarism" the following:

"Furthermore, all administrative cadre, autonomous foundations and judiciary mechanism is largely dominated by revolutionary, progressive elements in Turkey, today. The political power is the only exception...

In the countries where Che Guevara's, Castro's initiated revolutionary activities, none of these facilities that our

revolutionaries own, existed. That is why, they took to the mountains. That is why they became guerillas...

In front of Castro, there were locked doors. In front of Che Guevara, there were locked doors. In front of Mao Tse Tung, there were locked doors. In order to open those doors that the revolutionaries did not own the keys for, it was necessary to shoulder them; it was necessary to break the doors. In our case, the doors are not locked. When we turn the handle, they will open up."

TO ENTER THE ROOM WITHOUT BREAKING THE DOOR

It is interesting to note the similarities Ecevit draws between the totalitarian dictators and the revolutionaries in Turkey who will open the doors. In complete harmony with his own power struggle, Ecevit wanted to come to power with elections, but once he was there, to enter the room that Che's, Castro's, Mao's entered through breaking the door, this time without breaking the door but by using the forces of the state. It is not possible to interpret this statement otherwise.

Unfortunately, the policy Ecevit followed while in power, approves our interpretation.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 'ANTI-FASCISM'

An 'anti-fascism' campaign initiated by the communists is being imposed in Turkey. TKP, all the legal marxist, communist organizations in Turkey have participated in this campaign. The Nationalist Action Party and the Justice Party are the targets of this campaign. The NAP is undoubtedly the primary target. All communist periphery are trying to label the NAP as 'fascist'. Their aim is to assure the closing down and dissolution of the NAP. If they can overcome this obstacle, they will be able to proceed step by step, and then it will be other parties' turn.

Ecevit, also, is following a policy parallel to this campaign.

INJUSTICES AND OPPRESSION HAVE REACHED A SCALE SURPASSING THOSE IN REVOLUTIONS

Ecevit has initiated a series of injustices that have not been observed even during revolution periods. This practice is closely related with Ecevit's own views expressed in his book previously, and is at the same time linked with the marxist campaign. Tens of thousands of civil servants, from the highest bureaucrat, to the one lowest in the scale, have been labelled as 'fascists' and forced to resign. They have been posted to the regions declared 'the liberated zone' by the communists. Thus, two alternatives have been offered to state officials that do not have leftist inclinations or practice: Resignation or death. The government does not show any respect for judicial jurisdiction over these appointments. Thus the fundamental principles of a state of law is violated over and over again.

Especially the police force and the national education mechanism have been primarily placed under the control of the leftist militants. The marxist police organization called POL-DER, describing itself as the "police of the people" and defining the free democratic regime in the country as the "bourgeois democracy", has been given full responsibility in the functioning of the security force.

This police organization acts as the protector of communist terrorism. Members of this organizations in the police force apply tortures of intolerable scale on the idealist youth who oppose communism. They act like the inquisitions of the Middle Ages. Not a single day passes without the bombing of a NAP building, or the assassination of a NAP member or administrator in the country, and Ecevit does not show the smallest trace of sensitivity against these atrocities.

Ecevit has openly congratulated POL-DER due to its resistance against the previous right-wing coalition govern-

ments.. The RPP's Minister of Interior has placed many POL-DER militants to the key positions of the police force. Thus Ecevit is ambitiously following the "revolutionary administrators cadre" plan he had mentioned in his book. RPP is realizing the "revolutionary cadre" plan in the same unrestrained manner in the National Education. RPP deputies have openly taken part in the clique lobbies of the notorious TÖB-DER, marxist teachers' organization. The last TÖB-DER congress was the fighting platform of various leftist and communist fractions, and the RPP was completely indifferent to being identified with this platform.

The perplexing attitude of a group of teachers in whom we are to trust the health of minds of future generations, coupled with the unrestrained manner of the RPP in this respect, breeds even further perplexity.

Thus, while Ecevit liquidates those that oppose communism in the state apparatus, at the same time, he has created the suitable milieu for terrorism, hand in hand with the communist organizations. Using the allegation of 'fascism' against his political opponents rashly, he is encouraging the communist militants and showing them a target. The citizens are in such a psychology that they are afraid to apply to the state bureaus occupied by leftist militants, for routine demands. The attitude of the POL-DER fraction of the police is the main factor behind the insolent activities of the leftist militants. What is even more dangerous and unfortunate is that all these activities are supported by the implicit approval of the Ecevit government.

Thus while Ecevit's systematic approach encourages the left, the right on the other hand, is forced to react. Although the individual reactions on the right are a result of the provocative policies of the Ecevit administration, he is subtle enough to use such reactions as a material for his so-called 'anti-fascism' campaign.

OUR POLICY OF PEACE

Ecevit came to power through declaring war on his opponents. In addition, the way his ministers occupied the ministry buildings was reproached in a considerable portion of the Turkish press. Even some highly esteemed journalists who had favoured Ecevit previously, characterized this style as an 'Entebbe Raid'. Ecevit himself, adopted a policy of rancor and hostility in his election campaign. Even a journalist of liberal left inclinations in the press, criticized Ecevit's style in this respect, taking his Uşak speech as an illustrative example. According to this journalist, a person listening to Ecevit's Uşak speech, would feel himself incited.

We had predicted beforehand that the policies Ecevit would follow in power could harm social and political consensus which is the basis of democracy. We had observed at that time that Ecevit's attitude would raise the political tension intolerably, at a time when the country was socially and economically in the bottlenecks of a severe depression. This would harm social harmony and this the democratic regime would automatically be wounded.

In order to prevent such an acutely critical situation, we attempted to relax the tension in the relations between the government and the opposition. Issuing a circular to our party members and all the citizens, we stated that the Ecevit government was also a legal government which received a vote of confidence in the parliament; therefore unnecessary reaction should not be shown against this government and it should be given time for performances to the benefit of the country.

Democracy is not a regime of war. Political struggles should not set up an insurmountable wall of hostility



between parties and citizens. Turkey, both at the final phase of the Ottoman Empire and also during the multi-party period has paid heavily for such rancorous policies. We were fully aware of Ecevit's raging and rancorous disposition and the tension the marxist groups he was engaged to, aimed to create. We believed that such a development would poison the political atmosphere in the country.

Under these conditions, in order to establish a milieu of civilized dialogue and tolerance essential for the preservation of democracy, we repeated insistently our peace calls. In declarations directed to party members and all citizens, we demanded everybody to abstain from attitudes that might raise the tension in the country. Beginning with the RPP, we repeated our calls to all political parties. Our address was directed to the RPP primarily, because this was the party that converted the political struggle in the country into a vendetta.

I came forward with a brief and simple solution: Differences of political opinion between citizens were developing into a sort of vendetta. In order to prevent this and assure softening in the base, the political parties should reach a consensus at the top.

THE METHODS OF FASCISM SUIT ECEVIT TOTALLY

If our proposal was adopted by the RPP, both the democratic regime would be strengthened against the totalitarian threat by means of the common policies of all parties and also the differences of opinion between citizens would be restricted to the framework of democratic tolerance. If after such an atmosphere of consensus and dialogue was reached, some individuals or groups still insisted in terrorism, they would be isolated from the society and liquidated.

If the RPP had accepted such a strategy, it would have to face a clash with the marxist-revolutionary, activist elements that had infiltrated the party apparatus. But Turkish democracy was in need of such a development. In addition, such a policy would give more credit to the RPP in the public opinion. Therefore, such a policy of peace would be against the communists undoubtedly, but in favour of democracy and the RPP.

But Ecevit was applying a strategy of hostility in order to hold his own militants and the other known elements in his party together, within a 'common front'. In order to satisfy them, he had to insult his political opponents in vulgar ways, and even call them "murderers, thieves and gangsters". In order to satisfy them and hold them together around himself, he preferred an easy exploitation of phrases like "revolutionarism, leftism, fascism" in the style of a militant marxist.

This is why Ecevit declined our proposals. But in order to clear himself in the public opinion, he used the slander of fascism against us and claimed that we were not sincere in our proposals.

However, the solution we proposed was obvious. Such a formula would decrease the social tension in the country considerably. And in such circumstances, everybody could determine easily, whether we were sincere or not. As Ecevit was not in favour of internal peace, as he was afraid of the NAP becoming the initiator of peace, he did not even dare to give a try to our frankness. He rather preferred to hide behind an a priori accusation of insincerity.

Everywhere around the world, fascism marches to power in consequences that have upset social and political consensus, with loud cries of 'war'. Nowhere around the sphere has fascism proposed realistic peaceful solutions for the preservation of democracy. Fascists accuse everybody outside themselves immoderately. Fascists believe that

the right to govern is exclusively their own. Fascism abstains from democratic consensus. Fascism abstains from dialogue with political rivals, because it needs enemies. However the aim of our policy is to secure consensus at the top, in order to remove the tension below. We, who are accused of fascism, own the honour of the initiative step directed to this goal. We proclaimed that the Ecevit government was a government of the Republic, that they should be given a chance and shown tolerance.

Evidently, it is being observed that the methods of fascism do not suit us at all, but are unfortunately in complete harmony with the personage and strategy of Ecevit.

ECEVIT CANNOT EVEN TOLERATE CONSTITUTIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

Ecevit is such a political monopolist and is so full of rancor that, while he was trying to form a government, he declined to meet me and Demirel, even formally, because he claimed that we were fascists. In which country in the world, have fascists surrendered political power of their own free will and in a civilized manner? However, we were not in need of such a meeting with Ecevit, because we were not the ones responsible for forming the government at that occasion. He was the person to be in need of such a meeting. Furthermore, it was also his democratic duty. And under such circumstances, Ecevit made calls in an impolite manner to the deputies of the opposition parties which he accused of fascism, to help him in a vote of confidence in the parliament.

Scientists who will search the psychological structures of Ecevit and Hitler will be able to discover shocking si-

imilarities. Hitler was a chauvinistic fascist. Ecevit is also chauvinistic in behaviour and fascistic in methodology. The differences between the methods and the illusions of the two is solely imposed by the period and the environment. Both are political monopolists. Both have the desire of living in an ego-centric world. Both have the same sort of temperament that denies their political opponents democratic tolerance, abolishes rationalism and realism. A queer type of romanticism is a common aspect of their characters. Both have sought power in a policy of hostility. Both have deployed demagogy as an effective weapon, in misleading the masses. Both have tended to silence the opposition, control the mass media, use the security forces as a tool of the political apparatus, with some modifications. The differences cannot shadow the major resemblances.

The Ecevit government has converted two autonomous state foundations of mass media, the Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) and the Anatolian Agency (AA) into the political advertisement bureaus of his party. Such a partisan mass communication network has been set up that, even liberal left-wing journalists have felt the necessity to draw attention to this unfortunate phenomena.

Ecevit cannot tolerate autonomous constitutional establishments. The Credit and Dormitories Foundation has been expropriated. The State Central Bank was paralysed for a considerable period. After Dr. Tayyar Sadıklar was forced to vacate his seat in an unbecoming manner, the Central Bank has also been delivered into the hands of RPP partisans. Dr. Sadıklar revealed afterwards that while he was in office, the Ecevit government had stopped the flow of information to the Central Bank, and he, as the president of this vital organization was only able to learn various important financial and economic decisions of the government from the press and adjust himself accordingly.

WHERE IS TURKEY HEADING

The demagogic efforts of Ecevit to accuse us of fascism are all in vain. How can a fascist party proclaim that even the worst form of democracy is preferable to the best form of dictatorship? How can a party defending the essences of a pluralistic society model in economy and social life be accused of fascism? Is not the pluralistic democracy an inevitable aspect of the pluralistic society?

Ecevit is well aware of these facts. But the vicious policies he has been drawn into, forces him to act otherwise.

Under these circumstances, unfortunately it is becoming very hard to give a comforting answer to the question: "Where is Turkey heading?"

Thus, RPP's "joint front strategy" has encouraged the communist and separatist elements and made them seriously effective. This has brought an atmosphere of blood and gunpowder to the country.

Therefore, the integrity of the soil and the democratic regime of the country are severely threatened. When we consider this internal situation in relation to our geopolitical position and the recent events in our region, the threat attains a greater significance and takes on the identity of a grave danger directed towards our national independence.

Today, every citizen, politician, intellectual in Turkey is obliged to defend the free democratic regime, our soil integrity and independence. Especially in politics, it is not sufficient to support these principles in mere words only. It is essential to leave policies and behaviours of enmity and rancor aside and to unite around the fundamental principles of the Turkish Constitution in order to secure a democratic consensus and easing of tension. In this respect, it is a fact that the Republican People's Party carries the greatest responsibility.



6 — OUR VIEWS

Turkey is in a very critical social process due to the effects of industrialization. A fast growing urban population, unemployment, economic imbalance are the characteristic aspects of this industrialization process. If the required economic and social measures are not adopted in time more dangerous consequences may appear. In order to prevent such a catastrophe, the feeling of national unity and brotherhood should be strengthened and the necessary economic and social measures to secure social peace within the country should be taken. Our national culture should be preserved and developed in order to prevent gaps of culture and experience between generations to turn into an ideological war. Against the ideological assaults that are manifest in the form of psychological war weapons of contemporary struggles, a psychological resistance supported by such concepts as the scientific mentality, national culture and conscience should be created. All citizens should unite around the notions of free democratic regime, integrity of soil, national interests and the fundamental principles stated in the Turkish Constitution. We call this Turkish Nationalism and we will never give up this ideal. The loss of this ideal would mean the loss of Turkish democracy, national integrity and independence.

When the birth and development of history of Turkish Nationalism is studied closely, it will be observed that nationalism in Turkey is contrary to tendencies containing chauvinism, totalitarianism and enmity towards foreigners, which are the aspects of certain forms of nationalism in some parts of the world. As a matter of fact, the communists in Turkey are fully aware of this reality. That is why, in order to sabotage democracy and national integrity, they are thriving on a false campaign of 'fascism'.

As I have pointed out in various books, speeches and declarations, a commitment to the independence of the Turkish Nation, development within the free democratic regime, the ideal of a contemporary, civilized, industrialized, pluralistic society form the basics of the mentality of Turkish Nationalism. Human love is our starting point. Our aim is the realization of legal, economic and social equality for the Turkish Nation and for all the other nations throughout the world. In this sense, Turkish Nationalism and love for mankind are integral parts of our philosophy.

As freedom, democracy, progress, scientific methodology and respect of individual personality form the bases of our principles, our ideal is anti-totalitarian in identity. We place special emphasis on the fundamental rights and freedoms of mankind and the preservation of individuality. This does not contradict our approach that stresses the significance of social priorities. On the contrary, they complement each other. Therefore, the economic and social views we put forward, on one hand defend the adjustment of class differences within society in a rational and just style and on the other hand, show great sensitivity in not sacrificing the individual while tending toward the attainment of social justice which is the basis of democracy. Thus the NAP has adopted a mixed economy model in which the state sector and the private sector will exist in a progressive harmony.

Our "Nation Sector" ideal, aims to start the application of industrial democracy which the west today is trying to realize. Thus small savings could be channeled into large investments.

According to the NAP, political democracy is essential, but not sufficient. The economic basis of the political democracy should be established as well. The health of the political democracy is secured by the application of the principle of separation of powers. In the same way, economic and social basis should be backed by a power balance. Fascist and communist regimes place the economic power under the hegemony of an oligarchic elite. Such regimes cannot tend toward democracy, unless they re-adjust this factor. We believe that the principles of industrial democracy and a mixed economy can strengthen the political democracy. Therefore, in economics, we oppose all sorts of monopolist tendencies, because such tendencies hinder the development of a pluralistic society.

WE WILL NOT CHANGE OUR POLICY

This framework reflects not only our views on Turkey, but on the world as a whole.

We regard any model that does not respect freedom, as a chain of slavery for Turkey and also for the world.

Turkish-Islamic mysticism is our source of inspiration. Therefore, we accept Man as a sacred trust of God. As Yunus Emre (the eminent Turkish mystic who lived in the 13th Century) has stated: "We love the creation, because of the Creator."

Slavery, misery and race discrimination should be wiped out from the surface of the earth. A new international economic order based on the values of freedom, jus-

justice, equality and humanism must be founded. In an era when all underdeveloped countries are in need of technology and investment capital, Lenin's outdated theory of imperialism cannot bring a satisfactory explanation to the international flow of events.

The wiping out of the common misery from the surface of the earth, the assurance of a free economic and social development is directly related to the attitude that the developed countries will take towards the current problems of the underdeveloped world. It is impossible to establish a lasting order and step up productivity in a world where a large majority is subject to the oppressions of hunger, misery and ignorance.

In our present age, it has become impossible to abstract national problems from the common problems of humanity. A disaster directed towards the fate of whole mankind looms on the horizon. Under these circumstances, economic backwardness, fanaticism and totalitarian ideologies pose a common threat to mankind. Extravagance in economy should be stopped throughout the world. Problems of growth and development should be revised according to the interest of human beings. The relations between the developed and the underdeveloped countries should be set up around a new and more just system.

In order to secure all these, there is no tool, but democracy. Hence only in democracy can human will affect economic decisions and politics simultaneously. The fanatical oligarchies that rule in totalitarian regimes close the eyes of individuals to the problems of the world and humanity. Their sole aim is the promulgation of their own myths. All experiments in totalitarianism show the same characteristics in this respect.

The realization of a free, just and humane world is closely tied to the formation of democratic national policies.

Otherwise, instead of the common desires of humanity, fanatical solutions will bring about only a common oppression.

We shall not give up the pursuit of a policy of peace and democratic co-operation which is fundamental both for the foundation of such a world as also for the freedom, development and welfare of our country. We aim to heal the wounds that hostilities, communist provocations, separatist activities have opened up in Turkey. We believe that irreconcilable policies which have attached their political destinies to the triumph of enmities are betrayals both for the Turkish Nation and for humanity. Such attitudes can only pave the way for totalitarianism and communism.

The events in Turkey and in the world corroborate our views firmly.

Turkey is to choose between life and death, between freedom and slavery, between independence and a satellite identity. Under these circumstances, we renew our call: The first priority in the preservation of the integrity of our soil, free democratic regime and national independence and the realization of economic development in social justice, is the assurance of a peace in internal politics. Unless an easing of tension is secured at the top, an easing of tension cannot be secured at the base and Turkey cannot be saved from the menace of a civil war. Such an occasion will mean irrecoverable losses for the Turkish Nation and the growth of the Soviet threat immensely in the region.

It is time now, for those who have sabotaged peace because of their debts of political blood-money, or their ambitions should wake up. The exploding bombs and the pouring blood ought to kindle the remaining (if any) trace of sensitivity left in their hearts.

— THE END —

Otherwise, instead of the common desires of humanity, radical solutions will bring about only a common oppression. We shall not give up the pursuit of a policy of peace and democratic co-operation which is fundamental both for the foundation of such a world as well as for the freedom and welfare of our country. We aim to heal the wounds that hostile communist provocations, especially activities have opened up in Turkey. We believe that these conceivable policies which have attached their political bearings to the triumph of enemies are believe both for the Turkish Nation and for humanity. Such attitudes can only give the way for totalitarianism and communism.

The events in Turkey and in the world cooperate our views through Turkey. Turkey is to choose between life and death, between freedom and slavery, between independence and a satellite. Under these circumstances we renew our call: The first priority in the present form of the integrity of our free democratic regime and national independence and the realization of economic development in social justice is the assurance of a peace in internal politics. Unless an ending of tensions is secured at the top, an ending of tension cannot be secured at the base and Turkey cannot be saved from the menace of a civil war. Such an occasion will mean irreparable losses for the Turkish Nation and the growth of the Soviet threat, immensely in the region.

It is time now for those who have abandoned peace because of their debts of political blood money, or their ambitions should wake up. The exploding demands and the boiling blood ought to kindle the remaining (if any) traces of sensitivity in their hearts. Let us all strive together in our common interests.

It is now announced that THE END is announced and the national liberation struggle is continuing in all fronts.

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