



THE PROGRAM OF THE JUSTICE PARTY



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JUSTICE PARTY (JP)

Justice Party is founded on February 13, 1961 under the leadership of retired General Ragıp Gümüşpala, its headquarters being the city of Ankara. Justice Party, in its first Grand Convention in 1962, elected Ragıp Gümüşpala as its first chairman. After Gümüşpala's death on June 6, 1964 Dr. Saadettin Bilgiç acted as chairman for a period, and then Süleyman Demirel is elected as chairman on November 30, 1964. Demirel is elected as chairman by grand conventions from then on.

Justice Party which took part in various coalition governments between the years 1961 and 1965, gained absolute majorities in Parliament in 1965 and 1969 general elections. Süleyman Demirel founded the government in both occasions.

Justice Party, which left power after an ultimatum by the Chief of General Staff and Armed Forces Commanders on March 12, 1971, then took part in various above-party governments, giving 5 members to First Erim Cabinet, 7 members to Second Erim Cabinet, 8 members to Melen Cabinet, and 13 members to Talu Cabinet.

Justice Party later took part in the so-called Nationalist Government founded by Süleyman Demirel on March 31, 1975 with National Salvation Party, Nationalist Action Party and the Republican Reliance Party. Justice Party, which took part in this coalition till 1977 general elections, founded the government on July 21, 1977 (this government lasted till January 5, 1978) jointly with National Salvation Party and Nationalist Action Party when the minority government founded by the Republican Peoples' Party after the 1977 general elections lost a vote of confidence in the Parliament.

SÜLEYMAN DEMİREL

Süleyman Demirel was born in 1924 in the village of İslâmköy of the province of Isparta.

After completing his studies in the Technical University of Istanbul in 1949 he started his career as a civil engineer. He specialized in hydraulics when he worked with the State Hydraulic Works in U.S.A. in 1949 and 1950.

When he returned to Turkey, Mr. Demirel took up duty in the Electrical Research and Planning Administration where he had been responsible in the preparation of several hydro-electric projects and economic reports. Between 1952 and 1954 he was put in charge of the construction of the Seyhan dam and was appointed Director of the Dams Section of the State Water Works in 1954. In his capacity as Director of Dams Mr. Demirel conducted studies in U.S.A. in 1955 and was appointed Director-General of Water Works upon his return to Turkey.

Süleyman Demirel who played an important role in the construction of dams and hydro-electric power stations in Turkey, continued to hold the post of Director-General of State Water Works until 1960, served in the State Planning Organization during the term of his military service, and taught for a while in the Engineering School of the Middle East Technical University.

After transition to private enterprise Süleyman Demirel joined the ranks of the Justice Party when he decided to go into politics and was elected leader to his party in 1964, served as Deputy Prime Minister in 1965 and was appointed to the post of Prime Minister when his party came to power following the elections held in 1965.

Mr. Demirel continued to hold the post of premiership upon the victory of his party in the 1969 elections and resigned in 1971.

Following the resignation of the Ecevit Government Mr. Demirel, as Prime Minister, formed his coalition government on 31

March 1975. And following the election victory of the RPP in the autumn of 1977 and after being beaten by a vote of confidence at the end of 1977 he has resigned from the premiership. Mr. Demirel has been elected again as the Chairman of the Justice Party at the last Party Convention in 1979. Süleyman Demirel who is married and who speaks English, is the author of several books on the political life of Turkey.

Section One

OUR FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS

The Aim :

Item 1 — The Justice Party considers its 'raison d'être' the principle that sovereignty resides in the nation and nothing but the nation, and that no sovereign authority exists which does not derive its sanction from the national will and which remains outside the jurisdiction of that will.

It is a political organization the main tenets of which are freedom, nationalism, country, civilization, peace, reformism, enterprise, being attached to and respectful of spiritual values and beliefs, and anti-communism.

It is a party which has been founded with a view to serve the Turkish Nation towards the realization of the following aims:

Development within freedom, surpassing the level of civilization and prosperity attained by the West, withstanding all kinds of separatism in a spirit of national unity.

The realization of the social prosperity state, within the framework of the mixed-economy system, by the maximum utilization of the material and spiritual resources of the country; the eradication of poverty unemployment, destitution, and ignorance, and the provision of widespread social justice and social security,

The education of the Turkish Youth as nationalist, freedom-loving and loyal to the Republic,

Making Turkey one of the world's advanced and prosperous nations within the libertarian democratic republican regime and in possession of its national historical identity.

The Order of Freedom; Human Rights and Dignity :

Item 2 — We regard the democratic system, in its accepted Western meaning, as compatible with the honor and dignity of

being human; respectful of citizen's freedom of thought, action and conscience; which realizes human prosperity and happiness in a most effectual manner; an upholder of values and a most advanced and perfect societal system. We view the first condition of being a civilized society, in the attainment of the joy of living in a free political order. We are against all totalitarian ideas and tendencies which aim to bring the individual and the citizen under political tutelage; which perturb human dignity; which nullify human rights and liberties; and which would like to see the human being as an instrument and vehicle of the state and the political authority.

A State System Loyal to the Concept of the Law :

Item 3 — We are of the opinion that it is necessary to be aware at all times and to exert continuous effort toward the realization and maintenance of those individual rights and fundamental freedoms that find their expression in the Human Rights Universal Declaration which happens to be an indispensable constituent of the Western idea of a free and democratic societal order. We are going to strive with all our physical and spiritual resources to establish and evolve a system of state which provides the citizen and the individual with the security of the Law, and is loyal to the concept of the Law, a system which constitutes the joint objective of the Western democracies,

The Preservation of the Democratic Institutions :

Item 4 — It is our goal to secure the maintenance of those fundamental institutions of the Western democratic system which reveres the institution of family, that constitutes the core of the society, and the rights of property; which provides new horizons for the creative ability of the individual; which develops individual capacities with voluntary and deliberate efforts; which leaves open the ways towards advancement. We are of the view that the institutions of service, administrative decentralization, and the professional and intellectual associations are the indispensable elements of the democratic way of life a pluralist political system.

Social Prosperity State :

Item 5 — The State, apart from its well-established duties such as the maintenance of territorial integrity and national unity, the provision of internal and external security, has also been entrusted with duties in the economic and social spheres which entails basic premises like the love of human beings, the attitude of respect and justice accorded to the human personality and dignity, and the provision of the material and spiritual needs of the individual.

Therefore, we see it as imperative that the State has to take the necessary measures towards the rectification of the distribution of income, and see to it that overall prosperity is spread to the lower income levels and that priority in this would be accorded to economically vulnerable groups and underdeveloped regions. It is our objective to establish «The Social Prosperity State» which accords every individual of the Turkish Nation equal opportunity and means for the development of his abilities, which makes it sure that all citizens benefit from the education and teaching institutions, the economic, social and cultural services, and consequently enabling the citizen to attain happiness.

The Provision of Social Justice and Social Security :

Item 6 — The main targets of the social prosperity state being overall development, economic expansion and growth, all groups should benefit from the resulting increase in production, cheaper goods, more employment, more exports and more income in accordance with the principles of social justice and balanced income distribution.

We regard social justice as a means of preventing the social groups, which constitute the nation, from engaging in polarization and constant conflict of interest, and as a means of attaining harmony and cooperation between these groups. For this reason, a more widespread and balanced distribution of the increasing income and wealth within the society and that all our citizens should be enabled to receive a larger share of the increasing income is seen by us as a natural consequence of social justice.

We subscribe to the belief that social security is one of the most important principles of the social prosperity State. It is im-

perative that the required conditions should be provided for all citizens to perpetuate their lives in security, divested of the anxiety of tomorrow. A most urgent problem for the society is the enlargement and the improvement of the social security measures particularly for those people who earn their living by their labour and by the sweat of their brow; farmers who are in constant confrontation with the perils of nature and potential disasters which may sweep up all their produce, small traders and artisans, the retired, widows and orphans and in principle every Turkish citizen.

We believe that in a state which is powerful, effective and respectful to the fundamental rights and liberties of the individual, there should be a fiscal and financial policy which facilitates a just and balanced distribution of the increasing national income among the citizens, there should be social assurance and security arrangements, free trade unionism, collective bargaining, the right to strike and widespread public services. With this belief, we think it necessary that these institutions, which would establish social justice and social security, should be improved.

Equality of opportunity and means :

Item 7 — We are of the opinion that only under the multi-party democratic regime it would be possible for the masses at large to participate in the administration of the state. We believe that large masses of people like the workers, tradesmen and farmers would be able to increase their effectiveness in the economic sphere through the agency of professional associations and trade unions. It is a logical extension of our belief in the concept of «THE PROSPERITY STATE» that all physical and spiritual means and instruments at the disposal of the state should be activated for the improvement of the living conditions of the villagers, workers, tradesmen and state employees, people with low incomes and citizens who live in shanty towns and backward regions; and that the means of the state should be used in the provision of a civilized standard of living and social security for all citizens.

It is our national ideal to bring our villages, which are the source of our national being, into line with the standards of existence of the civilized world.

Fighting Against the Extremist Movements :

Item 8 — We deem it as our unavoidable responsibility to fight in a most effective manner against those extremist movements which strive towards sowing the seeds of dissension amongst the citizens and undermining the integrity of the country; which try to antagonise various segments of society; which belittle the multi-party system, and its offshoot the freely-elected parliament, and spread adverse propaganda about them; which do not view the democratic system as suitable for the Turkish nation; which attempt to force a totalitarian regime into the country. Fighting against such movements is a precondition of preserving the democratic regime and the maintenance of the freedom of the citizens.

Protection against Separatism, Dogmatism and Superstition :

Item 9 — We consider it a national duty to stand against movements which beget racial, cultural, religious, denominational and local traditional differences; and to keep our people unaffected by those dogmas and superstitions which would endanger the atmosphere of tolerance which is absolutely necessary for scientific and cultural development and for the freedom of conscience; and which may prevent the social, cultural and intellectual developments that have to be gone through if we are to reach the level of Western civilization.

Our concept of laicism :

Item 10 — We do not understand laicism as being anti-religion, disrespect towards religion or being atheist. The laicism of the State does not mean that the citizens should sever their connections with religion. Every citizen should be free to exercise any religion that he may belong to or any form of worship.

Turkish Nationalism :

Item 11 — We understand Turkish nationalism as the maintenance of the unity and togetherness of our great nation, the upholding of the national needs and interests above all sorts of personal and group interests, the establishment of an awareness of unity and sincere ties of brotherhood between Turkish citizens and generations,

demonstrating reverence for the national, historical and spiritual values and educating the new generations within a framework of national historical consciousness.

Freedom of the Press, Intellectual Freedom, Tenure of the Judges, Election System :

Item 12 — As a natural extension of our ideal of a system of free society the main premises of which have been extolled above, it is our goal to see that the freedom of the press, the nonpartisan administration of the radio and television, the intellectual and academic freedoms, the freedom of gathering and association, independent courts and judges tenure, the provision of equitable means of competition for the political parties, are materialized. We would also like to see that the election system will be of a nature which would reflect the political movements and ideas within the country and make it possible to maintain an effective and stable manner of administering the state.

Section Two

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE POLICY OF DEVELOPMENT

Free Economic System, Private Enterprise :

Item 13 — Our faith in the free economic system, which is an indispensable constituent of the democratic regime, derives not only from grounds of freedom, but also because it happens to be the most successful and effective system as far as societal prosperity and economic development are concerned. We reject those totalitarian views which relegate the citizen's need for freedom to the background and which propose to use him as raw material under the State's tutelage for the realization of economic development targets. We do not believe that a society without freedom could achieve a continuous, stable and high level of production. We are of the opinion that economic prosperity and productivity could be realized and maintained only within the framework of an economic system which values individual ability and effort.

The Utilization of the Means and Resources of the Country :

Item 14 — We believe that in countries like Turkey which have not attained the levels of prosperity and development of the advanced countries of the West, there exists hitherto underutilized means and resources which could be activated to effect a rapid economic development. From the founding of the Republic onwards and particularly since the Second World War, the ground covered by our country in the economic sphere, the wealth of our natural and human resources, the experience and results gained in the spheres of enterprise and capital accumulation have all prepared the fundamental ground for a general mobilization of economic development, motivating the citizens towards the country's construction and development with enthusiasm, provided that the economic policy is orientated in a scientific, rational and planned manner.

We consider it the keystone of our economic prosperity and salvation that our citizens would be engaged in the economic development effort in the widest possible sense with the support pro-

vided by state activities and investments; and that the citizens' efforts, that is private enterprise, would reach maximum levels, thus orientating our national resources to the development targets.

The Right to Legal Profit and Earnings :

Item 15 — We believe that we can speed up the increase in our national income and per capita income by modernising our economic structure, by preparing the necessary conditions for the market economy to operate in an effective and productive manner, by giving free rein to the individuals' and our citizens' urges to make money, to work, to own wealth and property.

We believe that the profits and earnings realized by our citizens who participate in the economic development effort, would be of ultimate benefit to all working groups and the State, as well.

We are of the belief that those viewpoints which indicate a negative attitude towards the citizen's earnings and which demonstrate envy, denigration and which try to suggest it is harmful, should be considered as harmful ideas and suggestions themselves, in constraining the economic future of the country.

We would subscribe to neither the view that considers legal profit and earnings much in the same fashion of Middle Ages asceticism («one morsel and a woollen robe is enough»), nor would we accept the view which considers profit as theft. We regard profit as a necessary and beneficial societal mechanism which enables the direction of the daily activities of millions of citizens towards the most productive areas.

The Role of the State in Economic Development :

Item 16 — Aware of the very important role to be played by the State in economic development, we are determined to utilize the public services, public enterprises, the regulatory and indicative instruments of economic and fiscal policy, the direct and indirect economic mechanisms of money and credit policies, in the service of our economic development policy, in a most effective manner.

The Characteristics of State Enterprises :

Item 17 — We consider the role of the state enterprises in economic development, not as inimical to private enterprise, not as a jealous adversary or a constrained, 'étatisme', but as an institution which prevents the formation of big monopolies by regulating their activities; which performs the roles of pioneer and guide in those sectors that entails high risk, that require sums of capital and technical knowhow that exceed the scope of the individuals; which complements and aids private enterprise in cases where the latter's resources fall short of the task at hand.

The Factors that Slow Down Development :

Item 18 — We regard those state enterprises which do not exhibit the characteristics mentioned above as factors which slow down the national development effort by wasting the resources belonging to the people and the citizens, by unnecessarily occupying those areas of activity which would have been utilized more productively and diverting those resources from areas which would be more productive and beneficial. Those state enterprises which assume an antagonistic attitude towards the people and the citizen also fall within the same category.

Social Areas Requiring Fixed Capital Investment :

Item 19 — We think it right and proper that the State should concentrate upon those economic and social areas that require fixed capital investment such as roads, bridges, railroads, canals, ports, dams, power stations; also that it should be active in those key industries which exceed the capabilities of private enterprise, thus directing its efforts into those areas which would prove to be most beneficial to the citizens and the aggregate national economy alike.

Financial Policy :

The essence of our financial policy is the realization of targets such as the increase of national savings in order that social fixed capital investments as indicated above would be materialized. Other targets include the procurement of public capital required for ins-

tutions such as the credit and capital market; procurement of the necessary financial means in order to carry out the public services; the regulation of budgetary spending and tax income, particularly during instances of economic instability due to inflation or deflation; the regulation of the money supply through state loans and monetary policy, in line with the expansion of the economy.

Our Ministry of Finance, through the agency of the Central Bank and financial institutions that are under its direction and control, and through various mechanisms that enables it to maintain its control over the credit volume of our banking system, should administer a monetary and credit policy which is supportive of economic stability and development policy that is being followed.

The Ideal of Social Justice :

Item 21 — We believe that the ideal of «Social Justice» could be realized, provided that financial and social policies are envisaged within a framework which does not discourage the individual from working and earning; which does not sabotage the means of doing business; which does not leave the door open to expropriation and arbitrary interventions and so long as individuals are acting in accordance with the concept of the «PROSPERITY STATE».

Tax Policy :

Item 22 — It is our main objective to reform the tax system with a view to eradicate the negative effects of those direct and indirect taxes which often give rise to insecurity on the part of the taxpayer; which exert a constraint upon his urge to earn and spend his income freely; which discourage him from embarking upon new enterprises; thus preventing the accumulation of capital and slowing down the country's economic development. Consequently, we wish to restructure the tax system which is a heavy burden upon the citizen and often unjust.

The Realization of the Financial Administration :

Item 23 — We believe that it is necessary to simplify the complex operations encountered in the execution of the tax policy; those

procedures which often give rise to a confrontation between the State and the citizen and which causes the financial administration to be overburdened with all kinds of disputes. We also believe that the procedures employed in the auditing of taxes should be administered in such a way that the prevention of tax evasion is effected without interfering with the property rights of the citizen and without damaging his sense of security.

Our Concept of Fiscal Justice :

Item 24 — The primary safeguard that taxes are collected in an optimal fashion, that is the maximum amount is secured, rests in the widespread generalisation of tax responsibility. The principle of the generalisation of taxes requires that the tax burden is distributed among various groups of taxpayers in an appropriate and just manner. This necessitates that every citizen who is in a position to pay taxes should be held accountable in principle and that practices should be avoided which may create distinctions between various groups in this respect. In line with the demands of this principle, we believe that every citizen who is in a position to pay taxes should be held accountable for paying taxes, in proportion to his financial resources, and in accordance with notion of justice. Only thus can fiscal justice be realized.

The Stimulative Aspect of the Tax System :

Item 25 — We are against those practices which give rise to situations where only financial and budgetary considerations prevail during the determination of the ratios and tax brackets. Although employed within the framework of the principle of 'the more the income the more the tax' and progressive tax schedules aiming at equalizing the share of contribution, they often give rise to unjust practices and constitute a somewhat heavy burden.

We subscribe to the practice of using the tax system as a means of encouragement for those private enterprises which are instrumental in the economic development of our country.

Though we agree that taxes are to be used as a means to effect a balance between the various segments and sectors of the

society, we are against using the taxation system as a means of political pressure and in certain directions which are contrary to the essence of our fundamental political views, which rest on the premise of a free and pluralist body politic.

Our Concept of the Budget :

Item 26 — When the extent and the scope of the activities and jurisdiction of the State increases, it becomes imperative that the finances of the State is administered in an economic and rational manner as possible. Thus, it is our opinion that, such a manner of financial administration would be possible only when the budgetary system is soundly established, its principles has been soundly determined, and its economic and political character has been made explicit.

Planned Development :

Item 27 — If we are to execute a rational and scientifically based policy of economic development, then we should be intent on benefiting from the techniques of economic planning which have been successfully employed in many advanced, free and civilized countries. In order to do that, we must first improve our economic statistics and expand the services of economic information and analysis.

Helping the Private Enterprise :

Item 28 — We believe that the targets set within The Plan should be of an 'indicative' nature for the private enterprise rather than forcing it to behave in a certain manner. We also believe that the entrepreneurs should be encouraged by certain 'Measures of Inducement' such as fiscal and credit policies and foreign trade policy which include items like the rate of interest, investment allowance, tax immunity, cheap or gratis land, plentiful supply of cheap energy, provision of building facilities, financial aid and stipends, deferential rates and tariffs, technical aid etc.

Within a democratic and free economy, private enterprise could be made to behave in line with the plan targets not by certain

sanctions, pressures, orders and instructions, but by such indirect measures as cited above and by way of encouragement and inducement.

The Establishment of the Balance between Sectors :

Item 29 — In a country like Turkey whose economic structure has yet to be developed, we believe that economic expansion is primarily dependent on the establishment of a new balance between the various sectors. It is known that our economy is traditionally dominated by the agricultural sector with a low level of productivity and a rather primitive technology. Thus, we believe in the necessity of modernising our agriculture in order to speed up our economic development and to absorb the increasing population and the superfluous manpower in the agricultural sector within the more productive industrial and other sectors.

Rapid Industrialisation :

Item 30 — As the economy evolves into a more productive level and larger production capacity, the rapidity of the industrialisation process becomes a necessity as the historical experiences of many countries clearly indicate.

In order that the process of industrialisation is speeded up, it is necessary that we increase the technical abilities and the educational level of our population, speed up the capital accumulation within the industrial sector and encourage the capital movement to this sector; orientate the Turkish entrepreneur towards the industrial sector by various means and supply him with the required technical and economic information.

The Evaluation of the Economic and Social Developments :

Item 31 — A major premise of our industrial policy is that industrialisation does not mean just to erect a few large factories. We think that industrial development requires large scale changes in the whole socio-economic structure. Therefore, when engaging in activities that would encourage and increase industrial development, it would appear necessary to evaluate the socio-economic

developments that are expected to take place concurrently. To meet this demand, we will initiate a large-scale study and analysis of our total economic and social resources. In this context, the founding of a research institute which would analyze the body politic of the Turkish people assumes urgent priority.

Revision and Reorganisation in Industry :

Item 32 — Another aspect of our industrial policy is that while new branches of industry are being set up, the already existing branches will also be looked after, with some of them being revised and others reorganised. Thus, we believe that there will be a swift increase in the additional work capacity with a relatively little amount of investment, less labour and lesser amount of risk involved.

The Development of the Small Industries :

Item 33 — In the development of a country, the founding, expansion and modernisation of small industries play as much a part as the big industries. Particularly in the European economies, small industries are highly important. Thus, our policy toward small industries will not be confined just to their preservation, but these will be encouraged, provided protection, and measures will be taken to enable their expansion and growth. Some of these measures are:

- a) The constitution of consultative and information services for the encouragement of industrialisation,
- b) The founding of research units to develop the prototypes, and to research in other areas,
- c) The opening of courses for businessmen and contractors for their professional education,
- d) The building of industrial compounds and marketplaces for the development of small industries,
- e) Helping the industrialist in the marketing of his goods and giving him the necessary information concerning the market situation and buying-selling operations,

- f) Helping the industrialist in financial matters and with regard to the provision of equipment. The increase in the capabilities of financial institutions founded for this purpose and the establishment of new such institutions.

Industrial Regions and Encouragement Measures :

Item 34 — We consider it beneficial that industrial regions are formed so as to prevent the dispersion and the loss of effectiveness of the infrastructural investments, economic and social facilities, which are needed by big and small industries alike. Therefore, we favour the practice of selecting certain regions for the concentration of industry and the provision of special advantages and immunities to those who would establish industries in such regions. The infrastructure installations and public services of these regions will be accorded priority. The locations of the industrial regions and the advantages and immunities provided to those who establish industries there will be determined and announced.

The Founding of the Capital Market :

Item 35 — The advancement and strengthening of industry, the increase in the rate of capital accumulation, the self sufficiency of individual units and enterprises require that a capital market is formed in our country, like other industrialised countries. So, measures should be sought immediately towards that end.

Among the measures are: the encouragement of limited liability companies through various advantages, facilities and immunities; the facilitation and simplification of the founding of such companies; the reinforcement of the instruments of control and auditing; the facilitation of bond and stock issues; the speeding up of the activities of stock exchanges and other financial institutions in order to attain maximum circulation of these valuables; the reinforcement of those financial institutions, which participate in the formations of companies through risk and loan capital, by way of state resources whenever necessary.

Preparation for the Common Market :

Item 36 — It is necessary to take precautions now, in order that our industry is not subjected to undue strain in the event of our joining the Common Market, after what should be considered a short period of adaptation; to reinforce our competitive resources in order to be able to stand up to the advanced industrial countries of the West; to finalize the specialisation and establishment in those areas of industry where we enjoy a relative advantage to the Common Market countries, so as to increase our industrial cooperation with them.

The Balance of Foreign Trade :

Item 37 — Being aware that our industrialization and economic development primarily depend upon our procurement of technical equipment and raw materials from the outside world, we think it is necessary to take serious measures to counteract the bottlenecks in foreign trade.

Towards this end, it is needed to take swift measures for increasing exports, tourism incomes and incomes from invisible items, the encouragement of the flow of foreign capital, the encouragement of the domestic production of those items which presently constitute a good part of our import bill. We are determined to take all required measures to speed up the entrance of foreign capital, in the form of risk and loan capital, technical knowhow, installation and patents.

The Protection of the National Industry :

Item 38 — We should urgently look for ways of developing those industrial sectors, which would help to increase our exports and reduce our imports, through protective measures which would be compatible with both the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and the Common Market agreements.

On the other hand, financial and administrative measures are required to procure the needs of our national industry, in a plentiful manner and without interruption. These needs should be given

priority in the formulation of our foreign exchange policy, and in the regulation of the quotas and the determination of the liberation lists, in particular.

The Encouragement of Exports :

Item 39 — Recent experiences have shown that our economic salvation and the speed and continuity of our development depends on the increase of our own resources and the expansion of our capacity to earn foreign exchange, as well as the procurement of foreign capital. Perhaps the former is even more important. Therefore, the increase of exports occupies number one priority in the context of our economic development policy.

In order to encourage exporting, it is necessary to reinforce the whole chain of connections from the producer, to the exporter, on to the foreign importer. Also needed is the increase of our domestic production and goods, and the marketing and standardization of our products in ways that suit the demands of the foreigners, in terms of price, quality and content. To this end, it is necessary to encourage and support the producers of primary and manufactured goods and the exporters who market those goods. Among our immediate measures, in this respect, would be the betterment of the organisation of our representations abroad, and the encouragement of the producer and the exporter through means of capital and credit facilities, tax immunities and reductions and, when needed, through financial and technical aid and instruments.

Stability in Economic Life :

Item 40 — Economic relations require that a stable and consistent behavior is adopted in the commercial, economic and financial policies, and in foreign trade policy in particular. Therefore, we believe in the necessity of preventing upsets in the economic system through frequent changes in the official directives and the daily renewal of surprise measures.

Harmful Interventions, Price Stability :

Item 41 — Extraordinary conditions such as the danger of war, high inflation and deflation, monopoly and excessive shortage of

goods apart, we consider interventions into the world of commerce and business such as price control, profit limits, price freeze, licences and internal quotas, as measures which are harmful and against their inherent objectives. We are of the opinion that the regulation of the economy and price stability should be attained not by administrative interventions, but through economic measures.

Tradesmen and Artisans :

Item 42 — Aware of the important place occupied by tradesmen, small traders and artisans in the present stage of our economic development, we consider them as a group who serve the economic demands of our people and a group who impart to the individuals, a sense and discipline of economics prior to the transformation into larger and more rational units of management.

We are of the opinion that tradesmen and artisans should be encouraged to form cooperatives in order to meet their needs for capital, credit and raw materials, to obtain better prices and attain better marketability for their goods. The State should activate its technical and financial resources in their support. It is highly desirable that this group will also be provided the benefits of social security.

Agricultural Development :

Item 43 — Agriculture, which provides the livelihood of the substantial majority of our population, holds a prominent place in our economic development. Among the main problems of agriculture are the overpopulation of the agricultural sector, the rapid rate of increase in this population, the insufficiency of per capita income and the inadequacy of the factors of agricultural production. The essence of our agricultural development lies in the increase of per capita income in this sector and the rise in agricultural productivity per acre.

Agricultural Reform :

Item 44 — We are of the intention to effect an «Agricultural Reform» in our country by following the precepts below :

After having established several agricultural regions, the execution of special agricultural programs which accord with the realities of the region and in a scientific manner; the provision of measures to increase agricultural production and diminish costs, thus increasing productivity and returns; making sure that the land is tilled efficiently and is conserved; the preparation of those lands which could be brought under cultivation; the provision of good quality seeds, appropriate fertilizers, technical irrigation, agricultural knowhow and fighting against pestilence; securing the necessary equipment and finances for these activities; securing stability in agriculture; taking all measures that would provide the sense of security to the producer such as property rights, security in agricultural areas, agricultural insurance, the registration of title deeds, the establishment of cadastral plans, the establishment of a marketing organisation which would make sure that the produce is marketed at appropriate domestic and external prices; the development of agricultural technology; the attraction of the open and disguised unemployment towards industry and agricultural technology; the encouragement of those plantations which operate in a productive and feasible manner.

Giving Land to the Landless Peasants :

Item 45 — We view it as necessary that the landless peasants are given land. We understand the giving of land not in the narrow sense of land distribution, but as an inherent part of «Agricultural Reform» which constitutes the substance of our policy of agricultural development. We favour the distribution of those lands, which are state property but not under productive use and those lands which are over a certain acreage and are being cultivated with a low productivity, to those farmers who could manage them in a productive manner, with certain provisos and conditions. The preservation of well-managed plots and the protection of property rights are among our main principles.

The Reconditioning and Conservation of the Soil :

Item 46 — We see it necessary and beneficial to develop the means of cooperation with the people for the reconditioning of the



soil, its forestation, prevention of erosion, protection from overflow and irrigation. These measures are expected to play an important role in our agricultural development.

Our Policy for Forests :

Item 47 — It will be seen to it that our forests will be protected, their productivity increased and new grounds will be cultivated for forestation within a framework of science, and advanced and rational forestry techniques.

As the prosperity and happiness of our people is our fundamental objective, the people-forest relations will be reorganized with the realities of the country and the years of experience firmly in mind and without causing a fall in the productivity of the forests.

The Preservation of Forests That Are Available for Woodcutting :

Item 48 — There are those forest districts which belong to the state, but the inhabitants of the village within which boundaries the district happens to be, have the right to woodcutting. Our policy is to transfer the responsibility for preserving, tending and utilizing these forest districts to the corporate entity of the said villages. The transfer will be effected under the supervision and administration of the Directorate-General of Forests.

The Peasant - Forest Relationship :

Item 49 — The forest villages will be allocated woods in accordance with the management plans of the State Forestry organisation and under its control, and thus the villagers' needs for heating and woodwork material would be met. Similarly, in those forest areas which had been destroyed, new forests will be cultivated by the allocation of woods to the villagers, thus ensuring their conservation.

Animal Husbandry :

Item 50 — We consider the products of animal husbandry, fishing and other water produce as having an important export potential as well as a resource to meet the rising internal demand as the national income rises. Therefore, we approve of the measures such

as the organisation of the villagers and producers; the erection of facilities required for production, breeding and gaming cooperatively and taking the necessary measures for marketing the products.

Apart from pasture husbandry, we believe in the need to develop meat husbandry and other intensive methods. Measures should be taken urgently - technical, legal and financial - in order to modernise the pastures and increase their productivity.

Subsidiary Sectors :

Item 51 — Alongside with the main productive sectors like agriculture and industry, it is vitally necessary to effect developments in sectors such as banking, insurance, transportation, energy and mining, within the overall framework of our developments policy.

In the sectors of agriculture, industry, mining and transportation, it is our wish that new institutions be established to meet the needs of the entrepreneurs and producers for short, medium and long-term credits, and increasing the already existing ones.

We will work towards the reinforcement of the insurance institutions as a means to prevent long - term economic instabilities, and to increase the capacity for capital accumulation.

Fuel and Energy :

Item 52 — We believe in the need for following a long-term energy policy in order to find solutions to the fuel and energy problem which ranges from heating to the fuel and energy needs of the industry. The proposed solutions should be rational and in line with the prevailing realities.

In order to prevent our villagers from using up those materials as fuel which could be employed as fertilizer, and to reduce woodcutting which leads to the destruction of the forests, it is necessary to take measures like the provision of cheap lignite and liquid fuels.

We consider the rational and economic development of the lignite and coke resources and resources for cheap electricity and

fuel, being the requirements of our industry, as a precondition for rapid development.

Transportation :

Item 53 — Aware of the vital role to be played in our economic development by the cheap, rapid and extensive network of transportation, and giving due consideration to the realities of our country's geographical structure, we consider the betterment of the transportation and communication systems as a priority item. We think that there is a need for the determination of a transportation policy which would increase and expand the connections and complementarity between networks of road, railroad, maritime and airlines.

It is necessary to effect a policy for construction, administration and tariffs which would take due account of the connections between the main roads, country roads and village roads; that would allow an effective coordination between railroads, maritime lines, ports and warehouses. We consider an efficient maintenance of the networks and transportation vehicles as the necessary condition of this policy.

Section Three

Social Services and Social Security

Urgent and Practical Needs :

Item 54 — As the natural consequence of our conception of the «Economic Prosperity State», we consider the provision of those public services which bear on the daily life of our citizens, and services which open up the possibilities of their becoming good and productive citizens, as among the primary responsibilities of a modern state. We thus consider education, health, social security and dwellings as issues requiring most urgent attention both in the short and the long-term.

Our National Education Policy :

Item 55 — Our notion of service in the field of national education rests upon the precept of educating our citizens as individuals with character, morality, culture and tolerance which happen to be the qualities required for the functioning of a free and democratic system. The attainment of a free and prosperous Turkey, which comprises of citizens who love and understand one another; who are mutually respectful to each others' rights; who subscribe to the idea of help and cooperation, will be possible only through such a policy of national education.

In our national education policy, we will lay particular stress upon the education of citizens who subscribe to the scientific attitude, who are free thinking and who possess 'personality'; as well as educating them as qualified citizens who are professionally capable and possess knowledge in their fields, and who would be in a position to serve towards Turkey's economic development in a commendable manner. We believe in giving due attention to social and theological sciences apart from positive sciences. We would like to see that our historical and cultural heritage, traditions, fine arts and national folklore, which hold a significant part in our national history and which have played an important role in the formation of our national identity, are accorded due attention in our national education.

The Needs of the Youth :

Item 56 — It is necessary to accord particular significance to the physical, mental, and character education of the Turkish Youth who find themselves in a rapid cultural and social developmental process, both at school and outside. Thus, we see those activities such as scout clubs, youth clubs and associations, national folklore associations, having important roles in the self-education of youth and highly useful. Thus, we would extend all kinds of support to such activities.

We would like to see the State in the forefront of establishing such facilities like camping sites, youth hostels which would be instrumental in young people's knowing their country better, in their mental and physical development and provide means for meeting young people from other countries and other regions of our country.

The Preparation of Young People for Life :

Item 57 — We would like to see that working possibilities are opened to the young people to enable them to know their people better and to benefit from their creative energy and efforts at various stages of societal development. In this, official and voluntary organisations could be of utmost help. Particularly during the months of vacation and summer, these sort of activities would be of educational value as far as providing experiences in preparation for life.

Equal Opportunity in Education :

Item 58 — In order that the Turkish children and youth would be able to benefit from the educational opportunities in an equitable way and more extensively, we would like to see that a comprehensive system of scholarship and credit would be administered at State and local administration levels, also wishing to see that these practices are maintained at every stage of education.

Educations as Investment rather than as Consumer

Item 59 — We believe in the need to coordinate our system of education - at primary, secondary, professional, university levels -

with the demands of a democratic society and the needs of our rapid economic development. Therefore, we see it necessary to utilize our resources at various educational levels in accordance with our most urgent and vital needs, thus transforming the educational function from being a consuming entity to that of an investing one.

Equipment in Higher Education :

Item 60 — The attainment by our universities and institutions of higher education of standards prevailing in their counter parts in the West; the stimulation of research, creative thought and original findings; the increase of institutes, laboratories, libraries, documentation and seminars; the regulation of the student-instructor ratio, are vitally necessary from the viewpoint of a developing and changing Turkey.

Extra-curricular Activities and Extra-mural Education :

Item 61 — When the process of education is not continued after school and the necessary conditions are not created towards this end, the effects of school education will be eroded. Thus, the increase of extra-mural activities are as important as opening schools. Therefore, extra-mural education will be accorded due importance as part of our activities.

It is necessary to develop extra-mural education in a nationalist spirit and in a way that would provide for the development of our villages. Education is a process that encompasses the whole of life. Thus, an education policy which does not include educational, cultural and artistic activities, libraries, museums and theatres etc. among its sphere of activities, should be considered as incomplete. We believe that schools and other cultural and educational institutions should operate in a complementary manner. Therefore, we will take necessary measures towards the betterment of the environment of schooling as well as opening new schools.

The Reorganisation of the Educational System :

Item 62 — In order to reach the stated targets as a result of our modernisation efforts, we believe in the need to reorganize our

educational system in a way that would penetrate to the depths of the Western culture, civilization and mentality. Thus, it is necessary to increase our contacts with the Western and the free world in the spheres of culture, technology and fine arts, and increase our educational cooperation with them.

Education for Everyone - A School for Every Village :

Item 63 — We believe in the provision of equal educational opportunities for Turkish citizens, equal opportunity for every one to actualize his potential, the provision of support for those capable young people to enable them to continue their studies, as the requirements of «Social Justice».

Similarly, we deem it necessary not to leave a single village without a school.

Qualified and Idealistic Teachers :

Item 64 — We believe in taking urgent measures to maintain the vocation of teaching, at all levels, as an attractive profession and thus maintain its prestige; to provide a satisfactory standard of living for teachers through material and non-material benefits. We regard the training of qualified and idealistic teachers as a priority issue.

The Maintenance of Historical Sites, Mosques and the Seats of Culture :

Item 65 — The restoration and maintenance of buildings, which are the cultural heritage of our country and a touristic asset, is dictated by our national cultural policy as our proper duty.

We think that there should be cooperation between the state and the local administrations to ensure that libraries, reading rooms, museums, mosques and other places of worship, social and cultural clubs, exhibition and conference halls, student halls and guest houses, are kept in a clean and satisfactory manner. We also consider it appropriate for the state to regulate and administer

the parks, playgrounds, kindergartens, in a manner which meet the demands of children, young people and the public at large.

Town Planning, Construction and Resettlement - A Home for Each Family :

Item 66 — It is natural for a country that experiences rapid development and industrialisation to be also faced with large population movements. Therefore, the problems associated with urbanisation, resettlement, construction and dwellings are with us and they are here to stay.

Thus, we consider it necessary to handle the affairs pertaining to town planning - administrative, educational and practical - in a more comprehensive and systematic manner. We think that municipalities are in need of aid and support in spheres such as the training of people who are familiar with the management of local administrations and local public services; the re-equipment of our municipalities and local administrations and the reinforcement of their financial resources. We are determined to save these institutions of decentralization from the needless interferences of central administrations. We would like to solve the problems of our citizens dwelling in shanty-towns and provide a home for each family.

Health and Social Security Services :

Item 67 — The preservation of people's health is a duty of the state. Foodstuffs, dwellings and environmental conditions in villages, towns and cities should be subjected to a rigid enforcement of the necessary controls as part of a public service.

The state is responsible for taking precautions against all kinds of physical, chemical and biological threats against public health, preventing all manner of harmful effects threatening the bodies and souls of growing generations and for providing general health education in an effective manner. We accord priority, in this respect, to the institution of preventive medicine.

It is our objective to make sure that all buildings, equipment, technical facilities of our health organizations comply with the standards of the contemporary concept of service and that all citizens benefit from the health organizations comply with the standards of the contemporary concept of service and that all citizens benefit from the health services in a just manner.

Fighting Against Social Diseases - The Pay and Working Conditions of the Doctors :

Item 68 — Social diseases like tuberculosis, syphilis, mental diseases and related subjects like mental health should be treated as part of a public service. The state should take particular note of the necessary precautions in these matters, the provision of facilities, and the increase of gynecological hospitals and kindergartens.

The Treatment of Needy People :

Item 69 — It is our objective to bring medical and surgical treatment facilities to the proximity of the public at large, in the form of regional units, and meet the treatment expenses of the needy, underpaid and unemployed citizens from social aid funds.

The Protection of the Treatment Industry :

Item 70 — It is necessary to offer support to and control the domestic pharmaceutical and medical equipment industries, from the viewpoint of saving foreign exchange and the satisfactory provision of health services.

Socialisation :

Item 71 — Our view regarding the socialisation of medicine is to attempt at a reorganisation, after results are received from pilot studies and have been carefully evaluated; after the installations at experimental regions are fully operative, and a sufficient number of doctors and supplementary personnel have been secured.

Order in Working Life :

Item 72 — In an urbanised and industrially advancing society, the importance of issues concerning working life and the workers is going to increase. Therefore, it is necessary to establish and develop modern and democratic institutions and customs to regulate the worker-employer relations and guarantee satisfactory working conditions and social security for the workers.

Minimum Pay, Collective Bargaining :

Item 73 — We see it right and proper that women and children among the working population are accorded special regulatory protection, and the reorganisation of working conditions is made to help the worker receive the equivalent of what he deserves, by means of minimum pay, the workers' mass organisations such as trade unions, and collective bargaining with employers and employers' organisations.

Free Trade Unionism :

Item 74 — We regard trade unionism as a useful and democratic institution which reinforces professional and human solidarity in dealing with issues such as pay negotiations, betterment of working conditions and increasing productivity. We consider any act against the freedom of the trade unions as an act against democratic rights and freedoms.

We wish that trade unionism is used as a means of professional solidarity and not converted into a means of political pressure and attainment of political ends.

In order to ensure that a wages policy is followed in line with our national income and development policies, we accept the premise that the cooperation of trade unions is necessary and that they would perform their duties in a responsible manner.

Without endangering the freedom of trade unions, the rights to strike and lock-out, and in order to prevent the misuse of the workers' organisations as a vehicle of political pressure and thus

harming the objectives of economic development; and the misuse of social rights in a manner which would harm the interests of the working masses themselves, we think that it would be necessary to take action within the institutional framework of the free Western countries.

Worker - Employer Relations :

Item 75 — We would like to encourage the increase in productivity and the founding of workplace consultative committees that would lead to more harmonious relations between the workers and employers.

We believe in the need to encourage workplace education and courses, vocational education and the training of qualified workers, in cooperation with the trade unions.

Social Security Measures :

Item 76 — We would like to see the expansion of large-scale social security measures like insurance schemes for cases of illness, maternity, accidents at work, occupational diseases, being handicapped, old age and death and other measures which are involved with occupational risks and rehabilitation. We believe that the state courses, vocational education and the training of qualified workers, and employers.

We believe that it is necessary to make preparations for the establishment of the unemployment insurance and to take certain measures for enabling the needy people to benefit from the protection of the State. Likewise, we think that agricultural workers should be brought within the scope of the social security system.

It is our objective to enable every Turkish citizen to live in security and in a peaceful and confident way.

Section Four

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The Parliament :

Item 77 — We consider the Parliament, where the genuine representatives of the national will are gathered, and where national sovereignty is materialized, as the fundamental institution of public administration. No other authority above the Parliament may be visualized, and above the responsible Government as the political authority under the jurisdiction of the Parliament. No other power can be thought of interfering with the affairs of the State and such interferences cannot be tolerated. It is among the primary conditions of state administration to retrieve the Parliament from all kinds of designs, from the effects of pressure groups and those activities and suggestions which would downgrade its prestige and authority, so as to ensure its effectiveness and productivity.

Political Parties :

Item 78 — The enabling of the political parties to carry out their activities in security and relieved of all kinds of physical and mental pressures, and the practicing of the procedures and customs of intra-party democracy, are factors which are important from the viewpoint of the execution of the national will.

The Constitutional Court :

Item 79 — It is our most genuine desire to see the Constitutional Court as being comprised of members who are immune to all kinds of political influences, and who are determined to protect the fundamental institutions and the laws of the Turkish Republic from all kinds of intervention and misuse, and who are experienced and professionally well - qualified.

The Chief of State :

Item 80 — We would like to see the Chief of State to be a personality with prestige and authority, who is above party politics and experienced in the service of the State and the public. This would contribute to a harmonious and balanced working of the democratic system. The adherence to gentlemanly rules in inter-party competition would be another contributory factor.

The Council of Ministers :

Item 81 — In the formation of the Government and the Council of Ministers, there should be a sufficient number of ministers that would enable a joint discussion of State policy and produce decisions; would ensure that problems of the departments are closely watched and necessary directives are issued, and that these measures are defended within the Government and at the Parliament.

The «Committee of Ministers»:

Item 82 — There should be a rational and appropriate division of labour between the Ministers and the ministries. Those functions which have similar contents and are closely related should not be dispersed into several ministries. For issues which require the cooperation of several ministries, a «Committee of Ministers» should be formed, comprising of the concerned Ministers who would hold a meeting prior to the Council of Ministers and make preliminary discussions concerning the issue.

The Personnel Regime :

Item 83 — Although based on a career system, the personnel regime should make allowance for the inclusion of certain qualified administrators, technicians, specialists who would be made to work under contract for specified periods within the public administration. Positions should be arranged in an orderly manner and be stratified; the entrance to public service should be through examinations; the pay of the personnel should be determined within a system which takes due account of the length of service. The

salaries of the State personnel should be adjusted according to the movements in the price indices, and certainly all measures should be taken for the State not to lose its qualified and trained personnel.

Administrative Reform :

Item 84 — Those practices in the administration, which disperse the duties and responsibilities so that they became almost anonymous and which cause delays and indecision, should be brought to an end, and the functions should be speeded up. Practices including the fear of making decisions, avoiding responsibility and transferring duties to other people as a matter of habit, should be eliminated rapidly and the chain of command within the departments of the State should be defined in an explicit manner.

The Relationships between the Central and Local Administrations :

Item 85 — In order to make sure that the increasing volume of public services are performed better and to prevent the suffocation of the expanding central administrative mechanism under bureaucratic exigencies, the relationships between the Turkish Central State Organisation and the Local Administrations, most of which are the result of random historical arrangements, should be reviewed. The powers and resources of the Local Administrations should be increased and their coordination and cooperation with the Central State Organization should be based upon more rational and explicit premises.

Justice :

Item 86 — We see it as necessary to enact reforms in the organisation and procedures of justice, so that those services pertaining to justice could be discharged in an effective and speedy manner. We believe that it is necessary to expand the justice organisation, and the formation of administrative courts and specialised courts, in order to relieve the burdens of the Court of Appeal, the Ombudsman and the preliminary courts, to some extent.

For the attainment of objectivity, we think that judges' tenure should be reinforced, and objective and non-political criteria should be employed in the appointment, promotion, transfer, punishment and retirement of judges.

Local Administrations :

Item 87 — The attainment by local administrations 'personalities' of their own, and an authentic administration of the decentralization principle are preconditions of the democratic system and of rapid development.

We see it as necessary to revise the «village law» which has been so far inadequate in coping with the demands of village development, in a way which would further that development.

National Defense :

Item 88 — We consider it a requirement of the historical traditions of our Armed Forces and the concept of the «Modern State» that our armed forces should be solely preoccupied with the defense of the Fatherland, and would remain as a national institution outside the political sphere.

Taking due account of the fact that the army personnel are working under hard conditions, and fully aware of the necessity of their having to maintain a living standard that is compatible with the honor and dignity of their profession, we would like to see that our Armed Forces would possess satisfactory means for living in prosperity and security.

The Government - Army Relations :

Item 90 — The Army is a state organisation under the jurisdiction of the Government which is under Parliamentary control. Thus, we believe it necessary to regulate the relationship among the high echelons of the Armed Forces, the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of National Defense in accordance with the basic premises of the democratic state system and in a way that leaves no room for interpretation as far as their respective duties and responsibilities are concerned.

Section Five

FOREIGN POLICY

The Premises of Our Foreign Policy :

Item 91 — Within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations; in accordance with the tenets of peace in the world, justice, equality, freedom, nationality and national sovereignty, it is a fundamental premise of our foreign policy to work towards international cooperation and maintenance of the peace.

We will increase the dimensions of cooperation with the nations of the free world, with whom we have agreed upon the same objectives in political, military, cultural, social, spiritual and economic matters, and with whom we share the same attitude towards the preservation, development and diffusion of the democratic values and institutions which have become the common heritage of the civilized world and the Western world. This is a vital need from the viewpoint of our national interests.

Disarmament, Cooperation and Solidarity :

Item 92 — It is our wish that the tensions which threaten the world peace are reduced; that the nuclear experiments, which invite disaster, are forbidden; that the nuclear and conventional arms are cut down and that there is cooperation among all well-intentioned nations towards a gradual and controlled disarmament and that all efforts towards this end are supported by all concerned.

We think that the United Nations should be supported so as to enable it to become more active and effective in those areas which threaten the peace. We support and would contribute towards those efforts of the U.N. to establish social and economic cooperation and solidarity between the underdeveloped countries and the advanced and rich nations of the West.

Freedom and Peace in the World at Large :

Item 93 — We consider the formation of close relations and the establishment of friendship with our close neighbors and the Middle

Eastern countries with whom we have historical connections and with the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa, as steps towards Turkey taking its rightful place within the family of nations and towards the establishment of freedom and peace in the world.

We consider as among the objectives of our foreign policy to remain loyal to those agreements like the European Council and Common Market that would fortify our ties with the Western World and would contribute towards our economic development, thus enabling Turkey to reach the level of the free and prosperous nations of the West; also those agreements like NATO and CENTO which serve towards social, economic and cultural aims, as well as military ones.

Note: This program has been revised.

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THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF
PRESS AND INFORMATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

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