



Organ of the
Communist Party of Turkey

WORKER'S VOICE

February 1996

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

THE DAY IS THE DAY OF UNITY

Turkey is living through the most serious political crisis in the history of the Republic. The crisis of the bourgeoisie reflected in its inability to govern is getting deeper. And this crisis, is giving all the indications of turning into a social crisis, a revolutionary situation.

The state economy has been diving headlong, firstly because of its insistence in continuing the dirty war in Turkish Kurdistan.

On the other hand the profits of finance-capital and monopolies are rising. However they too face a difficult period both in the short and medium term because of the Customs Union Treaty entered into with the European Union.

Customs Union and the difficulties confronting home finance capital will compound the already very difficult conditions faced by small producers. Under these conditions neither inflation will fall, unemployment be reduced nor will there be any improvement in purchasing power.

The Kurdish people who refuse to submit to indignity are standing up.

Alevism, which the state has tried to make a pawn will not succumb to these games.

The Turkish working class, who can find nothing in the existing legalist and extraordinarily weak "workers" parties, is looking for a reliable, strong and dignified party, a focal point, a unity, a front.

The parties, organisations and movements encompassing the revolutionary movement in general may have different understandings and different approaches on many subjects. But we all agree on one fundamental point: the toiling masses should not be made to pay the bill of the existing crisis and the crisis which is going to deepen. On the contrary, first and foremost the working class, together with all the toiling masses should be able to turn the situation into a victory.

Under these conditions, it is necessary to achieve an immediate unity of action of the Turkish revolutionary movement, at least as a first step. A unity of action, joint decisions -joint activities- against fascism, chauvinism, fundamentalism, imperialism,

for democracy, freedom and for a system which is on the side of labour. All the organisations have a duty to fulfill to achieve this unity of the revolutionary movement.

Today, two important steps have been taken on the road to revolutionary unity. One of these steps is the "Labour, Peace, Freedom Front" in the legal arena, and the "Revolutionary Front" in the illegal field. We do not see these formations as rivals to each other, on the contrary, we see them as complementary to each other and we approach them very positively.

CPT will take place in any formation which serves to unite the revolutionary movement.

The day is the day of unity and the day of common strike to the enemy. History will not forgive delay. Nevertheless our unity of movement, will be the start of a new destiny for all the labouring masses!

30 December 1995

Central Committee of
Communist Party of Turkey

Following is the statement of Communist Party of Turkey

Say No to a War between Greece and Turkey

Working men and Women,
Turkey and Greece have just returned from the brink of war. A pair of uninhabited rocks which are known to Turks as Kardak Rocks and to the Greeks as Imia, brought the two countries facing a full scale war. An issue which has been dormant for forty five years, returned to the agenda as a result of a shipping accident on these rocks. The dispute as to who was to salvage the ship, led to the long standing dispute of sovereignty and all expansionist tendencies over the region to surface again.

Onto the rocks were raised, the flag of Greece then the flag of Turkey. The armies were alerted and successive diplomatic notes were exchanged. These developments were utilised to fan the nationalism in both countries. They were also used to reassert the bourgeois ideas which were declining in the prolonged crises in both countries.

The bourgeoisie of Turkey is in a crisis. It cannot govern through parliament. The elections were held but a government could not be formed. The country is fast tumbling into a revolutionary situation.

The conditions in Greece are not much different. The bourgeoisie cannot govern there either. After the months long illness of the ex-prime minister, the crisis of vote of confidence to the newly formed government is going on. The strikes which shook the country in the last months, show that it will not be easy to shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the working class.

The bourgeoisie of both countries, and their politicians, blew up a dormant issue out of proportion by using a tiny incident in order to divert the attention of working people from the internal crises to abroad. This brought our peoples onto the threshold of war.

Workers from Turkey, your real enemy is the bourgeoisie of Turkey! Greek workers, your real enemy is the bourgeoisie of Greece!

A war between Greece and Turkey which is fanned by the bourgeoisie to overcome their internal difficulties and to expand over the region, would not be for the benefit of our peoples. This would not

be a just war. Workers from Turkey, your real interest does not lie in a war with workers killing each other draped in the flags of their own nationalism. Your real interest lies in a war for freedom and democracy in your own country, in a revolution. Workers from Greece, your real interest does not lie in a war of repartition as we have been witnessing in the old Yugoslavia. Your interest lies in a fight against the war mongers, in a revolution in Greece.

Workers from Greece and Turkey! Refuse to support a war of expansion, to take part in such a war. Your ranks are on the front of revolution, on the unity front of workers of the world against international bourgeoisie. Let us stand against the war mongers together and topple the bourgeois rule in Turkey and Greece together.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Down with the rule of war mongers!

Long live revolution!

Communist Party of Turkey
January 1996

The following article is from Cuba Solidarity Campaign explaining the background to the recent events.

In Defence of Sovereignty

US imperialism attempted yet another provocation against Cuba, who in their back yard have held high the banner of communism with determination. The hearts and minds of all communists throughout the world are with our comrades in Cuba. Aircraft were shot down on 24 February when they refused to leave Cuban air space despite several warnings.

Thus Cuba, proved once more, to friend and foe alike, that this socialist country will not be cowered by the threats of US imperialism.



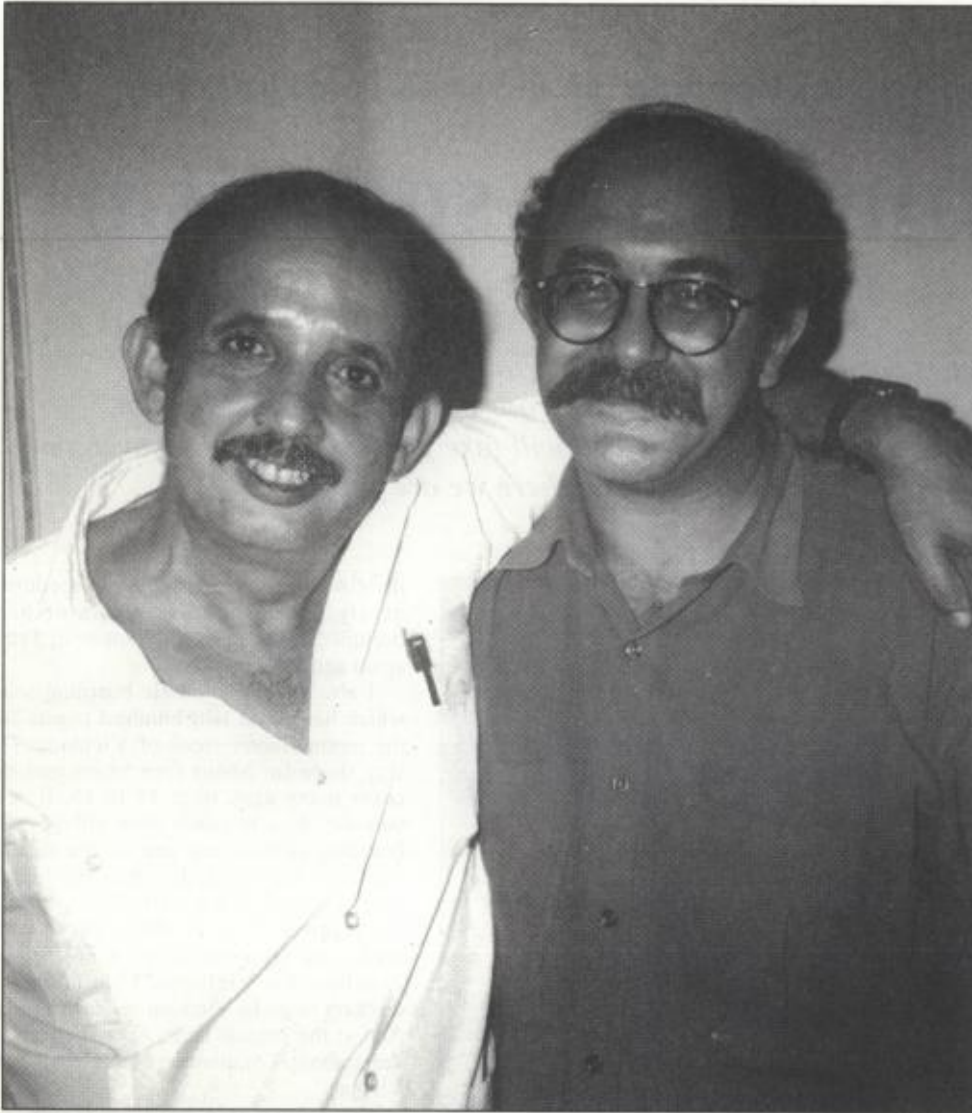
Cuba has a right to defend itself. It has a right to take the necessary measures to prevent unauthorised boats from sailing in its waters. This is not a demand by the Cuban authorities but a law that is recognised internationally. However, the downing of two Cessna aircraft by Cuban MiG fighters belonging to the anti-Castro Miami-exile group "Hermanos Al Rescate" (Brothers to the Rescue) over Cuban airspace on 24 February has created a storm of anger from the United States against Cuba. Warren Christopher, US Secretary of State condemned the shooting as "lawless and uncivilised" whilst President Clinton claimed the action was a flagrant violation of international law. The third of the three Cessna aircraft piloted by Jose Basulto (head of Brothers to the Rescue and veteran of the failed Bay of Pigs invasion) fled back to the US.

This action by Brothers to the Rescue was by no means the first time that this group's aircraft have illegally flown in Cuban airspace. Various sorties have been made by the group over a number of years. All who flew these planes knew that if they crossed parallel 24 (the division between

Cuban airspace and international waters) that the Cuban government would not be responsible for their personal safety. Despite this fact the Cessna aircraft have repeatedly ignored this advice. This includes an incident on 13 July 1995 when the group sent 11 boats, six planes and 2 helicopters into Cuba's 12-mile airspace perimeter. On this occasion one plane dropped leaflets in Havana urging the Cuban population to rise up and overthrow President Castro. These incursions into Cuban airspace were also

attempted on 2 September 1995 and again on 13 January this year. Despite official objections to the United States the US authorities have done little to prevent "Brothers to the Rescue" from carrying out these sorties. Another Miami-based exile group known as "Comandos L" entered Cuban waters at least eight times between 1991 and 1993 and on October 7 1992. Comandos L members actually fired shots at the popular Varadero beach in Cuba from an offshore speedboat.

The actions of these Miami-based groups are well-documented and their missions into Cuba have to stop. As President Castro said "we are the champions of patience — but our patience has come to an end". At 15:21 and 15:28 Cuban time, and at between 5 and 8 miles off Baracoa beach west of Havana these planes were shot down. The exact location of the planes has been contested by US authorities but minute to minute radar readings, recordings of conversations with the pilots who ignored advice to turn around their planes, and objects found in the sea clearly show that the 2 Cessna planes were within Cuban airspace. The fact that the US Coast guard officially requested to help look



The Communist Party of Turkey, today as always, is standing shoulder to shoulder with the Cuban Revolution. The hearts of communists are beating with the people of Cuba. The photograph shows Comrade Ramon Hernandez Vasques, CC member and head of the Asian Section of the International Relations Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba with Comrade R. Yurukoglu, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey.

for survivors from the downed planes in Cuban waters clearly demonstrates that the US knew the exact location of these planes. It is of no surprise to learn that this fact has been omitted from any statements by either President Clinton or Warren Christopher. The response by the United States to the incident has clearly been influenced by this years Presidential elections. The Republicans have always stated that the Democrats have been soft on Cuba and this is a reason why Clinton, who has to assure his potential voters in the key state of Florida, that the United States will take whatever measures are necessary to ensure that Cuba pays for the downing of the aircraft. The measures imposed against Cuba by Clinton so far include a ban on charter flights to Cuba and the promise to sign the Helms/Burton Bill which effectively prevents third countries from trading with Cuba amongst many other draconian measures. Evidence of Clinton's U-turn on policy is clear. Prior to the incident he had threatened to veto the Helms/Burton Bill (which has been condemned by numerous countries including the European Union), but now it is election year and he must look to the votes in Florida

and has opted for signing the Bill so as to counteract any claims by the Republicans that he is soft on Cuba. Clearly Cuba is in a no-win situation. If it allowed these Miami-based groups to continue its sorties into Cuban airspace it would only be a matter of time before these planes would be armed and manned with soldiers.

One can only imagine the response to Cuban planes flying in United States airspace. Undoubtedly they would have been shot down and another attempt to invade Cuba would have been in the pipeline. Since the revolution in 1959, over 30 attempts have been made on the life of President Castro alone. It is also unlikely that the United Nations would have so readily agreed to an emergency session at the behest of the Cubans. This last fact is probably the most significant when it is considered that at the last United Nations General Assembly meeting in November 1995, a vote on continuing the US Blockade of Cuba was only supported by 3 countries whilst 117 countries called for the US blockade to be lifted — the highest ever recorded vote on any international matter in the history of the United Nations.

One should also not forget other actions against Cuba by right wing exiled groups in the United States. A clear example is the 1976 incident where a Cuban airliner was blown up by anti-Castro supporters over Barbados killing over 200 innocent people. This incident was quickly dismissed by the US authorities and was not even denounced by the United Nations. The people who caused this explosion still walk freely in the United States.

A statement issued by the Cuban Foreign Ministry said "Cuba is, and always will be responsible for its actions". "No self-respecting nation could tolerate what has been happening to Cuba with ever more shameless and humiliating action". Thus, despite numerous warnings the Cuban authorities had no option but to shoot down the two Cessna aircraft.

The Cuba Solidarity Campaign is calling an Emergency Picket of the US Embassy (Grosvenor Square) in response to the incident and the signing of the Helms/Burton Bill on Monday 11 March at 6pm. Please add your voices of protests to ours.

Stuart Halford
National Co-ordinator

Interview with Len Aldis, Secretary of the Britain-Vietnam Friendship Society

Our objective is socialism

Our objective is socialism. And the party is in the forefront for that.

We will use the means by which we can develop our country and benefit again.

We recognise that we still have many problems which will take good many years to overcome.

But that is our objective, that is where we are going.

Could you tell about your organisation?

I set-up Britain-Vietnam Friendship Society (BVFS) three years ago, its work really is to develop friendship and understanding between the two peoples. To see what help can be offered in whatever field. There is so much still to be done.

What would you like to say about your last visit, things that you would like to mention?

My last visit in October 95 was interesting like all my other visits. I travelled from Hanoi down to Quang-Tri, the central province whose northern border was the demilitarised zone during the war. That was a zone which spread from border of Lao to the coast of South China. It also included the infamous MacNamara line, fortunately never to be completed, which was an electronic line of mine-fields and anti-personal weapons. This was, according to the Americans, to prevent Vietnamese coming in the South. It was also one of the heavily bombed provinces and in which major battles took place.

Khe-Sanh which was a US base under-seige by the Vietnamese for 70 days and nights, resulted in US B-52 bombers flying in 24 hours a day round the clock from the island of Guam in the Pacific using high explosive anti-personnel and also the chemical "Agent-Orange" was sprayed. The result has left the area of Quang-Tri with an estimated 350 thousand tons of unexploded weapons on the soil. Estimated, by an American professor, three shells for each square meter. So you have an idea of the size of the problem of the Vietnamese in demining.

My main reason for coming to Quang-Tri was to visit again Cam-Lo, the site of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. Here I came on my last visit in April 1994, it was then a site covered with weeds, an incomplete monument and at the entrance of the site the two original stone pillars. 18 months later, I stood in the reception hall of a newly completed building of the PRG, the hall where following the Paris Agreements of



Comrade Len Aldis handing the money he collected for the building of Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, to Mr Nguyen Binh, Deputy Director of Quang Tri Cultural Department.

1973, foreign government representatives had presented their credentials and their support to the newly established government.

It was hastily built. And it had three main buildings. When I was invited to visit it in 1994 by the former ambassador to UK Mr Chau Phong, I was asked if I could help to raise funds to rebuild it. I said I will try and was very pleased to come back in 1995, not only for handing some money towards the re-building but also to see the main building built and completed. They are in the process of building the surrounding area and turning it into gardens of friendship. So some of the money which I handed over would be used for that purpose. When it is finally completed it will become a museum which will show and report the history of struggle of Vietnam and its people to bring about

their own independence and freedom of nearly over a hundred years of being occupied by the French, Japanese, French again and the Americans.

I also visited an ethnic boarding school which has about two hundred pupils from the mountainous areas of Vietnam. They stay there for about four years and they cover many ages from 11 to 15. It could take 4-5 days to reach their villages. And boarding schools are one of the schemes that have been introduced in the last 5-6 years because of the difficulties of getting the teacher to go to these very remote areas. In October 1993 I started the Teachers for Vietnam. This is English teachers to go to Vietnam to teach English. And at the present time, over the past two years about 17 volunteers have gone out to Vietnam.

My return trip back to Hanoi was delayed because of a typhoon in the area. Having spent 2-3 days in Hanoi I then went to the third and last province Thanh-Hoa. There I was able to meet the Provincial vice-chairman, directors of education. Again we visited a hospital which was a marvelous experience for me. Because I was to meet the young children who have had the Harelip operation. Thanh-Hoa has 1.300.000 children under the age of 14 years, 9.700 have a physical defects of which over 1000 have Harelip. Harelip appears in many countries but the higher than normal number of these cases in Vietnam, has been attributed to "Agent Orange".

It was lovely to meet a young four year old lad who the previous day had had his operation and in the arms of his father. It is a hospital with dedicated medical staff. This hospital is supported by Medical and Scientific Aid for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, a British Charity.

I also went to Thanh Hoa to see the sight of the BVFS's latest project and this is the "Forest of Friendship". This is a project to help, in a small way, to restore the forestland of Vietnam. The site chosen for the Forest Project is in the small commune of Quang Phu in the district of Tho Xuan,



The building of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, former head quarters to be used as a museum.



A boy in his fathers arms after a Hare-Lip operation in a general hospital in Thanh Hoa.

Thanh Hoa province. Since the project began, nearly 900 pounds has been donated for trees to be planted.

While I was in Hanoi I met with a Vietnamese friend who now lives in Britain and she has long been a supporter of a school in Hanoi which has amongst its 800 pupils blind children. And there is quite a remarkable story. I was very fortunate to be able to see a few of the blind children. There are 80 in the school. And they have a policy which I thought was quite remarkable that they attend the classes with the other children. In each of the classes there are at least 4 blind children sitting next to an other child and carrying out their work, being educated. It is also remarkable in a sense that they have a gift of music, they have a band, it is always in the top three of the competitions that they enter in solely for blind children. When I met the two young lads, one picked up his musical instrument and began to play. For me it was a very moving experience. They board in the school, they are taught crafts, basket making, music and when they begin coming of the age to leave school they will already have a craft, so they will not just go into the street or go back to their home. The young person will be able to contribute to the life of Vietnam.

It was also good while I was in Vietnam that I was able to meet with the representative of the International Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. I had met him two years ago, in the course of our discussion in October, we exchanged our views on a number of subjects. There has been many questions, discussions raised in various newspapers in Britain regarding the policy of Vietnam. Is it going from socialism to capitalism? We discussed this. It is certainly not going from socialism to capitalism. But they recognise that they live in a world which is capitalist. Therefore they have to use the means necessary and available in order to develop. They see nothing wrong in this. They need capital to invest, to rebuild the industries, the schools, the houses. And therefore countries are willing to come into Vietnam and invest

the money to develop to build the country, these are on joint ventures. Of course the company will benefit but so will the people of Vietnam.

After 120 years of occupation, occupied as a French colony, invaded by the Japanese, then by the French again then the Americans. Its only since 1975 have they had their own freedom and independence. It is important to remember and understand that. Even though the war finished in 1975, Vietnam was placed under worldwide international embargo, which finally ended in January 1994.

Our objective is socialism. And the party is in the forefront for that. We will use the means by which we can develop our country and benefit again. We recognise that we still have many problems which will take a good many years to overcome. But that is our objective, that is where we are going.

It was part of the recognition of the problems that the Party took the decision in 1986 to introduce the policy of reconstruction and renovation. Whereas before the farmers for example sold the produce to the central government, to the provincial government. Now they have been given the right to lease the land and part of that has been allocated for their own production. They sell their own produce at their own prices. The rest of their production they sell to the provincial and central government. This has brought about great changes. That has made Vietnam, previously an importer of rice, now the world's third largest exporter.

Vietnam is a very rich country minerals, oil has been discovered and so has natural gas. And in a couple of years time, they should have completed an oil refinery.

It has the latest technology of communication. Recently the first optical fibre cables under the sea linking Thailand, Hong Kong and Vietnam reached the shores of Vietnam. At the end of December 1995, it was in full operation in Vietnam. So they have the telephone and television communication of fibre-optics in the whole of Vietnam. Electrification is now nearly complete from North to South. It still has to reach a few areas but it is there.

There have been industrial strikes in Vietnam. But this has been mainly as a result of foreign companies introducing their methods of work which is not applicable to the Vietnamese way of work. And so these problems will arise and will be sorted out. There is the General Confederation of Trade Unions who are coming more and more into play in the industrial and economic side. Nearly 3000 grassroot trade union organisations have been established in the non-state economic sector, including 437 in co-operatives, 279 in joint-ventures with foreign countries and nearly 2000 in private enterprises and companies. Their membership amounts to 200,000, i.e. 6% of the total labour force in this sector.

The National Assembly of Vietnam has a very high proportion of women, more so than the British parliament. Women in Vietnam account for 51% of the population and 52% of the labour force. In many sectors, women workers are not the majority. The education system is made up to 70%, light industry has 64%, agriculture and food industry 62% and medical care 60%. In the rural areas, women are the major force in agriculture 78%. Many farmer households led by women have, as a result of their work, increased their incomes and improved their living standards.

Since 1975 there have been great changes in Vietnam and more since 1986. I often quote when the people talk about why it is taking so long? Here in the UK we have a country never been occupied, never been under colonial rule, except since the Roman times, never bombed to the extent of Vietnam was. You double the total number of bombs used in the 2nd World War, double it, double it again and that is the total target dropped in Vietnam by the Americans plus the chemicals. We had Marshall Aid after the war, they had the embargo, only lifted in January 1994. Vietnam still needs our support but still needs our understanding too. Because they have to take steps to meet the situation as it arises in order to develop and advance towards Socialism.

Murderer state



"Mothers, fathers protesting against the 'disappearance' i.e. murder of their young ones..."

In the aftermath of the general elections the Turkish State intensified its premeditated attacks on the progressive and revolutionary forces of Turkey.

In their most recent atrocities the authorities turned their wrath against the political prisoners. A series of events started with the massacre at Buca Prison on 21st September 1995 of three cadres of the revolutionary progressive forces. One hundred others were also injured following an unprovoked attack on the political prisoners who were protesting against the inhuman conditions in the prison.

This event ignited a series of protest actions in many other prisons across the country. Many political prisoners went on hunger strike lasting 50 days. At the end of this hunger strike 5 political prisoners died.

Meanwhile, on 13th December 1995, the security forces waged yet another premeditated attack against the political prisoners at Umraniye E-type prison in Istanbul who were protesting against the abolition of visiting rights.

On 24th December 1995 the people of Turkey were hurriedly forced into a general election under extremely undemocratic circumstances. The elections failed to bring about a government for months. In the void created by the government crisis, the fascist security forces of the Turkish state literally went on the rampage against the most "undesirable" elements of the Turkish political scene.

Umraniye E-type prison again fell victim to the savage onslaught of the fascist forces on 4th January 1996. Four cadres of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front were murdered and 40 political prisoners were injured.

Following this attack, political prisoners in Istanbul Bayrampasa, Bartin, Ceyhan, Yozgat, Iskenderun started building barricades and activities started. The hearts of the toiling masses were beating with the political prisoners heroic struggle. Istanbul was in chaos shortly afterwards. News was coming from everywhere of protest actions across the country. On the other hand police was indiscriminately arresting protesters.

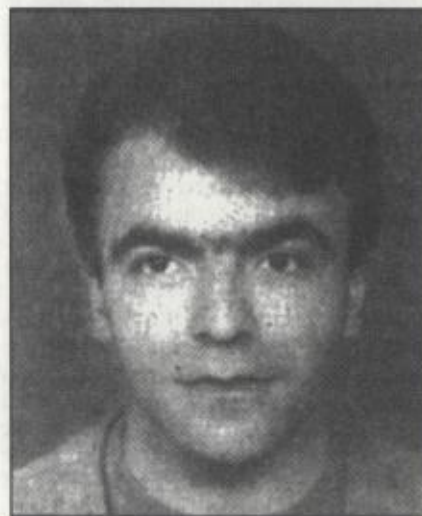
Turkish journalist dies in jail

In the heat of these events, left-wing newspaper *Evrensel's* reporter Metin Goktepe was tortured and killed in police custody. Police had singled out and arrested Mr Goktepe at the funeral of the Umraniye victims despite the fact that he had shown his press card.

According to eye witnesses, he was beaten and taken to the basement of the sports centre which was acting as a makeshift detention centre. Other detainees heard his cries.

Thousands subsequently marched for six hours to protest against his murder by the police, chanting slogans and joined the funeral cortege.

The defiant manner in which police first denied that Goktepe had even been arrested and their subsequent admission to his death



in custody caused abhorrence even among some bourgeois circles and the caretaker government was forced to launch an enquiry into the events that led to Goktepe's death.

These events proved once more that the political prisoners in Turkey are very closely linked with the toiling masses. Even the generals of the 12th September 1980 military coup could not cope with the burning fire in the hearts of these political prisoners. And they never will.

**Villagers in Sivas has been forced to abandon their homes
by state's economic and physical terror**

State Terror in Sivas

*"... It is a problem of oppressors and oppressed.
Alevites are progressive-minded people harbouring left wing ideals and
that is precisely why they are oppressed."*

Sivas is a city in the middle of Anatolia and historically it has always been on the agenda with its political and social contradictions. This city has been the birth place of folk singers, revolutionaries and progressives for many centuries. The Alevites constituted the majority of the population until the 1980's. The notorious massacre in Sivas happened in 1979. Corum and the region around these cities experienced the most savage fascist attacks just before the 1980 military fascist coup. During the following years the indigenous population was continuously forced to leave their homes.

Sivas was also the arena where 37 folk singers and intellectuals were burnt to death in July 1993 by fundamentalists.

Following the years of attacks, oppression and forced migration the progressive population in Sivas crumbled to pieces and the Ali Baba district of the city was the only relatively safe haven left for them. But across the country, Divrigi, Ulas, Zara and Imranli managed to stay

on their feet. For the past two years these Alevite villages have been chosen as a target for the "fight against terrorism".

The following is a typical example of how the authorities pursue their goals in intimidating the people to flee the area. In an arable field of Dazlak belonging to Agilcik Village one night two families were paid a visit by a group calling themselves revolutionaries. They forced the families to give them some food. Exactly the same thing happened on the following night. On the third night these families were taken into police custody and tortured by the same group of so called "revolutionaries". During their interrogation the family members were asked if they were Kurdish. They were then asked if they were Alevites. As soon as it was established that they were Alevites the tortures and insults intensified. They were forced to lie on a concrete floor continuously for eight whole days.

One of the village elders says: "When I

told the story every one thought that I was exaggerating. You go around and see the state of the villagers yourself. I would like to make one point clear: The problem is not an Alevite-Sunni problem. You cannot see even a single family conflict between Alevites and Sunnis in this region. It is a problem of oppressors and the oppressed. This is all because the Alevites are progressive minded people who always side with the downtrodden and the oppressed and that is the reason why they are singled out by the oppressors."

Through the efforts and activities of Alevite organisations this displaced population who fled to big cities in Turkey and European countries have been voicing their grievances. They organised visits by international delegations to these areas followed by widescale reporting of their plight. Now Alevite organisations are trying to bring the constant violations of human rights on to the agenda of the European Union.



Turkey is faced with a dilemma

The crisis is permanent in Turkey. The only two alternatives to the current impasse that still remain are revolution or counter-revolution as vindicated once more by the results of the parliamentary elections held in December 1995.

The one and only real force which can confront the Welfare Party can only be the revolutionary front of Turkey's toiling peoples'.

Revolutionaries and the working class have an opportunity to change the course of events. Then the destiny of Turkey will be change.



The elections of 24th December 1995, have shown that the citizens of Turkey did not have any inclination to give mandate to any of the parties. The results of the early elections, left the bourgeois parties with disappointment. They were disappointed because despite the innumerable tricks played on the Kurdish people and younger population, by not reorganising the electoral register, and by not conducting a new population census, none of them got popular support from the electorate.

The Nationalist Movement Party did not get what it wanted from the elections and was unable to cross 10% barrier to obtain parliamentary seats.

The pro-Islamic Welfare Party came out of the elections as the victorious party but was far short of the number of MPs required to form a cabinet. On the other hand, the formation of a government by

the Welfare Party, is not favoured by the bourgeoisie who is well on course towards imperialisation. Because of "ambitions of seats" two months went by to reach an agreement between the True Path Party and Motherland Party which was the preferred party of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The coalition parties lack an absolute majority in the assembly and have had to rely on one or both of the two social-democratic parties to get a vote of confidence.

The Republican People's Party must have been fearing the worse as they did not seem to be worried by the results at all. Once the dust settles, and if it does settle the demarcation between monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie will resume again and the struggle among themselves will again be on the agenda.

Despite the tricks, the Kurdish voters have shown the tendency of identifying

with their own representatives. On the other hand, the votes of the left and progressive electorate were not reflected as a whole anywhere. Turkish workers and toiling people are searching for their party.

The crisis is permanent in Turkey. The only two alternatives to the current impasse still remain as revolution or counter-revolution as vindicated once more by the results of the parliamentary elections held in December 1995. The one and only real force which can confront the Welfare Party can only be the revolutionary front of Turkey's toiling peoples'. Revolutionaries and the working class have an opportunity to change the course of events. Then the destiny of Turkey will be change.

The elections did not change anything. Fascism or revolution. These two alternatives are staring us in the face.