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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE



PROGRAM

**Accepted by the Fourth Grand Congress
of the Party**

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May, 1935

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ANKARA - TURKEY

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INTRODUCTION

The fundamental ideas that constitute the basis of the Program of the Republican Party of the People are evident in the acts and realizations which have taken place from the beginning of our Revolution until today.

On the other hand, the main ideas have been formulated in the general principles of the Statutes of the Party, adopted also by the Grand Congress of the Party in 1927, as well as in the Declaration published on the occasion of the elections to the Grand National Assembly in 1931.

The main lines of our intentions, not only for a few years, but for the future as well, are here put together in a compact form. All of these principles which are the fundamentals of the Party constitute Kamâlistism.

PART I

PRINCIPLES

- 1.— The Fatherland.
- 2.— The Nation.
- 3.— The Constitution of the State.
- 4.— The Public Rights.

1.— **The Fatherland.** The Fatherland is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish Nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history, and with its past glories still living in the depths of its soil.

The Fatherland is a Unity which does not accept separation under any circumstance.

2.— **The Nation.** The Nation is the political Unit composed of citizens bound together with the bonds of language, culture and ideal.

3.— **Constitutional Organization of the State.**

Turkey is a nationalist, populist, *étatiste*, secular, (laïque) and revolutionary Republic.

The form of administration of the Turkish nation is based on the principle of the unity of power. There is only one Sovereignty, and it belongs to the nation without restriction or condition.

The Grand National Assembly exercises the right of sovereignty in the name of the nation. The legislative authority and the executive power are embodied in the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly exercises its legislative power itself. It leaves its executive authority to the President of the Republic, elected from among its members, and to the Council of Ministers appointed by him. The courts in Turkey are independent.

The Party is convinced that this is the most suitable of all State organizations.

4.— **Public Rights.**

a) It is one of the important principles of our Party to safeguard the individual and social rights of liberty, of equality, of inviolability, and of property. These rights are within the bounds of the State's authority. The activity of the individuals and of legal persons shall not be in contradiction with the interests of the public. Laws are made in accordance with this principle.

b) The Party does not make any distinction between men and women in giving rights and duties to citizens.

c) The Law on the election of deputies shall be renewed. We find it more suitable to the real requirements of demo-

racy to leave the citizen free to elect electors whom he knows well and trusts, in accordance with the general conditions of our country. The election of the deputies shall take place in this manner.

PART II

THE ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

5.— The Republican Party of the People is :

- a)* Republican *b)* Nationalist *c)* Populist
- d)* Etatiste *e)* Secular *f)* Revolutionary

a) The Party is convinced that the Republic is the form of government which represents and realizes most safely the ideal of national sovereignty. With this unshakable conviction, the Party defends, with all its means, the Republic against all danger

b) The Party considers it essential to preserve the special character and the entirely independent identity of the Turkish social community in the sense explained in Art. 2. The Party follows, in the meantime, a way parallel to and in harmony with all the modern nations in the way of progress and development, and in international contacts and relations.

c) The source of Will and Sovereignty is the Nation. The Party considers it an important principle that this Will and Sovereignty be used to regulate the proper fulfilment of the mutual duties of the citizen to the State and of the State to the citizen.

We consider the individuals who accept an absolute equality before the Law, and who recognize no privileges

for any individual, family, class, or community, to be of the people and for the people (populist).

It is one of our main principles to consider the people of the Turkish Republic, not as composed of different classes, but as a community divided into various professions according to the requirements of the division of labour for the individual and social life of the Turkish people.

The farmers, handicraftsmen, labourers and workmen, people exercising free professions, industrialists, merchants, and public servants are the main groups of work constituting the Turkish community. The functioning of each of these groups is essential to the life and happiness of the others and of the community.

The aims of our Party, with this principle, are to secure social order and solidarity instead of class conflict, and to establish harmony of interests. The benefits are to be proportionate to the aptitude and to the amount of work.

d) Although considering private work and activity a basic idea, it is one of our main principles to interest the State actively in matters where the general and vital interests of the nation are in question, especially in the economic field, in order to lead the nation and the country to prosperity in as short a time as possible.

The interest of the State in economic matters is to be an actual builder, as well as to encourage private enterprises, and also to regulate and control the work that is being done.

The determination of the economic matters to be undertaken by the State depends upon the requirements of the greatest public interest of the nation. If the enterprise, which the State itself decides to undertake actively as a result of this necessity, is in the hands of private entrepreneurs, its appropriation shall, each time, depend upon the enactment of

a law, which will indicate the way in which the State shall indemnify the loss sustained by the private enterprise as a result of this appropriation. In the estimation of the loss the possibility of future earnings shall not be taken into consideration.

e) The Party considers it a principle to have the laws, regulations, and methods in the administration of the State prepared and applied in conformity with the needs of the world and on the basis of the fundamentals and methods provided for modern civilization by Science and Technique.

As the conception of religion is a matter of conscience, the Party considers it to be one of the chief factors of the success of our nation in contemporary progress, to separate ideas of religion from politics, and from the affairs of the world and of the State.

f) The Party does not consider itself bound by progressive and evolutionary principles in finding measures in the State administration. The Party holds it essential to remain faithful to the principles born of revolutions which our nation has made with great sacrifices, and to defend these principles which have since been elaborated.

PART III

ECONOMY

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, MINES, FORESTS, COMMERCE AND PUBLIC WORKS

6.— Liquid capital is important in Economy. The only source of normal capital is national work and saving. Therefore, the essential principle of our Party is to increase work, and to instill the idea of saving in the individual, the family, and in general, in State, local, and national administrations.

7.— The problems of credit shall be looked after with the importance proportionate to the needs. The cheapness and ease of interest and discount in credit transactions is our main desire.

a) The Party attaches great importance to the security of credit in the country. We are convinced that this can only be achieved by giving preference to real and strong guaranties. We are also convinced that this is the only means of limiting the desire to use credit in business to real business men.

b) It is right to provide for the seasonal credit needs of small farmers by means of agricultural credit cooperatives, and the yearly credit needs of farm owners by means of mortgage credit.

c) The methods of granting credit against crops, live stock, agricultural implements, and machinery shall be systematized.

d) It shall be provided that the day of payment of farm credits be postponed until after such time when the crop can be sold to the best advantage, without pressure on the part of the buyers.

e) The credit needs of miners, industrialists, handicraftsmen, small traders, fishers, and sponge fishers shall be provided for.

f) The methods of providing credit for industrialists, and against machinery and implements for sea products shall be systematized.

g) Our Party considers it an important principle to enable citizens to become home owners. It attaches great importance to widening the basis of real estate credit, which at present is narrow, and favours devoting for the moment that part of the resources of the Real Estate Bank reserved for new constructions to the building of dwellings. The Real Estate Bank can not grant credit for new buildings to be constructed for the purpose of acquiring revenue. Credit can be granted against existing buildings on condition that the proceeds are

not devoted to the construction of buildings for rent. In this way the use of the existing capital, for the purpose in question is generalized. On the other hand, we consider necessary the establishment and existence of a Real Estate Credit Organization on the model of *Crédit Foncier* as soon as possible.

8.— It is one of the principles of our Party to fight Usury.

9.— The problems of insurance shall receive our attention proportionate to their importance.

10.— Our Party considers the encouragement of cooperative undertakings as one of its main principles. We think it important to establish and increase the number of credit and sales cooperatives which will benefit the agricultural producers with the real value of their products. The *Agricultural Bank of Turkey* is the Mother Bank of agricultural cooperatives.

11.— It is our aim to render the *Agricultural Bank* more useful especially to the economy of the peasant and farmer, and to see that it is owned in such a way as to secure its control on a legal basis.

12.— It is our obligation to regulate our balance of payments, and to keep our foreign trade in balance.

Our principle in foreign trade and commercial agreements is to buy the products of those who buy our products.

13.— The small and the large industries shall enjoy protection in harmony with the interests of the producers of raw materials.

14.— Every economic enterprise shall harmonize with united national work as well as with the general interest. This harmony is also the principle in the union of work between the employer and worker.

With the Labour Law the mutual relations of workers and employers shall be regulated. Labour conflicts shall be dealt with by means of conciliation, and where this is impossible,

through the arbitration of Reconciliation Agencies to be set up by the State. Strikes and lock-outs shall be prohibited.

We are interested in the life and rights of the national-ist Turkish workers within the framework of these principles. The Labour Laws to be promulgated shall conform to these principles.

15. — The industries which the State or individuals shall establish for the *industrialization of the country shall conform* to a general program. The items of the State program shall follow one another in such a way as to render the country an industrial unit.

The industrial undertakings shall not be concentrated in certain parts of the country, but shall, instead, be spread all over the country, taking into consideration the economic factors.

In order to prevent conflict of interest between producers and consumers of industrial products, the State shall organize price control. Apart from this, financial and technical control shall be established for the State factories.

The financial control of establishments, the majority or totality of whose capital belongs to the State, shall be organized in such a way as to conform to their commercial character. We shall emphasize the rationalization of work.

Trusts or Cartels which establish unity of price against the consumers shall not be allowed. Those undertaken for the purpose of rationalization are excepted.

16. — All kinds of commercial activity are useful in the development of the Country. The owners of capital who work normally and on a technical basis shall be encouraged and protected.

17. — We consider exportation one of the important national activities and the regulation of foreign trade one of our main economic duties. We shall render fruitful the activities of those engaged in commerce. We shall be closely inter-

ested in facilitating the sale of our national products and manufactured articles, in safeguarding their reputation, in insuring their export, and in measures to be taken for their standardization. We desire to let our foreign trade function in accordance with an exportation policy which conforms to the necessities and requirements of different markets. We also want to strengthen our foreign trade with State aid. We shall have organizations which will furnish those engaged in the export trade with information they need to succeed in their work.

18.— We consider it a good policy to create, when necessary, free zones which will benefit the State in foreign trade transits.

19.— We shall always consider carefully the port, dock, quay, and loading and unloading tariffs which shall be made to conform to the requirements of national economy.

20.— We shall attach importance to fishing and sponge fishing. The development of the fishing industry, as well as the improvement of the present system of dealing in fish, which is against the benefit of both producers and consumers, is necessary.

21.— We shall encourage the canning industry.

22.— We consider the tourist trade (tourisme) a means of making Turkey known and liked abroad, and a means of benefiting Turkish economy.

23.— In our economic considerations we shall consider a general principle the rule of absolute usefulness and profitability from the economic point of view in all affairs of State relating to any ministry or authority. We consider it important to improve, in time, old laws and methods on this point.

Our Party, besides attaching this importance to economic matters, considers Economics one of the important branches of State affairs, each of which has a special importance for us.

24.— We shall endeavour to develop and regulate transportation by land, sea, and air. We consider it one of the economic needs of the country to bring about a harmony in the exploitation and tariffs of these three kinds of transportation so that they may benefit the country to their full extent.

We shall further the State Navigation Administration according to an extensive program. In this connection, we attach importance to freight shipping.

25.— Extensive water schemes which will serve our economic purpose are our ideal. To complete our small water schemes is one of our first aims.

26.— Our public works shall follow a practical and productive program in all its branches. Among these, we shall continue the railway construction work, which is a means of bringing prosperity and strength to the country.

We shall consider the necessity of beginning the construction of ports at convenient times.

Work shall continue on *Vilayet* (*) roads and on a practical program to provide the country with bridges and a net of roads built with modern technique, and connecting the different parts of the country.

In building roads, economic considerations shall be given importance, and they shall be constructed perpendicular to the railway lines in order to feed them with traffic. Considerations of national defence and security shall also be taken into account in their construction.

27.— We shall organize matters relating to the post, telegraph, telephone, and wireless in such a way as to render them technically perfect, and corresponding to the needs of the

(*) Administrative division corresponding to a county or French Province.

country. We shall constantly increase the telephone connections between the cities.

28.— The following matters shall be considered:

Not to let the price of wheat, which is first in quantity and value among our agricultural products, fall below its worth.

To widen and strengthen the measures to counteract the changes that may take place to the disadvantage of producers and consumers.

To this end, we shall continue the work of constructing grain elevators and warehouses, already begun. It is a duty to keep sufficient grain stocks to suffice in case of national defence or unexpected drought.

29.— We attach great importance to reducing our agricultural products and our fruits to types suitable for exportation, and to producing the quantity of raw materials needed for our home industry. To this end, we shall work intensively on the improvement of seeds, tree nurseries, and tree grafting.

30.— The advancement of the agricultural industry is one of our main tasks.

31.— In order to protect the work of producers we shall fight the diseases and enemies of plants and animals.

32.— To exploit and to render valuable our underground wealth, our water power, and our forests shall be a special part of our work. We consider the electrification of the whole country one of the main items in the progress of the Turkish Fatherland. We shall continue our researches in order to determine the real value and extent of our wealth in this category. It is our aim to found a financial establishment to take care of these enterprises. These undertakings are the main fields of application of the *étatiste* qualification of our Party.

33.— We shall endeavour to encourage, ameliorate, and increase the breeding and rearing of live stock, and to advance the live stock industry.

34.— It is one of the principal aims of our Party to render each Turkish farmer owner of sufficient land. It is necessary to enact special laws of appropriation in order to distribute land to farmers owning no land.

35.— The geographic situation of our country and the standard of civilization and the duty of our nation require that our citizens consider sea mindedness important from the points of view of sport, health, defence and general economy. The Party believes in the necessity of considering this in all national and governmental affairs.

PART IV

FINANCE

36.— The principal idea of finance in our Party is a budget based on continued and real balance. We consider regular payments important for the Treasury, and a principle in the tax payments of the citizens.

37.— It is our aim to place the imposition of taxes on an indirect and net revenue basis. Our efforts shall continue, in the meantime, to better our fiscal laws with the view of rendering them practical and applicable without disregarding the capacity of the nation for payment.

38.— It is one of the matters which we consider important, to try and to put our customs tariffs and formalities on a basis more in harmony with the economic interests of the nation.

39.— We consider suppression of smuggling a means of protecting the rights and authority of the Turkish Treasury.

40.— The State Monopolies constitute a source of revenue to the State Treasury, and serve the national economy by protecting the value of the products which enter their field of activity.

PART V

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

41.— Our main principles for national education and instruction are as follows:

a) The corner stone of our cultural policy is the suppression of ignorance. In the field of public instruction a policy of teaching and training more children and citizens every day shall be followed.

b) The training of strongly republican, nationalist, populist, *étatiste*, and secular citizens must be fostered in every stage of education.

To respect, and make others respect the Turkish nation, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and the Turkish State must be taught as a duty to which every one must be very sensitive.

c) It is our great desire to attach importance to intellectual as well as physical development, and especially to elevate the character to the high level inspired by our great national history.

d) The method followed in education and instruction is to render Learning an instrument in the hands of citizens for guaranteeing success in material life.

e) Education must be high, national, patriotic, and far from all sorts of superstition and foreign ideas.

f) We are convinced that it is important to treat the students in all institutions of education and instruction tactfully, in order not to hinder their capacity for enterprise. On the other hand, it is important to accustom them to serious discipline and order, and to a sincere conception of morals, in order to prevent their being faulty in life.

g) Our Party lays an extraordinary importance upon the citizens' knowing our great history. This learning is the sacred essence that nourishes the indestructible resistance of the Turk against all currents that may prejudice the national existence, his capacity and power, and his sentiments of self confidence.

h) We shall continue our serious work in rendering the Turkish language a perfect and ordered national language.

42. — Our main ideas about the schools are the following:

a) The normal primary education consists of five years. The number of primary schools in cities, villages, or groups of villages shall be increased according to a regular program of application, and according to the needs. In the village schools ideas on hygiene, better living, agriculture and industry that have a bearing upon the region in question shall be taught.

b) Village schools of three or four terms shall be opened to give the village children, in a short time, the essential learning required in practical life. A plan shall be made to establish such schools and to increase their number.

These schools shall be of a separate type from those which propose to prepare the children for higher education. It is necessary to begin the education in these village schools at a maturer age, to continue it without interruption, and to have it controlled by the State in the same manner as the military service duty.

c) The professional and trade schools, as well as the night trade schools, shall be increased to cope with the needs of the country, and necessary new courses shall be instituted.

d) We are convinced of the necessity of having secondary schools in the capitals of *Vilayets* and in the regions of *kazas* (*) wherever it is necessary, following the principle of spreading secondary education throughout the country. We shall endeavour to create organizations to provide boarding facilities which shall enable the children of the country to benefit from these schools in peace and security.

e) We shall strengthen and complete our Lycées in every way, so that they may prepare students fully qualified for higher education.

f) The University and our schools for higher education shall be brought to a state of perfection where they can give the results expected of them. We are thinking of increasing the number of Universities.

43.— Boarding facilities of a practical nature for the ordinary primary schools for the children of several thinly populated villages, as well as for the special type village schools, shall be established and protected.

44.— The fine arts, and especially music, shall be given an importance in accordance with the high expression of our Revolution.

45.— Importance shall be attached to collecting historical objects in order to enrich our Museums. For this purpose, we shall undertake excavations, classify the works of antiquity, and preserve them where they stand, if necessary.

46.— Matters in connection with books, publications and libraries are important for the Party. We want to establish and increase the number of libraries in cities and villages.

(*) Administrative division (subdivision of Vilayet)

47.— Our Public Instruction policy shall be organized after a plan taking into consideration the present and future requirements of education. After this plan, all the degrees of education, shall be reformed according to the needs of professions and trades.

48.— We consider it important to give the masses a continuous adult education, outside the classical school education, in harmony with the advancement of new Turkey. The State shall protect with all possible means the People's Houses (*) which are working to this end.

49.— The Party shall found a Museum of the Revolution. We consider this an effective means of instilling the revolutionary culture in the people.

50.— The Turkish youth shall be organized in a national organization so as to bring them together in clean ethics and a high love of Fatherland and Revolution. They shall be given a physical education that will foster their joy, health, and their belief in themselves and in the nation. The youth shall be brought up with the conviction of considering the defence of the Revolution and of the Fatherland with all its requisites of independence, the highest duty of youth. They shall be taught to be ready to sacrifice everything in order to fulfil this duty.

In order that this fundamental education shall attain its full results, high qualities requisite for success, such as thinking, making decisions and taking the initiative shall be developed in the Turkish youth. In the meantime, they shall be required to work under strict discipline, which is the sole means of accomplishing every difficult task.

The sports organizations in Turkey shall be established and furthered in accordance with these principles. The con-

(*) People's Houses (Halkevi) are the cultural centres of the Republican Party of the People.

nection and cooperation of the ideals of the new youth organization with the University, the Schools and Institutes, People's Houses, the factories and establishments employing a number of workers together, shall be organized.

Uniformity in physical and revolutionary education, as well as in matters relating to sports in the country, shall be considered.

It shall be made obligatory for everybody in schools, government institutions, in private establishments, and factories to take part in physical education according to their age. The sport fields and organizations necessary for physical education shall be established. In securing the sport fields, the municipalities and local administrations shall be led to take a special interest.

51.— The Party considers the radio to be one of the most valuable instruments for the political and cultural education of the nation. We shall erect powerful broadcasting stations, and shall provide for the easy purchase of cheap receiving sets. We shall consider it our task to render the moving pictures in the country useful to the nation.

52.— The national opera and the national theatre are among our important tasks.

PART VI

SOCIAL LIFE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

53.— The conservation of the institution of family is essential in Turkish social life.

54.— The increase of our population and the bringing up of a strong and healthy future generation are among tasks which we must always take into important consideration.

55.— We shall work under a definite program, and with scientific methods, to improve the hygienic conditions and drinking water supplies of our cities, towns, and villages; to improve the housing conditions in our villages, and to increase the hygienic knowledge of our villagers.

56.— The Party is deeply interested in the life of children and in the health of their mothers. To this end, we shall continue to work according to the following main lines:

a) To increase the number of maternity homes, to open maternity wards in State hospitals, to provide gratuitous maternity help, and to use every means of persuasion imparting advice in child care, as well as to increase the number of scientifically trained midwives and visiting nurses.

b) To increase the number of baby homes, examination and consultation centres for babies, day nurseries and homes for orphans in cities and towns.

c) To protect the working mothers and their children in the workmen's districts.

57.— The orphans, needy old people, and invalids are under the protection and tutelage of the nation.

58.— We shall endeavour to provide the social and hygienic needs of workers and their families. We shall especially continue to open day nurseries in workmen's districts for women who have to earn their living.

59.— Matters relating to public hygiene have a special importance for our Party. Work in this connection shall be widened continuously and in proportion to general needs.

60.— We shall continue the fight against contagious diseases such as Malaria, Syphilis, and Trachoma.

PART VII

INTERIOR, JUDICIAL, AND FOREIGN POLICY, PUBLIC SERVANTS, PEOPLE ENGAGED IN FREE PROFESSIONS.

61.—The basis of our work is to establish and provide for the functioning of a government al authority. This authority must be unshakable before any event or influence, and shall protect all the results of the Revolution, the full security of the citizens, and national order and discipline, by means of its internal and judicial organization and its laws.

62.— Among the tasks of applying our principle to increase our population, we shall provide all help and facility to Turks who may come from outside the country.

63.— We shall elaborate and complete the law on the organization of the courts of justice, in a manner most suitable to the needs of the public and to the interests of the country.

We shall widen the scope of the simple, rapid and practical judicial procedure which offers security.

We shall take measures to guarantee rapidly and easily the desired results in matters relating to judicial execution and notification.

We shall endeavour to separate the prisoners from the people under arrest, and to turn the prisons into reformatories.

64.— Peace in the country and peace in the world is one of our main principles.

65.— The public servants who devote their life to their duty with all their attention and care, always considering the high interests of the nation, are worthy of all peace and prosperity.

66.— No association shall be founded in Turkey with the purpose of propagating ideas of class distinction, or of class conflict. Those who receive salary or pay for their services from the State, local administrations, municipalities, or

establishments attached to the State, can not use the identity of their position in order to found associations, in the quality and identity of the office they hold.

67.— Organizations carrying the name of Students' Associations can, in no way, engage in politics, nor can they, in any way, engage in activity against the administration of the School, Faculty or Institute to which they belong.

68.— We shall make a point of organizing the Turkish workers and members of different trades within the main existence of the nation, and in such a way as to render them useful and invigorating to it, in accordance with the attitude outlined in the Party Program.

69.— Associations with internationalist intentions shall not be founded, and it shall be forbidden to found associations with their centre outside the country. The decision of the Council of Ministers is necessary to found associations to create unity among nations that shall be deemed by the State to be of use, or to open branches of such associations already in existence.

70.— The services of people exercising free professions useful and necessary for the national Turkish existence are appreciated by the Party. It is our duty to keep their field of activity open and secure, in order that they may reap the benefits of their capacity and effort.

71.— We consider the village important from every point of view in the life of new Turkey. The health and happiness of the peasants, their understanding of the revolution and of culture, and their force in the economic field, are to be considered important from the point of view of our available working forces.

PART VIII

DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND

72.— The defence of the Fatherland is the most sacred of national duties. All the living and inanimate resources of the country shall be used to this end in case of necessity. The Party has accepted the principle of applying obligatory military service equally to all citizens. The Turkish army is above all political considerations and influences. We consider it important that the army possess the power to fulfil successfully, at every moment, the high duty confided in it, and that it be equipped with means in conformity with modern advancement.

73.— We especially take care that the army of the Republic, which is the unshakable foundation of the high State organization, and which protects and guards the national ideal, the national existence, and the Revolution, as well as its valuable members, be always honoured and respected.



