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OECD Economic Survey Turkey 1972

INTRODUCTION

Hopes of a return to more stable economic conditions and of a favourable swing in Turkey's balance of payments following the devaluation of the Turkish lira in August 1970 accompanied by a domestic stabilization programme have been only partly fulfilled. Prices have been rising at a rate not seen in Turkey since the inflation of the 1950s and the rise shows no signs of flagging. Contributory factors behind price increases have been essentially domestic in origin—a growing budget deficit and notably higher payments to farmers in respect of a bumper cereal harvest purchased at a higher level of guaranteed prices. Additional factors were the impact on prices of higher cost of imported goods as a result of the devaluation, and the increase of consumer spending power from rising remittances of earnings by Turkish workers abroad.

The devaluation has contributed little to an improvement of the trade balance so far due probably to structural rigidities on the supply side in a mainly agricultural economy. But the relatively slow growth of exports was due also in part to the introduction of controls which led to a temporary slowing down of sales abroad in the first half of 1971 in particular of cotton. By contrast, receipts from workers abroad, especially in Germany, of remittances sent home to their families in Turkey doubled to reach \$ 468 million in 1971 and thus took on even greater importance as a source of

foreign currency.

Growth of GNP in real terms, which was below the Plan target in 1970, showed a remarkable recovery in 1971, thanks mainly to a record harvest, following favourable weather conditions. By contrast, expansion of industrial production—though more rapid than in 1970 when import shortages were acute—was not as strong as had been hoped for. Investment activity in the public sector was at a low ebb as available budget funds were increasingly pre-empted for payment of salaries and wages. Indications are that activity in private industry is now picking up and the budget for 1972 now before Parliament foresees a big push in public investment expenditure. The extent to which this latter aim can be met will depend upon the priorities assigned to stopping inflation and to balancing the budget.

Part I of the report discusses economic trends since the August 1970 devaluation and prospects for 1972. Part II examines the main problem

areas for economic policy.

I ECONOMIC TRENDS

(a) Supply and use of resources

In terms of plan achievement 1970 had been an unsatisfactory year for Turkey. GNP (at constant prices) was officially estimated to have risen by 5.5 per cent and thus failed to achieve the target rate of 7 per cent postulated by the Second Five Year Plan. By contrast, economic developments in 1971 were more favourable and provisional official estimates put

the growth of GNP at 9 per cent or slightly better (Table 1).

The low rate of growth in 1970 was due both to a stagnation of agricultural output and a slowing down of the rate of industrial expansion, which fell to only 2.5 per cent compared with an average of over 10 per cent in the preceding four years. The net contribution of external resources, measured by the current account deficit of the balance of payments, remained more or less constant so that overall expenditure increased at approximately the same rate as GNP. Whilst public consumption increased somewhat faster and private consumption slightly less than the overall rate of growth, public gross fixed investment increased by only 3.4 per cent. The rate of private fixed capital formation which had been quite high in recent years also fell and attained only 8.7 per cent.

The situation in 1971 was characterised by a substantial recovery in the growth of agricultural output. Due to favourable weather conditions the increase of production is reported to have been nearly 10 per cent. Likewise there appears to have been an improvement in the rate of growth of industry which is provisionally put at 9 per cent; this, however, was still substantially less than the target rate of 12 per cent set by the 1971 Annual Programme. Growth in the building sector was also lower than foreseen. There was a substantial increase in the trade deficit but this was more than compensated by a higher level of remittances from emigrant workers so that the current account deficit of the balance of payments, and hence the net contribution of external resources, was slightly lower. Hence domestic

expenditure rose somewhat less than GNP.

Most of the increase in real resources in 1971 appears to have been allocated to consumption and the reconstitution of stocks. Thus, consumption expenditures in the public sector are reported to have increased by onesixth in volume and consumer spending in real terms to have been at least 8 per cent higher. By contrast, public fixed capital formation fell slightly below last year's already insufficient level; private fixed investment rose again by between 8 and 9 per cent, whereas total stocks increased by approximately one-third.

Agriculture

In 1970 once again agriculture failed to reach the planned output targets. Unfavourable weather conditions on the Anatolian Plateau affected the cereal harvest which fell considerably short of requirements and necessitated emergency imports of some 800 000 tons of wheat, in addition to 650 000

			7				1971	1
	1970 TL billion	1966	1961	1968	1969	1970	Annual Progr.	Estim. Actual
	1300 pines		Percer	Percentage volume change from previous year	e change fro	om previous	year	0
Output:								
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	26.7	11.4	6.0	1.9	0.1	1.4	4.1	9.5
Industry	17.6	10.6	12.3	10.0	9.4	2.5	12.0	8.7
Construction	5.7	12.8	7.0	10.3	8.8	5.3	7.3	2.0
Transport and communications	6.2	7.5	7.0	8.0	8.8	6.5	7.2	7.9
Housing	3.4	8.5	0.6	9.2	9.1	7.2	7.2	7.1
Commerce	8.9	8.7	8.0	8.3	7.4	8.9	5.9	8.0
Other	17.4	10.9	5.3	9.8	9.8	5.5	36.0	8.8
Domestic income (at factor cost)	86.2	10.7	5.7	9.9	5.8	4.3		7.9
	102.4	10.3	6.1	6.7	6.3	5.5	7.0	9.2
Expenditure on GNP (at market prices)								
Public consumption	12.9	17.4	8.9	9.8	10.3	6.5	36.7	16.6
Public gross fixed investment	9.01	19.7	9.6	1.61	9.1	3.4	10.3	6.0
Private gross fixed investment	9.5	22.2	10.7	11.4	13.7	8.7	8.1	8.2
Stock Changes	6.0	1	1	0.0	-51.3	-3.4	-14.3	30.1
Private consumption	70.4	4.3	4.2	5.8	5.7	5.2	2.5	8.5
Total expenditure	104.3	11.2	5.5	7.5	6.1	5.4	7.0	9.8
Less:				***	***	***	:	*000
-	1.9	1.8*	1.2*	7.7.	2.0	2.0-	1.0.1	0.98
Gross National Product (at market prices)	102.4	10.3	6.1	0.7	6.3	2.5	0.7	7.6

Organisation, Ankara.

tons imported in 1969. Other main crops during the 1970-71 season showed different trends. Cotton, tobacco and dried fig production stayed at the 1969 level, whilst sugar beet, hazelnuts, sultanas and citrus fruit output were reported to have been significantly higher than last year.

The olive harvest—following the customary two-year cycle—was more than twice as high as in 1969, yielding approximately 700 000 tons. Whilst tobacco stocks still remained high and represented two years' production, output appears to have stabilized at a level more in line with demand, as the result of official policy to restrict cultivation of this crop. Previously excessive sugar stocks have been reduced and production of sugar beet is

expanding in line with increasing home demand for sugar.

Preliminary results indicate that agricultural output in 1971 has been considerably higher than last year, most likely by 9 to 10 per cent. This is due in the first instance to a record wheat harvest which has probably reached 13 million tons. For the first time in fifteen years Turkey will be able to export cereals in larger quantities which should help to improve the trade balance. This year's excellent cereal harvest is mainly due to favourable weather which brought sufficient rainfall at the right time to the dry farming regions. Nevertheless, part of the improvement may also be due to a wider application of hybrid seeds with which Turkey has been experimenting in recent years.

Cotton and sultana production are expected to reach the previous year's level, whilst the hazelnut and olive harvest will probably be considerably lower. But stocks of the main export products are generally high and should

not be a restrictive factor in higher sales abroad in 1972.

Farmers have profited substantially from last year's devaluation of the Turkish lira when floor prices for most products were raised by about 30 per cent. In 1971 there was a further increase of government support prices averaging 15-20 per cent which, on top of a bumper harvest, swelled incomes of producers considerably, and more than would have been desirable from the point of view of returning to relatively stable prices. The official exchange rate for major agricultural exports was raised from TL 12 = \$ 1 to TL 13 = \$ 1 against an effective TL 15 = \$ 1 for other transactions at the time.

Industry

The reduction in the growth rate for industrial production was the result of several factors at play both before the introduction of the economic stabilization programme in early August 1970 and after. During the first half of 1970 Turkish industry suffered from a shortage of raw materials and other industrial supplies, mainly because of a deliberate slowing-down of import procedures in view of the low level of convertible currency reserves. Credit restrictions, which had become necessary in order to check the speculative and overheated atmosphere which had developed in 1969, also played a role.

The devaluation of the Turkish lira and introduction of a stabilization programme automatically put a stop to excess demand built on hopes of realising windfall gains from a change of parity. In addition, the introduction of new taxes on production and on the transfer of real estate had a hampering effect, firstly, on the activities which were particularly hit.

such as the motor vehicle assembly industry and the building sector and, secondly, on their suppliers. Government policy directed at preventing prices from rising too fast as a result of the devaluation were only partially successful but nevertheless contributed—together with a continuing tight credit situation—to the slack business atmosphere during the remaining months of 1970. A favourable factor was the restoration of effective import liberalisation which removed the supply bottlenecks but could do nothing to stimulate overall demand. Among the branches which showed a slight decrease in production were iron ore, copper, coal, crude petroleum and woollen fabrics. Production of paper, cotton fabrics and cigarettes and tobacco stagnated, whilst higher increases of output were recorded for steel, rolled products, cement, fertilisers, glass and alcoholic beverages.

Available statistics for 1971 show that the expected stimulation of industrial activity has only partially occurred, in spite of higher nominal incomes as the result of the increase of farm prices and salaries in the public sector and the removal of restrictions on liberalised imports. This can be attributed partly to the high taxes on building activity, and it cannot be excluded that prospective buyers are hoping for an early revision of these impositions and therefore tend to hold back effective demand. The reduction in steel output and derived milling products was due mainly to a breakdown of a blast furnace at the Eregli iron and steel works. If one excludes the influence of the latter as well as the secondary effects of the slump in building activity, the rate of industrial growth of about 9 per cent was probably as high as could be hoped for. Some branches, notably textiles, are reported to have worked at optimum capacity.

Investment

Total fixed capital formation in 1970 measured in constant prices is reported to have risen by 6 per cent, 3 per cent in the public sector and 9 per cent in the private sector. The slowing down of economic activity in 1970 thus had a noticeable consequence for private investment which had increased at rates between 11 and 14 per cent in the preceding three years, and had regularly exceeded plan targets. Particularly affected was agriculture, which failed to realise the investment target of the 1970 Annual Programme in current prices by 4 per cent; if price increases are taken into account this implies an actual fall in fixed asset formation by this sector. Investment by private manufacturing industry on the same basis probably rose by 10 per cent. Whilst demand for new buildings, in particular apartments, remained lively as measured by the building permits issued, there was a visible slowing down of construction work started, with the result that in real terms capital formation in this sector probably rose much less than in the preceding year when the growth rate had attained 12 per cent.

The difficult situation of the public budget in 1970 forced a slow-down of investments under the general budget; whereas State-controlled enterprises continued to invest at a fairly high rate in order to make good earlier shortfalls in meeting investment targets due to delays in project preparation and securing of external finance.

The 1971 Annual Programme was looking forward to a revival of business activity; public investments were planned to grow in volume by some 10 per cent, whilst it was expected that private fixed investment would be 8 per cent higher. Preliminary estimates indicate that private fixed investment has more or less achieved this target. However, there are strong indications that investment demand in private manufacturing was sluggish until September. Whilst part of the decline in investment demand must no doubt be attributed to conjunctural factors, a further important reason was the slowing down in the granting of investment permits, attribution of foreign exchange and medium term credit between April and August 1971. Demand for construction permits, which was inflated during 1970 in anticipation of pending tax changes, has also fallen by one-third to two-thirds, whilst the volume of new construction in 1971 has probably been the same as in the previous year.

Public investment in real terms has remained considerably below the target rate in view of a further deterioration of the public budget which has to support substantially higher current expenditures, mainly as the result of the salary increases granted to civil servants and the armed forces in 1970, without an equivalent rise in current receipts. A notable exception was the State enterprises, particularly in manufacturing industry, which are reported to have spent almost 50 per cent more than in the previous year on equipment and new installations in current prices, and possibly 30 per cent more in real terms; the large increase in the price component of investments is due to the devaluation of the Turkish lira by 66 per cent in August 1970. Whilst in recent years the public-owned enterprises in manufacturing contributed about 40 per cent of total capital formation in this sector, their share in 1971 has risen to just under one half.

The growth of investment by public enterprises went hand in hand with, and resulted largely from, rising disbursements in the last two years of project aid by the Members of the Turkish Consortium. Among the projects started or entering major implementation stages in 1970 and 1971 were three paper and cardboard factories (Dalaman, Çaycuma, Aksu) and the extension of the Zonguldak coal mines. In addition, Turkey began or continued several large projects with the help of bilateral loans from Russia (Seydisehir aluminium plant, Izmir oil refinery and the third iron and steel mill in Iskenderun). Other important projects which contributed to raise public investment in the last two years were the Bosphorus bridge, several large multi-purpose dams (Gökcekaya, Keban, Ambarli) and a number of irrigation projects, notably the Seyhan project in the vicinity of Adana. In all, some 20 major projects in the public sector of a total value of TL 6.2 billion are expected to be completed in 1971 or early 1972.

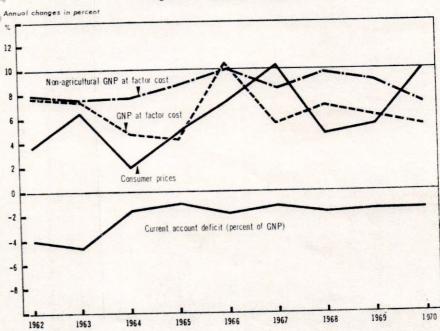
Consumption expenditure

In 1970, as the consequence of the stagnation of real agricultural incomes, consumer demand rose rather less rapidly than the average of nearly 6 per cent in the previous two years. Public consumption rose by 6.5 per cent (in constant prices) against an average increase of about 8 per cent in previous years. The 1970 Annual Programme had postulated an

8.5 per cent increase of public consumption; the lower realisation rate would therefore appear to imply that social services, such as public health and education, saw their development programmes slowed down as the result of the persisting budget difficulties described earlier. This is also borne out by the reduction in real terms of investment in these sectors.

In 1971 private consumer demand rose faster, by perhaps about 8 per cent. In addition to a better than average outturn of the harvest, which put more purchasing power into the hands of farmers, there was a steep rise in workers' remittances which increased by approximately \$ 200 million, or close to 3 per cent of real GNP. Public expenditures of a current nature are reported to have grown by 17 per cent, which can be attributed in part to an increase of employment in the public sector but is mainly due to a higher level of remuneration.

Diagram 1 Economic Growth



Source: State Planning Organisation.

(b) Prices and incomes

The inflationary pressures and speculative influences which had led to an acceleration in the rise in prices in 1969 somewhat abated in the following year due to a tightening of credit policy and the stabilization programme introduced in August 1970. But these measures were not sufficient to put an end to the strong upward trend in price levels. During the first half of

1970 the rate of increase of the general index of wholesale prices (compared to the same period a year earlier) slowed down from 6.6 per cent in January to 3 per cent in July, mainly as the result of a gradual levelling off in prices of food and fodder. Subsequently, despite government pressure on industry to keep prices stable, the rise escalated again and continued to do so in 1971.

The rise in the cost of living (measured in terms of the indices calculated for Ankara and Istanbul) showed a similar trend. There was a slowing down of price increases towards the middle of the year, followed by a sharp acceleration in the last five months. Average consumer price increases in Ankara, where the rise was particularly marked, reached 14 per cent during the final quarter of 1970.

In 1971 inflationary tendencies increased; the government sector had given the signal for further price increases by granting very substantial increases in the salaries of public employees in December 1970, by imposing a higher indirect tax burden on the economy, and by increasing the prices of State-controlled enterprises. Large deficits were generated in the State budget which were financed by increasing arrears of payments to suppliers and contractors and by a substantial increase in short-term advances from the Central Bank; these added inflationary pressure, which was countermanded to some extent by a virtual stop in credit expansion in the private sector. With the larger arrivals of imports ordered after August 1970, with the disappearance of the foreign exchange stringency, the effect of the devaluation of the Turkish lira by 66 per cent on domestic prices became more noticeable as the higher lira cost of imports was apparently passed on to the end users, even though there may have been an easing of partial supply bottlenecks. New pay claims put forward in collective bargaining negotiations falling due in 1971 took account of the large deterioration in purchas-

Table 2 Prices

		P	Annual ercentag	averag ge chang	e ges		Decem- ber
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1971/
Wholesale prices:							10
General index Food Industrial raw materials	4.8 5.4 4.1	7.6 6.6 9.0	4.6 3.8 6.0	6.0 6.5 5.2	5.6 4.1 8.2	17.0 12.9 23.5	23.0 18.1 30.7
Cost of living:							30.7
Ankara (total) of which: food prices Istanbul (total) of which: food prices	5.3 4.3 8.7 9.0	6.4 7.5 14.0 15.3	4.1 4.9 6.2 5.1	5.6 4.5 4.8 5.6	11.6 10.5 7.9	21.8 17.0 19.0	23.1 16.0 23.4
Implicit price deflator for GNP	6.1	4.8	3.4	5.3	7.2	16.0	18.9
Implicit price deflator for investment goods	5.9	7.7	3.7	4.9	9.4	17.0*	

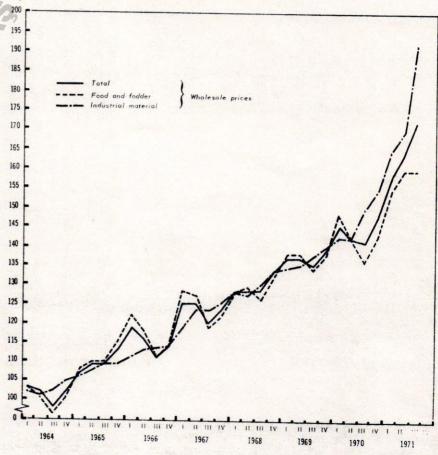
Source: Monthly Economic Indicators.

* Provisional.

ing power since the second half of 1970 and most settlements eventually led to wage increases averaging 30 per cent.

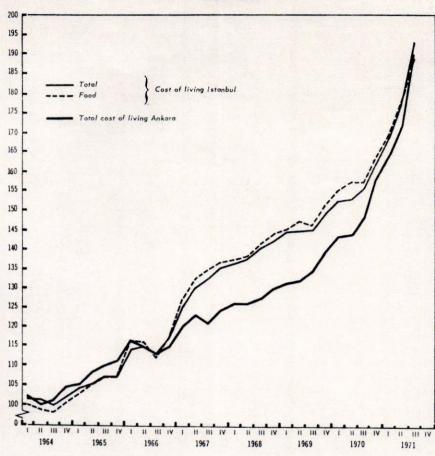
The general wholesale price index, which was 8.3 per cent higher in January compared to a year earlier, was 23 per cent above the previous year's level by the end of the year. Unlike the previous year, the index for both food and fodder and industrial products showed strong upward trends with the former rising somewhat more slowly (see Table 2). The cost of living in Ankara and Istanbul registered similar increases. The available price indices showed a particularly large jump in July 1971 when the state sector raised prices for a large spectrum of basic products such as coal, steel, cement and electricity.

Diagram 2 Prices 1963 = 100



Source: Main Economic Indicators.

Diagram 2 (cont'd) Prices 1963 = 100



Source: Main Economic Indicators.

Though no accurate global data on the development of incomes are available, it appears that incomes of farmers and wage and salary earners continued to increase substantially in 1971. The price for wheat was increased on average by 18 per cent in May, support prices for other products were likewise raised in July, in line with the adjustment of the multiple exchange rate for some agricultural products from \$1 = 12 TL to 13 TL. As there was a record wheat harvest in 1971 and many other agricultural products also yielded higher physical outputs, total money incomes in the hands of farmers increased by perhaps as much as 25 per cent. The trend of money wages is likewise on a steep upward slope; in August 1971 the government agreed—in order to avert threatening strikes in a number of important industries, including the railways, metal manufacturing and the

cement industry—to grant graduated wage increases averaging 35 per cent for a total of 57 000 workers. As 1972 will be a year of renewal for many collective contracts, this decision may have set the pace for other settlements in the near future.

Table 3 Exports
US \$ millions

			1969	1970	Jan.	Nov.
			1707	1970	1970	1971
I	Agricu	ltural Products: Total	402.8	442.9	381.1	384.6
	(a) C	ereals	4.5	9.8	8.6	10.6
	(b) F	ruit and vegetables	161.7	137.8	125.7	130.2
		Hazelnuts	107.6	87.0	80.1	78.5
2		Dried fruit	32.4	32.4	29.9	32.9
- 17		Citrus fruits	10.2	7.7	5.7	11.5
		Others	11.5	10.7	10.0	7.3
	(c) In	dustrial and forest products	204.1	261.6	218.1	207.5
		Tobacco	81.5	78.6	62.5	62.6
		Cotton	113.6	173.2	146.8	133.5
		Others	9.0	9.8	8.8	11.4
	(d) L	ive animals and animal products	26.6	27.0	22.6	28.7
		Live animals	11.3	15.7	12.3	18.1
		Mohair and wool	6.5	3.7	3.0	3.4
		Others	8.8	7.6	7.3	7.2
	(e) Se	ea products	5.9	6.7	6.1	7.6
11	Mining	and quarrying products: Total	30.4	36.8	35.2	37.2
		Chrome	12.8	15.7	14.3	
		Copper	6.6	6.2	6.2	16.9
		Others	11.0	14.9	14.7	18.0
Ш	Process	sed and manufactured products:				
	Total		103.6	108.8	94.8	120.9
	(a) Pr	ocessed agricultural products	57.3	41.3	34.5	44.1
		Olive oil	12.7	0.2	0.2	0.3
		Sugar	12.2	4.0	3.5	1.6
		Oil cake	17.6	20.8	18.9	18.2
		Others	14.8	16.3	11.9	24.0
	(b) M	anufactured products	46.3	67.5	60.3	76.8
		Textiles and clothing	15.9	25.9	22.8	30.3
		Hides and leather industry	1.0	4.6	3.9	8.6
		Forestry industry	2.0	2.7	2.4	4.2
		Chemical industry	9.2	9.3	8.3	8.6
		Glass and ceramics	0.4	1.0	0.9	2.4
		Metal products and machinery	9.0	11.4	10.6	4.7
		Electrical equipment and products	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5
		Others	8.7	12.3	11.2	17.5
IV	Overall	Total	536.8	588.5	511.1	542.7

Source: Ministry of Finance.

(c) Foreign trade

Practically the entire increase of exports in 1970 was the consequence of higher sales to OECD countries in Western Europe which rose by \$ 47 million, mainly due to higher exports of cotton and textile products. Sales to the dollar area declined further and constituted only 10 per cent total Turkish exports compared with an average of 18 per cent only a few years ago. Exports to bilateral clearing countries fell slightly as the result of the policy to reduce the importance of bilateral trade agreements which are now considered not to have turned out to be to Turkey's advantage from the point of view of prices received for the country's exports and the prices and qualities of goods imported in exchange.

Exports in 1971 which appeared to be less buoyant for a good part of the year, nevertheless are reported to have reached \$ 676 million; or \$ 36 million more than the export target of \$ 640 million of the 1971 Annual Programme.

The initially slow performance was due in the main to a fall in exports of cotton during the summer as the result both of increased home demand and regulatory measures taken by the Turkish authorities to take advantage of rising prices on the world market. Industrial exports appear to have done rather well, although perhaps less than could have been expected following the devaluation in August 1970. Exports of textiles and clothing, the largest component of manufacturing exports, though increasing by a third were hampered somewhat by a booming home demand; other industries, notably the hides and leather industry and cement production, also did rather well.

Additional exports of unprocessed agricultural products also helped to push up sales abroad, in particular exports of cereals, sultanas, citrus fruit and live animals.

Imports

The 1970 programme target for imports was the already high figure of \$880 million, but it was exceeded by \$68 million (Table 4). First and foremost, Turkey had to make emergency imports of wheat following an unsatisfactory outturn of the cereal harvest two years in a row; this added an unexpected \$83 million to the import volume under wheat and fats concessional imports and grants. Imports under the special regime reserved for Turkish workers abroad were also \$14 million higher than planned as more migrant workers made use of the facilities granted to import consumer goods. light machinery and supplies outside liberalised and quota lists.

Foreign private capital imports—which are made up of capital participation and direct investment in private Turkish enterprises—were higher than planned by \$ 30 million and reached \$ 43 million. This was due partly to measures taken under the Second Plan (1968-1972) to stimulate private investment by improving existing incentive schemes and to encourage assembly industries in the investment and durable consumer goods industries. Last not least, NATO infrastructure imports also exceeded expectations by \$ 15 million. By contrast, imports from project credits under

Table 4 Imports by Types of Financing US \$ millions

	1000	1070	1071	Progr	ramme
	1969	1970	1971	1970	1971
Liberalised lists	344	367	533	400	455
Global quotas	181	192	260	205	270
Bilateral quotas	104	95	110	105	100
Total Programme Imports	629	654	903	710	825
NATO Infrastructure	3	17	6	2	4
Project credit imports	88	113	148	135	145
Private foreign capital imports	10	43	29	13	16
Imports with waiver	20	62	83	20	25
of which: Grants		28	55	_	_
Wheat and fats concessional imports	41	55	_	_	30
Others	10	4	2	-	_
Total	801	948	1 171	880	1 045

Source: Ministry of Finance.

bilateral and multilateral aid programmes once more fell short of the target set by the Annual Programme, though their trend continued to be upward.

In spite of the restoration of effective import liberalisation in August 1970 and the abolition of the administrative "waiting room" for the allocation of foreign exchange which held in suspense a backlog of import requests totalling more than \$ 300 million, programme imports of raw materials, supplies and investment goods which had been foreseen to rise to \$ 710 million fell considerably short of this target and reached only \$ 654 million. This can be explained by the fact that import requests granted after August 1970 took some time to take effect. But from the last quarter of 1970 onwards, goods started to arrive in larger quantities.

This backlog of deliveries was partly responsible for the jump in programme imports during 1971 which were 38 per cent higher than in the preceding year, thus ending the shortages of raw materials and spare parts which had been holding back production since 1969. Imports from project credits in the same period were 31 per cent higher, while imports with waiver under which Turks returning from abroad can bring in goods duty-free are reported to have decreased. For the year as a whole, total imports are estimated to have reached \$ 1 171 million, i.e. 23 per cent more than in 1970.

The conjunction of a rapidly rising level of imports together with only moderate gains in exports—even though there was an unexpected substantial foreign exchange inflow in respect of workers' remittances—has led to a sharp increase in the deficit on visible trade, which, if it represents the beginning of a new trend, would be opposite to the one postulated in Turkey's medium term plan.

(d) Balance of payments

In 1970 the deficit on the trade balance rose to \$ 360 million but the current account deficit was considerably lower than in previous years due to an unexpected increase in migrant workers' remittances (Table 5). These money transfers which had been \$ 107 million in 1968 and \$ 141 million in 1969, increased to \$ 273 million, owing to a growing emigration of Turkish workers, in particular to Germany. The devaluation of the Turkish lira gave an added incentive to these workers to liquidate moneys held abroad and to transfer the proceeds to Turkey. Another part of the increased remittances may have come out of hoards of merchants and illegal money changers. The invisible receipts balance was also bolstered up for the first time by a small positive item for travel and tourism. Such receipts

Table 5 Balance of Payments US \$ millions

	1969	1970	Jan.	-Nov.
			1970	1971
Commodity trade	-264	-360	-338.4	-518.6
Imports cif Exports fob	-801	-948	-849.4	-1 061.4
Exports 100	537	588	511.0	542.8
Services and transfers, net	20			342.0
Foreign travel, net	35	180	173.3	376.3
Profit transfers	-5	4	-2.6	19.4
Interest payments, gross	-32	-33	-28.4	-33.1
Workers' remittances	-45	-48	-29.0	-36.6
Other services, net	141	273	224.3	424.6
other services, net	-24	-16	9.0	2.0
Infrastructure and off shore receipts	8	8	7.2	5.4
Total current balance	-221	-172	-157.9	-136.9
Capital transactions, net	270	365	312.8	7
Private, total	44			306.8
Workers' imports	20	92	76.6	63.6
Direct investment	24	34	24.5	22.2
Official, total	319	58	52.1	41.4
Project assistance	174	420	379.9	344.2
Programme assistance incl. EMA credits	1/4	179	156.9	202.1
and debt relief	104	158	145.5	
Agricultural surpluses	41	83	145.6	90.1
Debt repayments, gross	-93	-147	77.4	52.0
Balancing item			-143.7	-101.0
	61	-23	-8.9	28.4
Official monetary position (- = increase)		170	1460	
Reserves movement			-146.0	-198.3
Change in IMF net position	10	-236	-212.0	-210.3
- The position	-12	66	66.0	12.0

Source: Ministry of Finance, Ankara.

would have been somewhat higher had not the cholera outbreak in Istanbul in November and the imposition of martial law in several provinces for part of the year reduced the regular flow of foreign visitors.

Repayment commitments on Turkey's medium and long-term debt were particularly large in 1970, mainly because of substantial payments due to the European Fund. But net repayments of debt did not much exceed normal levels, since Turkey's creditors, including the European Fund, agreed to grant an added amount of debt relief as a contribution to the stabilization programme after the devaluation. Also in support of this programme Turkey received generous stand-by facilities from the IMF, in all \$ 75 million in 1970, and additional programme aid from some Consortium Member countries of \$ 37 million.

As the capital inflow during 1970 was considerably higher than the gap in the balance of payments to be financed, the official gold and foreign exchange reserves increased by \$ 236 million and reached the highest level for many years.

A similarly satisfactory outcome for the overall balance of payments was recorded in 1971, thanks mainly to a further unexpected improvement of invisible receipts and in spite of a further substantial deterioration of the trade balance. Workers' remittances reached the unprecedented figure of \$ 468 million for the year as a whole. There was also a further increase in net receipts from tourism and foreign travel, though this item is still insignificant compared to Turkey's potential for summer tourism.

Total capital inflows remained approximately at the previous year's level, though there was a shift in the structure of these items. Thus, private capital inflows were lower than in 1970 and therefore continue to play a quite negligible role in Turkey's economic development. Total official credits were also lower, despite an increase of disbursements of project credits, whilst there was a noticeable—and welcome—reduction in programme assistance, food aid and reliance on short-term financing from the international monetary institutions to whom Turkey made net repayments for the first time in several years.

(e) Public finance

The 1970 budget—which should have started on 1st March, the beginning of the fiscal year—was not accepted by the National Assembly in its original form. When it was finally voted in May it allowed total appropriations to rise to TL 29.9 billion, or TL 4 billion over the previous year's outturn. Most of the rise was due to an increase in current expenditure (TL + 2.7 billion) as a consequence of a long overdue decision to raise the wages and salaries of public employees in the context of a wider personnel reorganisation programme. Transfer payments were scheduled to increase by TL 1 billion, but investment expenditures through the general and annexed budgets were increased by only TL 0.3 billion. (Table 6)

However, a few months later, the budget was already out of date as the devaluation of the Turkish lira and the introduction of the stabilization programme on 10th August 1970 caused profound changes in the pattern of receipts and expenditures. The budget consequences of the devaluation in

Table 6 Central Government Consolidated Budget
TL millions

			1970		1971		Actual March-December	ch-Decem	
		As	Actual	As	Estimated	1970	% change over previous year	1971	
	Revenues Diggs to the	26 980	28 511	34 193	36 387	20 541	16.6	28 094	1
	Indirect taxes	8 900	8 641	11 215	11 976	7 295	20.6	10 274	
	Other revenues	15 160	14 353	18 335	18 826	10 861	11.7	14 426	
	Savines bonds	2 070	4 635	3 393	4 435	1614	34.5	2 351	
	STATE OF THE PARTY	820	887	1 250	1 150	177	17.9	1 043	
П	II Counterpart Funds	1 280	2 845	2 100	1 500	1 517	68.0	1 241	
H	III Net revenues from annexed budgets	1 033	1 028	1 379	1 377	619	0.8	1 152	
7	IV Total resources	29 293	32 384	37 672	39 264	22 677	18.5	30 487	
>		29 893	32 161	38 472	42 964	22 581	144	35 154	
	Current expenditures	14 997	14 676	20 022	22 964	10 483	0.0	17 104	
	Transfer nayments and one for	0669	666 9	7916	8 000	5 478	8.1	6919	
	riminal payments and cap. 10f exp.	906 /	10 486	10 534	12 000	6 620	30.8	11 791	
7	VI Deficit () or surplus (+)	009-	+223	-800	-3 700	96+		4 667	
M	VII Financing of deficit								
	Change in treasury bal, and def. n'ments	009	978	800	008				
	Borrowing from Central Bank	1	-240	11	n.a. n.a.	-562 466		2 443	

terms of lira were estimated to be slightly positive, with higher yields from ad valorem import duties and counterpart funds of foreign aid exceeding increased outgoings notably, on account, of servicing of foreign debt. Also payment of the higher salaries promised to civil servants was postponed to the end of the year. In addition, new taxes, and changes in others, had been voted in July, a few days before the official announcement of the parity change. Some of the new taxes, in particular the new sales tax, were however not immediately applied because the revenue collecting authorities and the business community were not prepared for them.

The final outturn for fiscal year 1970 showed an increase of total expenditures by 24 per cent to TL 32.2 billion. Current expenditures rose by TL 2.6 billion, investment increased by TL 0.2 billion, more or less as had been foreseen in the budget forecast. Transfer payments however exceeded the estimates by far and reached TL 10.5 billion, or TL 3.5 billion more than in the previous fiscal year. This was due, apart from the effect of the parity change on the servicing of foreign loans, to the need to transfer larger sums to the State-controlled enterprises.

On the revenue side, direct taxes yielded an additional TL 1.7 billion. Indirect tax receipts rose by TL 2 billion, mainly because of higher taxes on domestic production and expenditure, on petroleum products and banking and insurance transactions. Customs duties and import production tax receipts also rose but not to the extent anticipated because of the delayed arrival of goods after effective trade liberalisation was restored. Revenues from annexed budgets, the sale of compulsory savings bonds and special funds also increased, yielding in all TL 2.5 billion, or TL 0.7 billion more than in the previous year.

As the parity change increased the amount of counterpart funds available from foreign aid by TL 1.8 billion and accrued profits from the devaluation were TL 2.9 billion higher, it was possible to show a small surplus of TL 0.2 billion in respect of the 1970 budget. Profits from the devaluation—which are the net result of the temporary continuation of multiple exchange rates (e.g. for major agricultural exports, and travel abroad by Turkish citizens)—are allowed to accumulate in the Exchange Equalisation Account of the Central Bank and are earmarked in part for the support of export-orientated activities; but there have been apparently no outgoings so far.

The 1971 budget, as voted, was aiming for TL 38.5 billion total expenditure, which was to be covered by revenue receipts of TL 37.7 billion and domestic loans of TL 0.8 billion. The increase was again largely the result of the effect of the personnel reform, as 1971 had been the first year in which the higher wages and salaries granted fully applied and deferred pay increases from February to November 1970 were due. Whilst current expenditures were thus expected to rise by TL 5.8 billion, investment expenditure was to go up only nominally, which, given the rate of inflation, actually meant a substantial fall in real terms.

Revenues from direct taxes in 1971 were to rise by TL 2.6 billion, whilst indirect taxes were expected to yield a further TL 4 billion, which corresponded to increases of 30 and 28 per cent respectively. Other reve-

Ministry of Finance, Ankara.

nues, including savings bonds and counterpart funds, were thought to contribute to total revenues approximately the same amount as in the previous year.

All available evidence appears to support the forecast that revenue receipts will turn out approximately as planned and reach TL 39 billion, though not necessarily in the composition originally assumed. However, total expenditures are rising much faster than budgeted for and have made additional appropriations necessary, in particular transfer payments were ahead of schedule. The 1971 budget as it now stands amounts to TL 46 billion which would imply a deficit of about TL 7 billion; this is 15 per cent of appropriations, a figure which illustrates the imbalance of Turkey's public finances at the present time.

Despite the difficulties encountered in financing the 1971 budget, total appropriations for 1972 which were proposed to Parliament on 1st December 1971, amount to TL 51.9 billion. In addition, TL 4 billion are to be spent by the State sector, if the necessary finance can be secured from domestic borrowing and through the allocation of counterpart funds, which will not be shown under regular revenues from 1972 onwards. On the basis of the 1971 budget presentation the budget proposal for the coming year amounts to the unprecedented figure of TL 55.9 billion, or more than 30 per cent of GNP.

Current expenditures in 1972, which are mainly made up of salary payments, are expected to rise by TL 3.3 billion or 14 per cent, which seems rather large in view of the pay rise given to civil servants barely 12 months previously. The proposed increase in investment expenditure from the general budget amounts to the relatively modest sum of TL 1.1 billion, which may just about compensate the rise in prices. But the item transfer payments and capital formation, which includes payments to the State enterprise sector, is expected to increase by another TL 4.5 billion (+ 38 per cent) as the result of plans to make good delays in the public investment programme under the Second Five Year Plan, which comes to its close in 1972; applying last year's accounting procedure, the proposed figure is actually TL 8.5 billion higher. Subsidies and other transfers would thus be more than twice the figure of public investment from the general budget, whereas in 1969 they were about equal.

The budget for 1972 as proposed can only be balanced if revenue receipts rise by approximately one-third. To this end a reform of the income and corporation tax is proposed, with a view to speeding up tax collection and increasing the tax burden on high incomes, which now benefit from relatively low ceilings; in addition, it is intended to enlarge the coverage of the sales tax.

A further proposal to increase revenues consists of the conversion of compulsory savings bonds on incomes above a certain minimum level into a tax at a rate of up to 8 per cent (against 3 per cent previously). Other measures to increase revenues are still in preparation and have not yet been submitted to Parliament. The final shape of the public budget for 1972 thus depends on the success of getting the various proposed tax increases voted and applied as scheduled.

(f) Money and banking

Money supply rose by 16 per cent in 1970, i.e. the same rate as in the previous year. But unlike events in 1969—when there was a strong credit expansion in the wake of general speculation that a devaluation of the Turkish lira was imminent-rising money supply did not reflect a boom situation. Indeed, the rise barely kept pace with GNP in current prices. Strong measures taken by the Central Bank to curb inflation resulted in a slowing down of credit expansion in the private sector. Commercial Bank credit rose by only TL 3.2 billion against TL 5.6 billion a year earlier. Moreover, the increase in commercial bank lending occurred mainly in the period following the parity change when rising costs and additional credit needs in connection with imports, as well as seasonal factors, made this necessary. However, the situation was different in the public sector where credit restrictions did not apply; the Central Bank granted additional credits of TL 1.3 billion to the Treasury in order to finance the rising deficit of the public budget; other state agencies received an additional TL 0.3 billion. Although borrowing by the Treasury is supposed to be seasonal within a limit of 15 per cent of budget appropriations, the tight situation of the public finances, which was described in the preceding section, did not permit a reduction of short-term advances from the Central Bank until February 1971, and then only for less than one month, after which there was a new, and even larger, increase.

The monetary situation in 1971 was characterised by a further increase in commercial bank deposits related to higher nominal incomes, and little change in the level of lending to the private sector in the first nine months of the year due to apparent slack demand for funds as the result of the subdued investment climate described earlier. So the banking-system is very liquid at present. In October 1971, private credit demand began to pick up, but apparently mainly in the commercial sector and in connection with a reported rise of import demand (Table 7).

Table 7 Money and Credit
TL millions

	Dec.	Dec.	Sept.	Oct.
	1969	1970	1971	1971
Commercial Bank credit	33 182	37 005	37 814	40 640
Commercial credits Mortgages Agricultural credits	19 864	22 067	23 485	25 443
	2 295	2 668	2 598	2 762
Industrial credits Others (artisans, small traders)	8 554	9 030	8 125	8 815
	1 498	2 132	2 225	2 404
	971	1 108	1 381	1 216
13 largest banks	19 928	22 088	23 896	25 235
Money supply	30 127	35 268	38 964	41 247

Source: Central Bank of Turkey.

The need for more cash following the high increase of the general price level and larger seasonal payments to farmers under the various price support schemes has apparently been satisfied by the rise in the volume of bank notes in circulation, which have increased by approximately 50 per cent between August 1970 and the end of 1971. Total money supply, which was TL 32 billion in October 1970, has risen by more than TL 9 billion during the following 12-month period and reached TL 41.2 billion in October 1971. In a normal year money supply increases sharply during the last quarter. In 1971, with the budget deficit still rising and receipts from workers' remittances at a record level, the seasonal upturn of money supply has probably been even greater than in the past and might have attained TL 44 billion.

In the first nine months of the year there was practically no change in the overall credit volume of the Central Bank, in spite of a further large increase of short-term advances to the Treasury as well as to the Soil Products Office for its seasonal credit needs in connection with financing sales of the exceptionally large wheat harvest. This was made possible by a sharp contraction of bills offered for rediscount by the agricultural bank and agricultural sales co-operatives, as well as by commercial banks following an improvement in the liquidity position of these institutions. All in all, the public sector received TL 3.3 billion from the Central Bank during the first nine months of 1971, four times the amount in the corresponding period a year earlier. At the same time, Central Bank credit in favour of the private sector shrank by over TL 2 billion.

The sudden increase in the commercial banks' credit volume in October 1971 also affected the position of the Central Bank which began to take

Table 8 Central Bank Credit
TL millions

	Cre	dits outstan	ding	Changes
	Dec. 1969	Dec. 1970	Dec. 1971	1971/1970
CENTRAL BANK	12 920	14 565	16 273	1 708
Public sector, total of which:	7 140	8 088	11 795	3 707
Short term advances to the Treasury	3 057	4 359	6 088	1 729
Monopoly Administration	1 750	1 750	1 750	
Soil Products Office	950	1 125	3 000	1 875
Sugar factories	734	709	709	-
Others	649	145	248	103
Private sector, total of which:	5 527	6 155	4 186	-1 969
Agricultural Sales Cooperatives	1 617	1 419	227	-1 192
Others	3 910	4 736	3 959	-777
Bank liquidation fund	253	322	292	-30

Source: Central Bank of Turkey.

up bills for discounting from the private sector, excluding the agricultural sales co-operatives, totalling some TL 0.5 billion; as advances to the Treasury also increased further, the overall increase of Central Bank credit to the economy rose by approximately TL 1 billion in the short span of 30 days. This was followed by a slight contraction of Central Bank credit in November and an expansion in December, bringing the total amount of credit by the Central Bank to TL 16.3 billion. Short-term advances to the Treasury amounted to TL 6.1 billion, advances to the Soil Products Office were TL 3.0 billion, whilst credit to the private sector remained slightly under TL 4.2 billion, their lowest level since the second half of 1969. Thus the inflation of credit in 1971 must be laid fairly and squarely at the door of the public sector (Table 8).

II ECONOMIC POLICY

(a) Main issues

For over a year, the economy has been in a state of acute inflation at the same time as consumption-type expenditures have been taking the lion's share of increases in output whilst investment activity has fallen off. This situation, if it were to persist, would jeopardize both the success of the 1970 devaluation and medium-term growth prospects. There was nothing inevitable about the course of events since the devaluation. If the declared intentions of the government as to levying additional taxes and keeping public expenditure on a tight rein had been fully implemented there is no cause to believe, despite pressures on costs and prices which had been building up for some time in some sectors and which were inevitably exacerbated by the devaluation whose size was a reflection of the fact that it had been too long delayed, that it would not have been possible to keep the rise in prices within reasonable bounds. That the events of the last year have not led to greater demand pressures than have actually been experienced must be attributed to the slowdown in private business activity, particularly in the construction sector.

At the present time, there is clearly slack in the industrial sector which could be taken up. Furthermore, stocks of imported materials and spare parts have been replenished, thanks to the big inflow of imports during 1971, and the country's foreign exchange reserves are at a record level. Were it not for the financial distortions from which the economy is suffering so long as the public sector is financing its deficits with Central Bank credit—and which will continue to fuel inflation until remedied—it would seem that conditions permitting a sustained upward swing in production and investment are more favourable today than for a long time.

(b) Public finance

Substantial changes in the scope, nature and rates of taxation have been voted by Parliament during the last two years. Their implementation has put a heavy burden on the national tax administration, which had been under-equipped in the past, and whose efforts to improve revenue collection machinery and overcome a certain tendency towards tax avoidance are only now beginning to show tangible results. It would appear that, so long as the recent train of tax measures has not been fully digested, raising one's sights towards even higher revenue targets would seem to be perhaps premature.

If the pace of inflation is to be brought progressively under control during the course of 1972, the conclusion is inescapable that far more energetic measures than those deployed so far will be required to bring the State budget back into balance. The system of quarterly release of appropriations in the light of the outturn for revenue receipts has been found in the past to be a useful barrier preventing expenditure running ahead too fast. Also, a ban on additional appropriations during the fiscal year, in the light of experience in 1971 when such appropriations were exceptionally heavy, would appear to be indicated.

The sharpening of instruments for control of public expenditure in Turkey has been a constant concern for the government, which is aware of the need to keep a tight rein on the decisions of spending units in the government sector. The annexed budgets, which have now become very large, should, it seems, be included in any programme designed to put in the hands of the Ministry of Finance effective control of the situation. Another related area concerns arrears of payments to suppliers which have come to be used as a more or less regular method of cushioning the impact of a cash shortage of the Treasuary upon the level of public expenditure. This situation is well-known in Turkey by the authorities not to be conducive to the orderly conduct of public expenditure and it could be hoped that an effort will be made in 1972 to work off some of these arrears.

The authorities had announced in 1971 that a reform of the management of the State-owned enterprises in the industrial, mining and transport sectors would be decided as a matter of priority. Some increases in the prices of goods and services produced by these enterprises were implemented as part of the post-devaluation package deal to reduce the drain on the State budget due to their persistent deficits. The dominant position occupied by the State enterprises in current production and in investment singles them out for priority attention so that they can become more efficient instruments in the service of development policy than they have been to date.

(c) Monetary and credit policy

In the field of money and credit the most important piece of legislation that had been enacted in recent years in Turkey was the new Central Bank Law, which replaced the law of 1930, and came into operation in January 1970. It conferred upon the Central Bank greater powers in those fields where other central monetary authorities customarily enjoy a large degree of freedom from direct government intervention; in particular it gave the Central Bank authority to fix interest rates, and to change reserve requirements—subject to approval by the High Planning Council and the Council of

Ministers—and to engage in open-market operations. In principal, the discretionary powers of the Central Bank were also strengthened in regard to—loans to central government and state agencies.

In September 1970, the Central Bank made use for the first time of its new powers to change interest rates and raised the general discount rate from 7.5 per cent to 9 per cent. The main motive for this was not, however, to make credit dearer as part of a short-term restrictive policy stance but to move towards a more realistic interest rate structure. The standard rate of commercial bank interest was raised from 10.5 per cent to 11.5 per cent; similar changes were ordered for preferential credits approved by the State, such as for export financing, agricultural credit, and specific industrial and artisans' credit. The rates paid for interest on deposits were also changed in order to create an incentive for longer-term savings, the main improvement being made in the rates for time deposits of twelve months or more, which were raised substantially from 6.5 per cent to 9 per cent. Clearly, as long as inflation is proceeding as at present, even the new higher rates remain irrelevant as incentives for savers or as norms for borrowers.

A special feature of the policy adopted in the autumn of 1970 in the context of structural reforms in the money and credit market was the announcement of an intricate system of interest subsidies as part of a new selective credit policy applied by the Central Bank. Under this system banks were encouraged—by way of interest subsidy ranging from 1 per cent to 2.5 per cent of the amount of the loan—to give credit for specific activities, in particular those that had difficulty in finding adequate funds, such as small businesses, agriculture and new export orientated ventures. It was hoped that the incentives would be sufficiently strong to shift the allocation of loanable funds in the economy away from primarily short-term financing of commercial activities to longer-term investment financing. Graduated subsidies were also provided for the borrower. However, for various reasons outside the control of the Central Bank, the preferential credit scheme did not become operational much before the end of 1971; it is therefore too early to make an evaluation of the system.

The monetary policy stance adopted by the Central Bank vis-à-vis the credit demand on the private sector during 1970 and 1971 was a cautious one. This was fortunate as the Bank was obliged to meet the rising credit needs of the public sector. However, the main cause of the stagnation of commercial bank credit which could be observed throughout 1971 was probably not so much the restrictive policy line of the Central Bank but the relatively listless business atmosphere caused in part by the deteriorating political situation towards the closing months of 1970 and in early 1971 which was followed by a wait-and-see attitude by the private sector. In 1971, the temporary suspension of incentive schemes, administrative changes in the foreign trade regime and the proclamation of the intention to carry out far-reaching reforms incited private business to remain prudent, particularly as regards embarking on new investments. But, since the autumn of 1971, a fresh upturn may be discerned so that, in view of the present budget situation, credit policy in 1972 will have to remain cautious.

This will call for careful management of the credit-granting potential of the commercial banks, and probably for use of the Central Bank's powers in the matter of compulsory reserve requirements as the liquidity of the commercial banks is high in spite of repayments of refinancing credit to the Central Bank which were made in 1971. A renewed economic expansion could therefore probably be financed in its initial stages without any difficulty by the private banking system. Though in such a situation the policy instruments of the Central Bank would be of relatively little effect, no sizeable economic revival can take place without increasing imports which are controlled by administrative means. The Central Bank traditionally also relies heavily on direct credit controls and has established ceilings for individual banks as well as their clients. Under such a system no bank can defy monetary-policy directives for long without the risk of endangering its standing with the Central Bank.

It will not be possible for monetary and credit policy in 1972 to make a fully effective contribution to the task of stabilizing the economy unless the Central Bank is relieved of the excessive demands for credit by the public sector which have been a persistent feature of recent years and of 1970 and 1971 in particular. This is a problem for budget policy as already noted. In the present context it would be more conducive to non-inflationary growth if the credit needs of private business were given priority over public ones. A too stringent attitude towards the granting of credit to the private sector could prevent entrepreneurs from improving capacity utilisation, and hence reducing unit-costs, and from moving ahead with investments likely to produce goods for current consumption in a relatively short time.

(d) Other policy issues

Trade policy

Among other measures introduced by the new administration since March 1971, those relating to the foreign trade regime were, and still are, of great influence on the general business situation. In the context of the 1970 devaluation Turkey had returned to effective import liberalisation which had been progressively whittled down during the preceding foreign exchange shortage. It is important that the consolidation of the present level of import liberalisation and its progressive enlargement, should be considered henceforth as priority policy aims.

At the time of the August 1970 devaluation, more than \$ 300 million requests to import had been allowed to accumulate at the Central Bank. To enable Turkey to face a possibly deteriorating external payments situation the IMF, European Fund and Members of the Turkish Consortium provided additional balance-of-payments support in 1970/71. In the event, although few of the pending import requests were cancelled, the actual arrival of these goods in Turkey was spread out over a considerable span of time as importers adjusted the level of new demands downwards whilst the backlog of orders was being worked off. In the months following the devaluation the general slowing down of business activity also contributed to tempering import demand.

The new government after March 1971 introduced far-reaching changes in foreign trade regulations. The Chambers of Commerce and Industry were relieved of the administrative functions they carried out previously in respect of allocation of import quotas. These functions and responsibilities for external trade regulations in general were concentrated in a new Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Before export and import licences are granted the Ministry was charged with carrying out a control of prices and of importers' and industrialists' tax payments in the previous two years. The immediate result of the transfer of responsibilities was a temporary slowing down of administrative acts relating to foreign trade until the legal and practical technicalities involved could be sorted out and the new personnel be appointed and trained. In December 1971, this new Ministry was disbanded and the functions relating to foreign trade given to the Ministry of Commerce. The import regime for 1972 contains a number of improvements in procedures which will lead to a shortening of administrative delays and easing of red tape. Price controls, which remain in force, have also been made more flexible. This is to be welcomed as a step in the right direction and it is to be hoped that Turkey would continue her efforts to work towards a freer foreign trade regime.

Foreign direct investment

The new government after March 1971 also announced that it would review the conditions for the entry of foreign private capital. In future, in all such ventures foreigners would be the minority partners, holding less than 50 per cent of the share capital. Moreover, investment authorisations would only be given for projects which were too large for Turkish capital alone to handle, would introduce advanced technologies, were mainly export-orientated and were able to compete on their own terms in the Common Market. By announcing these changes Turkey, however, did not apparently want to dry up an already modest volume of foreign direct investments, which had only recently shown a more favourable trend thanks to the operation of various incentive schemes for private investment and a more active policy of encouragement to foreign investors. Subsequently it was decided to interpret these rules flexibly and the Turkish authorities began examining afresh investment requests by Turkish and foreign firms, and several larger projects in the field of tourism and intermediary industry which require the participation of foreign capital are reported to be in various stages of negotiations. The rationality in the longer run of the measures taken in respect both of foreign trade and as regards the establishment of foreign firms in Turkey must be judged also in the light of Turkey's entering the transitory period of association with the European Community, which is based on the principal of removing existing barriers to the flow of goods, capital and labour between countries.

Membership in the EEC

On 23rd November 1970, Turkey signed an additional Protocol of Association which regulates the establishment of a customs union and

closer economic co-operation with the European Community over a transitory period of 22 years, prior to full membership. For this to take effect, ratification by the Turkish parliament and the national assemblies of the Six was necessary. Turkey completed ratification procedures in the summer of 1971 and, in order to enable her to take full advantage of the agreement whilst ratification procedures in the national parliaments of the European Community were still in process, a temporary protocol was signed on 27th July 1971 giving full effect to the Articles of Association for a period of thirteen months dating from 1st September 1971.

The main trade advantages to Turkey from the treaty lie in the provisions which give unrestricted access to the Common Market area for most of Turkey's industrial products, with the exception of products of the textile industry for which quotas have been agreed upon, whilst Turkey retains protective trade barriers for varying lengths of time in order to permit her industry to adapt gradually to the conditions existing in Western European markets. Similar concessions were made for some of Turkey's agricultural exports but in view of the Common Market's general agricultural policy these tend to be less generous and apply mainly to products in which there is no danger of over-production. Furthermore, although the Protocol is not specific as to modalities and the time of their application, Turkey will be expected to liberalise gradually the entry of foreign risk capital in the not too distant future.

The Financial Protocol permits Turkey to continue to obtain preferential development loans from the European Investment Bank up to an amount of 195 million units of account until 23rd May 1976. In addition, and subject to further negotiations, Turkey might have access to loans amounting to a maximum of 25 million units of account at the Bank's usual conditions. The main points of the Agreement signed between the Community and Turkey are summarised in the Annex to this survey.

CONCLUSIONS

Although longer-term policy considerations and structural reforms must be one of Turkey's major concerns in view of the country's desire for rapid industrialisation, the focus of economic policy at the threshold of 1972 should clearly be on the management of demand, in order to stop excessive price increases and thus to consolidate the gains from the devaluation of the Turkish lira in August 1970.

Contrary to hopes expressed in last year's report, the trade gap has not narrowed as the result of the devaluation but actually grown larger under the influence of a high backlog of import demand and only moderate increases of total exports. Tourism receipts appear also to have been relatively little affected by the parity change. The large and, in regard to its size, the unexpected improvement of Turkey's gold and foreign exchange reserves in 1971 was due to higher remittances by Turkish workers who have gone abroad in search of employment.

The government and Parliament were greatly concerned during most of 1971 with what can only be reforms with long-term effects in agriculture and industry. It is not clear what the scope of these reforms will be so it is premature to comment on them. It would be unfortunate, however, if they led the authorities to lose sight of perhaps more pressing reforms as to improving the performance of State Economic Enterprises, modernisation of public administration, and last not least a reform of existing tax laws and machinery to collect revenue.

Raising output in the private sector could be helped by a more decisive use of the selective credit scheme, which was announced in September 1970 but which did not get a chance to become operational until recent months. The interest subsidies on which the scheme is built might, in fact, be the right point of departure for a cautious policy of stimulating private sector investment and industrial production, in particular of goods for exports in order to strenghten the Turkish trade balance. Since the selective credit scheme, as it was originally conceived, seemed to cast its net rather wide, it would be in order to consider its reinstatement by stages, which would provide the opportunity to review some of its more doubtful features.

Some of the institutional changes and reforms carried out or announced in 1971—in particular the changes in investment policy and the trade regime, the new guidelines for foreign direct investment and land reform—have had a temporarily unsettling influence on the attitudes and expectations of private entrepreneurs. In late 1971 and early 1972, following the announcement of the new government's programme, however, the situation appeared to be changing. The private sector generally indicated satisfaction with the new import programme and amendments to the import regime, as well as the government's intention to introduce new incentives for investment and to review the application of criteria for investment approvals. The outlook for a strong revival of private sector investment was thus greatly improved.

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE EEC AND TURKEY

AGREEMENT OF ASSOCIATION

The Agreement setting up an association between the EEC and Turkey was signed on 12th September, 1963. The aim of the Agreement was defined as being "to promote the continuous and balanced strengthening of commercial and economic relations between the Parties, taking fully into account the need to ensure accelerated development of the Turkish economy and the raising of the level of employment and living conditions of the Turkish people" (Article 2).

It was specified that, in order to achieve these objectives, a Customs Union should be progressively established and Turkish economic policies should be approximated to those of the Community in three successive phases, a preparatory phase, a transitional phase and a final phase.

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL

Recognising that, pursuant to the objectives of the Agreement of Association, the preparatory phase had made a substantial contribution towards strengthening economic relations in general and towards expanding trade in particular, between the European Economic Community and Turkey, and that the conditions were satisfied for passing from the preparatory phase to the transitional phase, Turkey and the Community signed an Additional Protocol on 23rd November, 1970, specifying the conditions, procedure and timetable for this transitional phase. These provisions affect the free circulation of merchandise, the movement of individuals, the performance of services and the approximation of economic policies.

Free circulation of merchandise

The free circulation of merchandise presupposes the establishment of a customs union and the elimination of quantitative restrictions between the Contracting Parties. There are special provisions for agricultural products.

(a) Customs Union

The following provisions are made for the elimination of customs duties between the Community and Turkey. The Community will abolish, from the date when the Protocol comes into effect, "customs duties and taxes of equivalent effect applicable to imports from Turkey" (Article 9). Turkey, for its

part, will make successive reductions; the first will be made when the Protocol comes into effect, the second three years, and the third five years after the Protocol comes into effect. The fourth and subsequent reductions will be made each year so that the last reduction is made at the end of the transitional period, or, theoretically, around 1982. Each reduction takes the form of a 10 per cent cut in the duty actually charged by Turkey at 23rd November, 1970 (Article 10).

The Community, however, has a period of twelve years to abolish duties under the Common External Tariff on imports of cotton yarn and fabrics and woollen carpets. Cotton fabrics and woollen carpets, however, benefit from a 75 per cent reduction of duties immediately the Protocol comes into effect,

but within the limits of annual tariff quotas.

For most manufactured products¹ (Annex 3 of the Protocol) Turkey has a period of twenty-two years to abolish its duties, on the following timetable: a 5 per cent reduction of each duty when the Protocol comes into force; three further reductions of 5 per cent three years, six years and ten years later respectively; eight other reductions of 10 per cent, twelve, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two years after the Protocol comes into effect. Furthermore, Turkey can, under certain conditions, modify the above list of products during the first eight years and can re-introduce, increase or establish customs duties on the import of products covered by Article 10 with a view to protecting the rise of a new processing industry or ensuring the expansion of an existing processing industry (Article 12).

The establishment of a customs union presupposes the adoption by Turkey of the Common External Tariff. The relevant provisions (Article 17) specify that the existing margin between the duties applied by Turkey and those of the Common External Tariff shall be progressively reduced over a period of twelve years in general and twenty-two years for manufactured products subject to special treatment. On the completion of these periods Turkey will

apply the Common External Tariff in full.

Finally, Article 20 specifies that, in order to facilitate the import of certain products coming from countries to which Turkey is bound by bilateral trade agreements, if the functioning of those agreements is appreciably affected by the provisions of the Protocol or by measures taken to implement it, Turkey has the right to grant tariff quotas at reduced or nil duties with the prior authorisation of the Council of Association.

(b) Elimination of quantitative restrictions

Turkey and the Community will not introduce new quantitative restrictions as against each other, but Turkey is committed, when the Protocol comes into effect, as to 35 per cent only of its imports from the Community in 1967, this percentage rising progressively over the following eighteen years.

The Community will, as soon as the Protocol comes into effect, eliminate all quantitative restrictions on imports from Turkey, except for the textile products already referred to. Turkey, for its part, will progressively eliminate

restrictions on imports from the Community. Quotas based on the most recent trade relations will be opened in favour of the Community one year after signature. They will be increased every two years "so as to achieve, in comparison with the previous year, an increase of not less than 10 per cent in total value and not less than 5 per cent of the quota value for each product". After the thirteenth year the increase provided for each quota is 20 per cent over the previous period every two years. All restrictions are to be removed not later than twenty-five years after the Protocol comes into effect.

Among the supplementary provisions, it may be noted that Turkey undertakes progressively to abolish the security which importers must furnish on imports from the Community according to the timetable laid down for customs duties (Article 26). Furthermore (Article 30) "the Contracting Parties shall successively modify national monopolies of a trade character so that at the expiry of twenty-five years there shall be no discrimination in conditions of supply or markets between nationals of Member countries of the Community and of Turkey". This article applies to any agency by means of which a Member country or Turkey controls, or appreciably influences, imports or exports between the Community and Turkey.

(c) Agricultural products

The provisions of the Protocol apply in principle to agricultural products. A period of twenty-five years is, however, allowed for the adaptation of Turkey's agricultural policy to the common agricultural policy, during which period Turkey and the Community grant each other preferential treatment for

their trade in agricultural products.

The system applicable at the beginning of the transitional phase, which will be periodically reviewed, entitles the Community to maintain customs duties at rates going up to 50 or 60 per cent of the common external tariff (olives, grapes, fresh figs, certain dried fruits and, on certain price conditions, citrus fruit) or ad valorem duties (dry fruit) which will be progressively abolished. The import into the Community of raisins and tobacco is customsfree. Imports of hazel-nuts are subject to an annual tariff quota (Annex 6 to Protocol).

Movement of individuals and performance of services

The provisions under this head specify that the free movement of workers between Member countries of the Community and Turkey will be introduced gradually between the end of the twelfth and the twenty-second year after the coming into effect of the Agreement signed in 1963 (Article 36). In the meantime (Article 37) each Member country of the Community will treat Turkish workers employed in the Community without any discrimination as to conditions of work or remuneration.

In the matter of freedom of establishment and freedom to render services, the Council of Association will fix, for each category of activities, the procedure and timetable for the removal of existing restrictions (Article 41). Priority will be given to activities which make a special contribution to the development of production and trade.

¹ In particular, chemical products, man-made fibres, clothing, metalware, tools, machinery and sundry equipment.

Approximation of economic policies

In the matter of competition and taxation and the harmonization of legislation, arrangements of principle similar to those made between the six Community countries, have been or will be made (Articles 43 to 48). Regular consultations within the Council of Association will also enable Turkey and the Community to co-ordinate their economic policies. In this spirit, it is specified that "Turkey will endeavour, as soon as the present Protocol takes effect, to improve the treatment accorded to private capital coming from the Community which is likely to contribute to its economic development".

The same concerted action is planned with a view to co-ordinating trade policies towards third countries. Consultations are provided for in the event of agreements signed by one of the Contracting Parties having a direct and special effect on the functioning of the Association, and, in particular, in the event of the accession of a third country to the Community, so that the reciprocal interests of the Community and Turkey can be taken into consideration (Article 56).

Among the general and final provisions of the Protocol, it is specified that "if serious disturbances arise in a sector of the economic activity" of Turkey or of a Community country, "or compromise its external financial stability, or if difficulties arise reflected in a deterioration in the economic situation" of one of its regions, the country in question "may take the necessary safeguarding measures".

INTERIM AGREEMENT

The Protocol will not come into effect until instruments of ratification have been exchanged. In the meantime the Community and Turkey have deemed it desirable by means of an interim agreement to give the earliest possible effect to certain provisions of the Protocol affecting merchandise trade. This interim agreement came into effect on 1st September, 1971.

The interim agreement, which continues in force until not later than 30th September, 1972, thus allows the application of the provisions for the elimination of customs duties and quantitative restrictions, the Community eliminating them in their entirety and Turkey reducing customs duties on products from the Community by 10 per cent. The special provisions for certani manufactures or agricultural products are, of course, preserved.

Table IX Sources and Uses of Funds in the Banking Sestem

Consolidated Balance-Sheets of the Central Bank & Banks All banks excluding the State Development Bank TL millions

			Amour	10					Cha	nges		
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Sources of Funds:				2								
loney held by the public												
Banknotes	13 434	19 780	22 682	25 968	30 127	35 268	2 435	3 346	2 906	3 286	4 159	5 14
Coins	6 174	6 990	8 513	8 010	8 861	11 601	510	816	1 523	-503	851	2 74
Deposit money	152	174	201	227	220	249	-19	22	27	26		
held by the public sector	10 108	12 616	13 968	17 731	21 046	23 418	1 944	2 508	1 352		-7	2
held by the private and	545	518	660	1 007	1 104	961	-42	-27		3 763	3 315	2 37
held by the private sector	9 553	12 098	13 308	16 724	19 942	22 457	1 986		142	347	97	-14
Quasi money and other liabilities	18 023	20 376	22 56€	16 559	30 510			2 535	1 210	3 416	3 218	2 51
to public sector	5 455	5 929	6 602	7 437		31 668	2 029	2 353	2 190	3 993	3 951	1 15
to private sector	12 568	14 447	15 964		8 330	8 653	477	474	673	834	893	32
Reserves (compulsory or not)	3 385	4 573		19 122	22 180	23 015	1 552	1 879	1 517	3 158	3 058	83
Assets = liabilities	37 842		5 243	7 377	9 659	9 783	805	1 188	670	2 134	2 282	12
Uses of funds:	37 042	44 729	50 491	59 904	70 296	7 619	5 259	6 887	5 762	9 413	10 392	6 42
redits												
To public sector	19 170	24 277	28 360	33 313	40 336	45 270	2 202					
by Central Bank	5 404	6 424	7 500	8 146	9 898		3 203	5 107	4 083	4 953	7 023	4 93
	2 865	3 850	4 723	5 475		11 152	1 038	1 020	1 076	646	1 752	1 2:
by banks	2 539	2 574	2777		6 901	7 943	460	985	873	752	1 426	10
To private sector	13 766	17 853		2 671	2 997	3 209	578	35	203	-106	326	2
by Central Bank	1 800	2 821	20 860	25 167	30 438	34 118	2 165	4 087	3 007	4 307	5 271	3 68
by banks	11 966	15 032	4 053	4 693	6 019	6 622	65	1 021	1 232	640	1 326	60
Net gold and foreign exchange reserves (convertible or not)	759		16 807	20 474	24 419	27 496	2 100	3 066	1 775	3 667	3 945	30
Other Claims (Central Bank and others)	14 528	403	546	636	6^1	1 247	293	-356	143	90	-630	1 24
from public sector		15 476	16 342	18 578	20 295	20 419	968	948	866	2 736	1 717	1
from private sector	10 987	11 438	12 247	12 098	12 727	14 879	851	451	809	-149	629	2 1
Counterpart of reserves	3 541	4 038	4 095	6 480	7 568	5 540	117	497	57	2 385	1 088	-2 02
Currency held by the banking system	3 385	4 573	5 243	7 377	9 659	9 783	805	1 188	670	2 143		
Deposits of banks with Central Bank	1 245	1 429	1 500	1 984	2 183	2 385	232	184	71		2 282	12
Compulsory reserves	455	562	522	981	1 321	1 106	21	107	-40	484	199	20
cash reserve requirements	1 685	2 582	3 221	4 412	6 155	6 292	552	897		459	340	-2
import quarantee describ	1 101	1 741	2 084	2 935	3 676	4 293			639	1 191	1 743	1
import guarantee deposits	584	841	1 137	1 477	2 479	1 999	485 67	640 257	343 296	851 340	741 1 002	6

¹ Due to the change in the accounting rules of foreign exchange operations, it was not possible to calculate the comparable figure for 1969.

Source: Central Bank of Turkey; cf. Annual Report 1967 and 1968.

Table X Financial Position of TL

the State Economic Enterprises millions

			Outcome			Progr	amme
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1970	1971
NVESTMENT FINANCE:							
Total investments by the SEEs	3 068	3 083	2 020	4 898	(172	1012	
By Pension and Insurance Funds (self-financed)	334	176	3 828	4 898	6 173	4 943	6 975
By productive SEEs	2 734	2 907	394		333	593	416
Financed by:			3 434	4 408	5 840	4 350	6 559
Own sources	878	69	-60	-1 253	1 105	227	270
State Investment Bank	927	2 075	2 230	3 057	-1 105	-337	279
Government Budget	721	613	807		2 555	2 530	1 496
Counterpart loans	37	_	807	1 660	1 783	1 900	3 000
Direct project financing from abroad	171	150	457	944	2 607	850	2 200
NET CASH POSITION:				0			
Current gross profits or losses (—)	448	656	641	523	617	1.024	
State Railways	-256	-468	-480	-687	617	1 024	1 225
Coal industries	-90	1	-105		-991 240	-428	-910
Nitrogen industry	-41	-48	-103 -46	14 -51	-240	-146	-170
Other productive SEEs	835	1 171	1 272	1 247	-108	1.500	-145
Depreciation allowances	782	918			722	1 598	2 450
		919	1 036	1 154	1 456	1 356	1 677
Net balance of short-term flows	652	7	917	908	2 152	652	2 421
Total resources	1 882	1 581	2 594	2 585	4 225	3 032	5 323
Less: Direct taxes	215	280	364	379			
Debt repayment	657	1 232	2 290		354	481	467
Net cash position	878			3 459	4 976	4 148	4 803
ter cush position	8/8	69	-60	-1 253	-1 105	-1 597	53

Table XI Summary of assistance provided From 1963 to Agreements signed

in the framework of the Consortium¹ the end of 1970 disbursements and pipe-line

		Dina lina	19	963	19	964	1	965	19	066	19	967	19	968	19	96
		Pipe-line as of end-1962	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed											
I	Total Consortium assistance	207	208	248	296	200	333	271	337	242	250	259	327	253	257	
	- Programme assistance	34	151	138	157	134	118	126								
	- Project assistance	173	31	84	103	41	40	56	100 203	105	126	125	112	110	87	
	of which: International organisations	5	23	1	29	7	15	10		63	124	86	186	109	159	
	- Debt relief	-	26	26	36	25	175	89	88	24 74	37	43 48	44 29	49 34	109	
II	Non-Consortium project assistance	_	_	-	02	_	_			_	107		3	8	112	

	as of end-1962	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed		Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Agree- ments signed	Disbur- sements	Pipe-line as of end-1970
Total Consortium assistance	207	208	248	296	200	333	271	337	242	250	259	327	253	257	219	380	306	2 388	1 998	502
 Programme assistance Project assistance of which: International organisations Debt relief 	34 173 5	151 31 23 26	138 84 1 26	157 103 29 36	134 41 7 25	118 40 15 175	126 56 10 89	100 203 88 34	105 63 24 74	126 124 37	125 86 43 48	112 186 44 29	110 109 49 34	87 159 109	91 117 52 11	158 127 61 95	94 146 53 66	1 009 973 406 406	923 702 239 373	593 118 443 165 32
Non-Consortium project assistance	_	-	-	=	-	-	-	1	_	107		3	8	112	40	113	37	335	85	250

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1969

1970

Total 1963-1970

Table I National Product
TL millions

	Current Prices							(Constant	1965 P	rices	
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	23 040	27 314	28 395	29 884	32 031	34 642	23 040	25 663	25 906	26 402	26 388	26 757
Industry	11 492	13 434	15 664	17 301	20 069	22 407	11 492	12 710		15 714		17 637
Construction	3 716	4 462	5 181	6.066	6 867	7 757	3 716	4 192		4 951	5 389	5 675
Wholesale and retail trade	6 131	6 988	7 820	8 551	9 680	11 640	6 131	6 664	7 200	7 802	8 382	8 956
Transport and communications	4 307	4 719	5 436	6 165	7 040	8 128	4 307	4 630	4 956	5 354	5 828	6 209
Financial institutions	4 854	5 595	6 485	7 480	8 572	9 871	4 854	5 281	5 740	6 237	6 757	7 252
Ownership of dwellings	2 295	2 548	2 841	3 263	3 716	4 365	2 295	2 490	2 716	2 967	3 238	3 472
Government, health, education	6 772	7 897	8 724	9 854	10 859	13 015	6 772	7 348	7 983	8 713	9 476	10 215
Net domestic product at factor cost	62 606	72 958	80 546	88 564	98 835	111 824	62 606	68 978	73 267	78 140	82 658	86 172
plus: net income from abroad	214	599	277	304	496	2 287	214	571	262	286	447	1 366
plus: indirect taxes	7 090	8 471	10 324	11 598	13 091	15 755	7 090	7 657	8 309	8 845	9 601	10 172
plus: depreciation	3 229	3 662	4 083	4 554	5 081	5 744	3 299	3 540	3 802	4 089	4 406	4 741
Gross national product at market prices	73 209	86 589	95 230	105 020	117 502	135 610	73 209	80 746	85 640	91 360	97 111	102 450
plus: net imports of goods and services	-	Y-	_	_	_	_	704	1 479	1 046	2 000	1 900	2 000

Source: Communication by the State Planning Organisation.

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Table V Prices
Indices 1963 = 100

And the second second								THE PARTY		1								
	1965	1966	1967	1068	1969	1970		19	69			1970				19	71	
		1700	1707	1700	1707	1370	I	II	III	IV	I	II	Ш	IV	I	II	Ш	IV
Wholesale Prices:																		
Total	109	115	123	129	137	146	137	137	135	139	145	143	141	140	150	164	170	
Food and feeding stuffs	110	116	124	129	137	141	138	138	134	138	148	144	141	148 143	159	164	172	181
Cereals	112	115	114	121	130	131	129	131	130	130	133	132	130		155	160	160	169
Livestock	117	127	153	155	152	179	156	160	145	148	186	185	172	133	137	142	144	144
Livestock products	112	122	138	135	142	150	142	139	139	146			110000000000000000000000000000000000000	188	243	243	244	263
Industrial and semi-manufactured	108	112	122	130	136	154	134	135	137	140	157	147	144	155	163	169	170	180
Fuel	100	101	118	156	179	179	173	174	179	187	184	144	150	155	165	170	192	202
Minerals	110	116	126	129	131	156	130	130	131	131	131	174	177	182	182	186	243	259
Chemicals and pharmaceuticals	111	130	140	141	143	200	142	143	143	144	173	152 189	171	171	171	174	196	196
Building materials		_	128	132	140	151	138	139	140	143	145		211	237	312	325	336	338
Textiles	106	107	117	116	118	124	116	118	119	119	123	151 123	155 121	155 127	158	162 156	169 165	175
The Cost of Living:				1											1100			
Ankara, total	109	115	122	127	133	148	131	132	134	120	140		110	150				
Istanbul, total	105	115	131	139	144	156	144	145	145	139	142	144	148	158	164	171	189	197
Food	106	115	133	140	147	158	145	147	146	77	152	153	156	162	169	177	194	201
Heating and light	101	104	108	124	125	127	125	125	125	151	155	157	157	163	170	178	188	196
Clothing	104	114	125	134	135	153	137	138	139	125	125	125	126	132	132	132	213	242
Other	103	110	132	140	146	162	145	144	145	142	147	149 156	155 165	161 174	171	180 187	184 224	194 225

Source: Turkish submission to OECD.

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Üretim faaliget kollarının milli gelir [1967'den sonra gayrı safi milli hasıla] içindeki oranı. Cari üretim âmilleri fiatlarıyla.

										7							
	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963
Tarim:	47,4	53,2	47,3	49,9	52,0	49,8	49,2	40,1	41,9	42,9	45,1	47,7	44,3	43,4	40,9	41,8	42,2
Sanayi: 1)	12,5	10,5	12,7	12,2	11,7	12,0	12,5	15,2	14,2	15,5	15,6	16,0	15,8	15,5	16,3	16,0	15,9
(İmalat sanayii):	(11,1)	(9,4)	(11,2)	(10,7)	(10,1)	(10,3)	(10,3)	(13,5)	(12,5)	(14,0)	(14,3)	(14,3)	(13,4)	(13,3)	(14,1)	(13,9)	(14,0)
Insaat:	1																5,8
Ulaştırma v. haberl:																	
Digerleri:2)	29,6	28,5	30,0	29,0	27,5	27,6	27,7	31,9	31,3	28,9	26,3	24,4	26,9	27,8	29,4	28,9	28,8

1964	1965a	1966a	1967a	1967	1968	1969	1970c	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976d	19Hd
40,4	37,1	37,6	35,6	30,1		30,0	29,1	29,0	27,8	26,5	27,6	28,4	29,5	28,3
16,4	17,1	17,1	18,2	15,4	-	20,8	19,5	19,8	19,5	19,8	20,5	20,0	19,8	19,6
(14,2)	(14,9)	(15,1)	(76,0)	(13,5)		(17,6)	(16,6)	(16,9)	(16,7)	(77,7)	(17,7)	(17,1)	(76,8)	(15,9)
6,0	6,5	6,8	6,9	5,8	7	7,6	7,2	5,9	5,8	5,4	5,0	5,2	5,3	5,5
7,3	7.5	7,0	7,4	6,3	-	8,9	8,8	8,6	8,4	9,1	9,2	9,0	9,1	8,9
29,9	31,8	31,5	31,9		-	32,7	35,4	36,7	36,7	39,2	37,7	37,4	36,3	37,7
And the internal property of the control of the con	40,4 16,4 (14,2) 6,0 7,3	40,4 37,1 16,4 17,1 (14,2) (14,9) 6,0 6,5 7,3 7,5	40,4 37,1 37,6 16,4 17,1 17,1 (14,2) (14,9) (15,1) 6,0 6,5 6,8 7,3 7,5 7,0	40,4 37,1 37,6 35,6 16,4 17,1 17,1 18,2 (14,2) (14,9) (15,1) (16,0) 6,0 6,5 6,8 6,9 7,3 7,5 7,0 7,4	40,4 37,1 37,6 35,6 30,1 16,4 17,1 17,1 18,2 15,4 (14,2) (14,9) (15,1) (76,0) (13,5) 6,0 6,5 6,8 6,9 5,8 7,3 7,5 7,0 7,4 6,3	40,4 37,1 37,6 35,6 30,1 — 16,4 17,1 17,1 18,2 15,4 — (14,2) (14,9) (15,1) (76,0) (13,5) — 6,0 6,5 6,8 6,9 5,8 7,3 7,5 7,0 7,4 6,3 —	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $(14,2)$ $(14,3)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,3$ $7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $29,1$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $19,5$ $(14,2)$ $(14,9)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $(16,6)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,2$ $7,3$ $7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$ $8,8$	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $29,1$ $29,0$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $(14,2)$ $(14,9)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $(16,6)$ $(16,6)$ $(16,9)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,2$ $5,9$ $7,3$ $7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$ $8,8$ $8,6$	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $29,1$ $29,0$ $27,8$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $19,5$ $(14,2)$ $(14,9)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $(16,6)$ $(16,3)$ $(16,7)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,2$ $5,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$ $8,8$ $8,6$ $8,4$	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $29,1$ $29,0$ $27,8$ $26,5$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $(14,2)$ $(14,3)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $(16,6)$ $(16,3)$ $(16,7)$ $(17,1)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,2$ $5,9$ $5,8$ $5,4$ $7,3$ $7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$ $8,8$ $8,6$ $8,4$ $9,1$	40,4 $37,1$ $37,6$ $35,6$ $30,1$ $ 30,0$ $29,1$ $29,0$ $27,8$ $26,5$ $27,6$ $16,4$ $17,1$ $17,1$ $18,2$ $15,4$ $ 20,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $19,5$ $19,8$ $20,5$ $(14,2)$ $(14,3)$ $(15,1)$ $(16,0)$ $(13,5)$ $ (17,6)$ $(16,6)$ $(16,9)$ $(16,7)$ $(17,7)$ $(17,7)$ $6,0$ $6,5$ $6,8$ $6,9$ $5,8$ $ 7,6$ $7,2$ $5,9$ $5,8$ $5,4$ $5,0$ $7,3$ $7,5$ $7,0$ $7,4$ $6,3$ $ 8,9$ $8,8$ $8,6$ $8,4$ $9,1$ $9,2$	40.4 37.1 37.6 35.6 30.1 $ 30.0$ 29.1 29.0 27.8 26.5 27.6 28.4 16.4 17.1 17.1 18.2 15.4 $ 20.8$ 19.5 19.8 19.5 19.8 20.5 20.0 (14.2) (14.9) (15.1) (16.0) (13.5) $ (17.6)$ (16.6) (16.6) (16.7) (17.1) (17.7) (17.1) 6.0 6.5 6.8 6.9 5.8 $ 7.6$ 7.2 5.9 5.8 5.4 5.0 5.2 7.3 7.5 7.0 7.4 6.3 $ 8.9$ 8.8 8.6 8.4 9.1 9.2 9.0	16.4 17.1 18.2 15.4 $ 20.8$ 19.5 19.8 19.5 19.8 20.5 20.0 19.8 (14.2) (14.9) (15.1) (16.0) (13.5) $ (17.6)$ (16.6) (16.7) (17.1) (17.7) (17.7) (17.7) (17.7) (17.7) (16.8) 6.0 6.5 6.8 6.9 5.8 7.6 7.2 5.9 5.8 5.4 5.0 5.2 5.3

¹⁾ Madencilik; Elektrik, gaz ve su ile imalat sanayiini kapsıyor. 2) Üretken olmayan işkollarını kapsıyor: Ticaret, Bankacılık ve Sigortacılık, Hizmetler, Devlet Hizmetleri, Konut mülkiyeti

*: Açıklama: 1967 den sonrası için yayınlanan sayılamalarda üretim kollarının milli gelir içindeki oram degil, gayn safi clanaje vennesi amaciyla 1967 yılı için söz konusu milli hasila içindeki oranları var. Dizinin karşılaştırma oranian hem milli geline we hem de gayn soft milli harmlaya gore hesaplodin. Milli gelir gayn safi milli hasılaya gore daha kuçük olduğundan, 1367'de milli gelir ifindeki oranlar daha büyük.

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Toplumsal üretim ve para/kredi politikasıyla ilişkili göstergeler (devam).

					A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	William Palling and Market		A second									
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1977	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
9 gayrı safi milli hasıla 1362 = 100	100,0	109,4	115,2	119,1	132,8	138,6	148,0	155,8	164,8	181,3	195,2	212,4	228,1	246,3	265,2	275,7	
Tarim 1a 1962 = 100	100,0	109,5	112,3	108,2	119,1	119,7	122,3	122,6	129,0	144,2	143,4	132,8	146,5	162,4	174,9	174,3	
Sanayi (1962=100)	100,0	110,2	122,7	135,4	154,5	165,1	189,4	207,3	213,8	235,6	263,7	291,2	315,3	d 343,3	d 378,5	d 419,2	
insaat (1962=100)	100,0	109,4	121,6	125,9	143,3	147,4	163,7	168,3	182,3	174,0	188,7	204,2	216,8	235,1	d 254,6	d 268,9	
Para arzı 26	+ 9,4	+ 11,0	+15,1	+17,4	+ 20,4	+14,7	+ 14,5	+ 16,0	+17,1	+ 23,6	+22,2	+ 32,4	+ 27,7	+31,6	+27,1		
Banka kredileri	+24	+15	+ 13	+20	+ 25	+16	+18	+20	+ 12	+76	+ 31	+30	+ 37	+45	+ 33		
	+5,7	+4,2	+1,2	+8,1	+ 4,8	+7,6	43,2	+ 7,2	+6,7	+15,9	+18,0	+20,5	+29,9	+ 10,7	+15,4		
Kisi başına gayri Safi milli hasıla	1960	2059	2108	2149	2309	2388		3108	3220	3460	3611	3706	3885	4086	4299		

1: 1368 üretici fiyatlarıyla; 2: Bir yıl öncekine göre % artışi 3: 1962-1967 yıllan 1861 fiyatlanyla,
1969-1976 yılları 1968 yılı faktör fiyatlanyla. a: World Bank: "Turkey: Prospects and Problems of an
Expanding Economy" Vashington 1975, S. 336 daki verilere göre kendim hesapladım. b: Sevgi Ataman, a.g.e.,
S. 116. c: Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı 1968, S. 382 ve Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı 1977, S. 364. d: Türkiye İstatistik
Cep Yıllığı 1978, S. 209'daki verilere göre ben hesapladımı

Gelir dağılımı araştırması açıklandı cumhunyat

Uzun çalışmalar sonucu hazırlanan araştırmada, Türkiye'de hanelerin en düşük gelirli yüzde 5'inin toplam gelirin yalnızca binde 3,5'unu aldığı belirtiliyor

The state of the s

DPT Sosyal Planlama Dâiresi târâfından yapılan araştırmada «Türkiye, uluslararası ölçekte eşitlikten en uzak ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır» deniliyor

Nüfusun %. 15'i gelirin yüzde 50'sini alıyor

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Bürosu)
Türkiye'de hanelerin en düşük
gelirli yüzde beşi, toplam gelirin

gelirli yüzde beşi, toplam gelirin yalnızca binde 3.5'uğunu alırken, hanelerin en yüksek gelirli yüzde beşi toplam gelirin yüzde 29'unu almaktadır. En düşük gelirli yüz de beşin elde ettiği gelir sıfırla 2500 lira arasında değişirken, en

yüksek gelir grubunun geliri 200 bin lira ve bunun üstündeki gelirleri içermektedir. Başka bir deyimle, nüfusun yirmide biri toplam gelirin üçte birine yakın bölümünü alırken, nüfusun yüzde doksanbeşi gelirin üçte ikisini almaktadır. En düşük gelirli yüzde on hane, toplam gelirin yüzde

Yalçın DOĞAN

I'ini elde ederken, en yiiksek gelirli yiizde on hane toplam gelirin yiizde 41'ini elde etmektedir. Başka bir deyimle, niifusun yiizde onu, toplam gelirin yiizde 41' ini alırken, nüfusun kalan yüzde doksanı gelirin yüzde 59'unu almaktadır. Ulaşılan bu bulgulara göre, gelir dağılımı açısından Türkiye eşitlikten en uzak ülkeler- arasında yer alırken, planlı döneme girildiği 1963 yılından bu yana gelir dağılımındaki eşitsizliğin daha da artuğı saptanmaktadır. Araştırmada açıklandığına göre nüfusun yüzde 15'i gelirin yüzde 50'sini almaktadır.

Devlet Planlama Teşkilâtı tarafından 1973 yılı verilerine dayanılarak yürütülen «Türkiye'de gelir dağılımı araştırması» iki yılı aşkın bir çalışmadan sonra ta-

(Devamı Sa. 9, Sü. 1 de)

Nutusun yüzde 15'i

(Bastarafi 1. Sayfada)

mamlanmış ve Türkiye'de yaratılan toplam gelirden alınan kişisel paralar hesaplanmıştır. Son yılların en önemli çalışması olarak nitelenen ve Türkiye'deki ekonomik durumu kişisel refah acısından değerlendiren gelir da ğılımı araştırmasında hane halkı basına ortalama harcanabilir gelir 24 bin 694 lira olarak bulunurken, kisi basına düşen ortalama harcanabilir gelir ise 14 bin 571 lira olarak hesaplanmıştır. Gelir dağılımının coğrafi bölgelere göre değerlendirilmesinde, eşitsizliğin en yüksek olduğu bölgenin Akdeniz, eşitliğe en yakın olan bölgenin ise Marmara bölgesi olduğu saptanmıştır.

ARASTIRMANIN ÖNEMI

Değişik üretim faaliyetleri sonucunda yaratılan toplam gelirin kişi, hane, çalışanlar, meslek grupları, ekonomik kesimler, bölgeler, yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim ve ben zeri gibi ayrımlara göre sınıflandırılmasıyla bulunan gelir dağılımının bir ülkede «yaşama düzeyi»ni göstermesi bakımından eko nomi teorisi ve bilimi içinde çok önemli bir yeri olduğu bildirilmektedir. Toplumdaki gelir eşitsizliklerini ve dolayısıyle «ekonomik kavganın temelini» oluşturduğu belirtilen gelir dağılımı konusunda ekonomik teorisinde değişik yaklaşımların bulunduğu açıklanmakta ve DPT araştırmasında bu konuda söyle denilmektedir:

«Emek verimliliğinin sektörler arasında ve aynı sektör içinde cok farklı olusu, ekonomide az sayıda modern, çok sayıda gele neksel küçük üreticinin varlığı, ticretli ve maaşlı kesimin toplam nüfus içindeki payının düşük oluşu, tarımın ekonomide egemen liğini sürdürmesi ve bu sektörde yer yer feodal ilişiklerin süregelmesi ile öteki sosyal kurumsal dengesizlikler az gelismis ülkelerde gelir dağılımının daha kötü olmasına yol aç maktadır. Bu gelir dengesizliği,

mektedir» denilmektedir.

Gelirin kaynağına göre ayrımda tarım dışı gelirlerin dağılımının tarımsal gelirlere göre daha da dengesiz olduğu bildirilmektedir. Tarımsal gelirlerde ise gelir dağılımındaki dengesizliğin toprak dağılımındaki eşitsizlikten kaynaklandığı vurgulanmaktadır.

BÖLGELERE GÖRE DAGILIM

DPT araştırmasında gelir dağılımı bölgelere göre de ayrıca sınıflandırılmış ve en büyük eşitsizliğin Akdeniz, en az eşitsizliğin ise Marmara bölgesinde bulunduğu saptanmıştır. Üç büyük
kent arasında İstanbul ve İzmir'
de ise 2500 liradan az gelirli hane bulunmadığı açıklanmaktadır.
Bölgelere göre dağılım konusunda araştırmada özetle söyle denilmektedir:

«Akdeniz bölgesinde yıllık net hane geliri 200 bin liranın üzerinde 9.869 hane bulunurken, Doğu Anadolu'da yalnızca 714 hane çıkmıştır. Bu hanelerin toplam bölge geliri içindeki payları iki bölgede, sırasıyla yüzde 17.44 ve yüzde 9.5'tir. En yüksek gelirli (200 bin liradan yüksek) ha-Oteki nelerin payı İstanbul'da. bölgelerden ve Ankara ile İzmir'den yüksektir (yüzde 1.3). Ortalama hane geliri 416 bin 874 lira olan bu 7.748 hane Istanbul' daki toplam gelirin yüzde 13.7' sini elde etmektedir. Buna karşılık, İzmir'deki hane halklarının yüzde 1.2'sini oluşturan ve ortalama geliri 692 bin 100 lira olan en yüksek gelirli 1.549 hanenin toplam gelir payı yüzde 21'dir.

Varilan bu sonuç daha sonra söyle açıklanmaktadır:

«Akdeniz bölgesinde bir yandan son yıllarda hızla gelişen, genel olarak tarımsal hammaddeye dayanan ve tarımla ilişkisi süren, aynı zamanda, hizmetler kesimini de elinde bulunduran az sayıda sanayi içi, öte yandan

bölge ekonomisinde önemli bir yeri olan tarım kesiminde çok sayıda küçük tarım üreticisi ile topraksız çiftçi ve tarım işçisinin varlığı, gelir dağılımının öteki bölgelere göre daha bozuk çıkısina yol açan temel etkenler olarak sayılabilir. Akdeniz bölgesinden sonra Karadeniz bölgesindeki dağılımın diğer bölgelere göre daha dengesiz çıkmasına, bu bölge kapsamına çay, fındık, tütün gibi yüksek gelir getiren tarını ürünleri üreten kıyı şeridi yanında, iç bölgelerden, oldukça geri kalmış Gümüşhane, Artvin, Amas ya, Kastamonu gibi illerin girmesi ve dengesiz toprak dağılımının yol açtığı söylenebilir.»

ÜC BÜYÜK KENT

Üç büyük kent incelendiğinde Ankara'daki diğer iki kente göre olan dengeli dağılımı «Kamılı hizmetlerinin önemli sayıda bu kentte oturmasına ve büyük sanayilerin bu il içinde yer almamış olmasına» bağlanmaktadır. Üç büyük kent içindeki en bozuk dağılımın olduğu il olan İzmiriçin şöyle denilmektedir:

«İzmir İstanbul'la karşılaştırıldığında, daha çok ticaret kesiminin, toptancı tüccarların, ihracat çıların yoğunlaştığı ve sanayilesmenin daha az yoğun olduğu bir ildir. İstanbul'da çok önemli sayıda ücretli sanayide ve modern hizmetler kesiminde çalışmakta olup, bunların büyük bölümü örgütlenmiştir. Son yıllarda gelişen sendikal faaliyetler ve toplu sozleşme uygulamalarının, İstanbul' da bulunan çok sayıdaki ücretlinin parasal gelir düzeyini, dolayısıyle bu ilde gelir bölüşümünü olumlu yönde etkilediği izlenimini vermektedir.»

DP araştırmasında gelir dağılımı değişik sınıflandırmalara ayrılmakta ve konu değişik acılardan incelenmektedir. ve 1973 yılı Türkiye nüfusunun 39 milyon 112 bin olarak nesaplandığı bildirilmektedir. Aynı yıl Türkiye'nin toplam geliricin 170 milyar 269 milyon ilra oldu ğu belirtilmekte ve araştırmada kullanılan gelir kavramı söyle ta nımlanmaktadır:

"Haneye gerçek olarak giren, yurt dişindan gelen transfer ge lirleri dişinda, tüm parasal gelirlerle, izafı kira bedeli ve nane ye giren para dişi gida, yiyecek yardımlarını kapsamakta olup, hane halkının (yurt içinden sağ ladığı vergi sonrası) harcanabilir geliri şeklinde nitelendirilmektedir."

Calışmada bulunan 170 milyar 269 milyon liralık toplam gelirin işçi dövizleri dışında, toplam di şisel kullanılabilir (harcanabilir) gelir niteliğinde olduğu belirtil-

mektedir.

TEMEL BULGULAR

DPT Sosyal Plânlama Dairesi Araştırma şubesinin nazırıadığı araştırmanın «temel bulgular» bölümünde ise Türkiye'deki gelir dağılımının en çarpıdı yönü söy le serglienmektedir.

«Hanelerin yüzde 4.1'ini diusturan en düşük gelirli (sıfır ile 2500 hra arasındaki gelirliler) 280.463 hane, toplam gelirin ancak binde 3'ünü elde ederken, hanelerin binde 6'sını oluşturur, en yüksek gelirli (yıllık geliri 200 bin liradan fazla olanlar) 45.095 hane toplam gelirin yüzde 10.2'sini almaktadır. Hanelerin yüzde 22.5 uğunun bulunduğu belir gru bundaki (gelirleri 15 bin ile 25 bin arasında bulunanlar) 1.550. 513 hane, toplam kişisel harcanabilir gelirin yüzde 17.9'unu ala-bilmektedir. Bu niteliği ile Türkiye uluslararası ölçekte eşitlikten en uzak ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır.»

Başka bir deyimle, bir hanenin beş kişiden oluştuğu varsayımla, yaklaşık bir buçuk milyon kişi Türkiye'de 64 milyon lirayı paylaşırken, yaklaşık iki yüz yirmibeş bin kişi 1 milyar 700 milyon lirayı paylaşmaktadır. Nüfusun yüzde onbeşi, gelirin yüzde 50'sini almakta, diğer yarısını ise nüfusun yüzde 85'i pay-

laşmaktadır.

Özetlenen bulgular 1963 ve 1968 yılları ile karşılaştırıldığında gelir dağılımındaki eşitsizliğin giderek arttığı saptanmaktadır. Bu iliskiyi gösteren tabloya göre, hane halkının en düsük gelirli yüzde yirmisi 1963 yılında toplam gelirin yüzde 4.5'uğunu alırken, 1973 yılında aynı yüzde yirmi toplam gelirin yüzde 3.5°-uğunu alır olmuştur. Toplu söz-leşmelerin ve personel yasasının gelir dağılımı üzerinde, «geçici de olsa düzeltici etkisi» bulunduğunu belirten araştırmada «ancak, özellikle 1970-1973 döneminde önceki yıllara göre hızlanan fiyat artışlarının bu olumlu etkileri büyük ölçüde ortadan kaldırdığı, hatta gelir bölüşümünü bu gruplar aleyhine bozduğu izlenmektedir. denilmektedir.

Türkiye'nin 1973 yılındaki gelir dağılımı: (yıllık gelire göre dağılım)

Gelir grupları (TL)	hanelerin yüzdesi	Ulusal gelirin yüzdesi
0 - 2 500	4,1	0,3
2500 - 5000	8,1	1,2
5000 - 10 000	17,8	5,4
10 000 - 15 000	20,0	10,1
15 000 - 25 000	22,5	17,9
25 000 - 50 000	18,1	25,4
50 000 - 100 000	6,8	18,6
100 000 - 200 000	1,9	10,8
200 000 ve daha fazla	0,6	10,2

Kaynak: Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, Gelir Dağılımı 1973

Aktaran: TÜSİAD, The Turkish Economy 1981, S. 12

Tirkize'de Ötel seltinde yabsel distez yosehialeriala ürretleri ne mel

Onel ETI Gda Sonagi A.S.

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Türkiye'nin sınıfsal yapısı

Türkiye'nin sınıfsal yapısı hakkında, son 15 yıldaki hızlı gelişmeyi de dikkate alan ciddi bir araştırma bulamadım. Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsünün (DİE) verilerine göre başlıca sınıf ve katmanları sayısal olarak belirlemeye çalışacağım. Başvurduğum kaynaklar şunlar:

- (1) Türkiye Nüfus Araştırması 1974-1975, D.İ.E., Ankara
- (2) Türkiye İstatistik Cep Yıllığı 1978, D.İ.E., Ankara 1979

Kaynak (1)e göre Türkiye'nin toplam nüfusu 42 048 bin idi. Bu nüfusun 27 968 bini 12 veya daha fazla yaşında, yani çalışabilir yaşta idi. Bu 27 küsur milyonun yerleşme bölgeleri açısından dağılımı şöyle:

Kirsal alanlar : 12 967 bin
Kentsel alanlar : 10 788 bin
Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir : 4 213 bin

Yine kaynak (1)e göre çalışabilir yaşta olan bu 27 küsur milyonun % 64'ü fiilen işgücüne katılmakta idi (17 945 bin). Şehirlerde işgücüne katılma oranı kırsal alanlardan daha düşük olduğu için işgücünün yerleşme bölgelerine göre dağılımını ayrıca veriyorum:

İlkin kırsal alanlar dışındaki 6 747 bin kişiyi başlıca sınıf ve katmanlara dağıtmaya çalışalım. Kırsal kesimin sınıfsal yapısını daha sonra ele alacağız.

İşçi sınıfı: İşçi sınıfı deyince, en geniş anlamıyla, yaşamını sürdürebilmek için işgücünden başka bir şeyi olmayıp işgücünü kapitaliste satmak zorunda olanları anlıyoruz. Çoğunlukla <u>ücretliler</u> diye tanımlanan toplumsal grup işçi sınıfını belirlemek için <u>ilk yaklaşım</u> olarak ele alınır. Ancak özellikle Türkiye gibi sanayinin az geliştiği bir ülkede ücretlilerin önemli bir bölümü işçi sınıfına değil, orta katmanlara dahildir. Türkiye'de ücretlilerin sayısı ve bileşimi ile ilgili elimizde şu veriler var:

Ucretlilerin iktisadi faaliyet kollarına dağılımı (1975):

(12 ve daha yukarı yaşlar)			
	Mut	clak sayılar:	Yüzde:
Ziraat, ormancılık, avcılık ve balıkçılı	k:	323 718	7,1
İstihraç sanayii	:	102 706	2,3
İmalat sanayii	:	, 789 643	17,4
Elektrik gaz ve su	:	13 701	0,3
İnşaat ve bayındırlık işleri	· :	377 120	8,3
Toptan ve perakende ticaret, lokanta ve oteller	: (290 216	6,4
Ulaştırma, haberleşme ve depolama		276 014	6,1
Mali kurumlar, sigorta, taşınmaz mallara ait işler ve kurumları, yardımcı iş hizm	\$	149 708	3,3
Toplum hizmetleri, sosyal ve kişisel hiz	.: 1	698 992	37· , 5
İyi tanımlanmamış faaliyetler	;	507 727	11,2
TOPLAM Kaynak (2), S. 79	: 4	529 545	100,0
Toplam ücretlilerin esas iş veya mesleğe	σör	. dağılımı	
(12 ve daha yukarı yaşlar)			
,	Mut	lak Savilar:	Yiizde.

(12 ve daha yukarı yaşlar)	Mut	lak S	Sayılar:	Yüzde:
İlmi ve teknik elemanlar, serbest mes sahipleri ve bunlarla ilgili meslekle		526	116	12,1
Müteşebbisler, direktörler ve üst kad yöneticileri İdari personel ve benzeri çalışanlar	leme :		039 732	0,9 11,6
Ticaret ve satış personeli	:	107	084	2,5
Şahsi hizmet işlerinde çalışanlar		487	572	11,3
Tarımcı, hayvancı, ormancı, balıkçı ve	avcı:	540	964	12,5
Tarım dışı sektörlerde çalışan sanatk işçile	tarlar, er :2	027	667	46,8
Diğerleri	:	104	342	2,4
Bilinmeyen	:	1	851	
TOPLAM Kaynak (1) S. 28	:4	333	367	100,0

Görüldüğü gibi ücretlilerin toplamı 4,5 milyonu aşıyor. Bunların arasında işçileri ayrıd edebilmek için şu dört ayrı katmanı sayıca belirlemek gerekir: 1. Ücretli burjuvalar

- 2. Ücretli aydınlar
- 3. Ücretli orta katmanlar
- 4. Ücretli yarı-proleterler

Toplam ücretliler gurubundan ilk çıkarmamız gereken katman, kendi şirketlerinden "maaş" alan kapitalistler ve bunların yanısıra hukuksal mülkiyete sahip olmasa da burjuva sınıfından sayılması gereken üst kademe yöneticileridir. Ayrıca yüksek memurlar da yine burjuvaziden sayılırlar. Yüksek memurların dışındaki ücretli burjuvaların sayısı olarak ikinci tablodaki 37 bin sayısını alabiliriz.

Toplam ücretliler gurubundan çıkarmamız gereken ikinci katman, aydınlardır. Orta katmanların önemli bir bölümünü oluşturan aydınlar üretim araçları üzerinde özel mülkiyete sahip olmadan kendi emekleriyle geçinirler. Bunları işçi sınıfından ayıran başlıca özellik, önemli bir uzmanlık kazanmış olmalarıdır. Bu uzmanlığa dayanarak aydınlar diğer emekçilerden daha yüksek bir gelir ve başka ayrıcalıklar sağlayabiliyorlar. Ücretli aydınların sayısını belirlemek için ikinci tablodaki 526 bin sayısını alabiliriz.

Toplam ücretliler gurubundan çıkarmamız gereken üçüncü katmanı ücretli orta katmanlar dediğimiz kesim oluşturur. Bunlar kendi emekleri ile geçinen emekçiler oldukları halde, işçi sınıfından toplumsal işbölümünde aldıkları yer bakımından ayrılırlar. Özellikleri, toplumsal üretimin örgütlenmesinde denetim, iş dağıtımı ve komuta işlevlerini üstlenmiş olmaladırıdır. İşletmelerde ustabaşı ve postabaşı diye adlandırılan, kendileri çalışmayıp iş dağıtımını ve denetlemeyi gerçekleştiren emekçiler bu guruba girer. Marx ve Engels tarafından "sermayenin asteğmenleri" diye adlandırılan bu katman, devlet memuru olup da devletin baskı işlevini yürüten emekçileri de (polisler, küçük subaylar) kapsar. Bu grubun nicel büyüklüğünü belirlemek daha zordur. 1971 Sanayi Sayımının verileri, Türkiye'de büyük imalat sanayiinde tüm ücretlilerin % 9'unun "orta seviyeli eleman" olduğunu gösteriyor, ki bu sayıya ustabaşıları dahil değildir (Kaynak: Yıllık İmalat Sanayii Anketi, 1971, Iller, S. 122-123). Imalat Sanayiindeki ücretlilerin sayısı 790 bin kadar olduğuna göre, buradaki ücretli orta katman sayısını 40-50 bin olarak varsayabiliriz. Madencilik, inşaat v.s. gibi diğer alanları da katarsak 100 bin dolaylarında bir sayıya ulaşırız. Devlet memuru olarak çalışan ücretli orta katmanların sayısını da 100-150 bin olarak varsayabiliriz. Böylece 200-250 bin kişilik bir grup elde ediyoruz.

Yine ücretliler içinde gözüküp de burjuvaziden sayılması gereken

en yüksek memurların (l., 2. ve 3. derece devlet memurları) sayısı 1977'de 75 bin kadardı (Kaynak: Demokratikleşme için plan, Tip, S. 402).

Şimdiye kadar belirlediğimiz katman ve grupları toplam ücretlilerin sayısından düşünce geniş anlamda işçi sınıfının nicel ağırlığı hakkında bir fikir edinebiliyoruz.

Ücretli aydınlar: 526 116Ücretli orta katmanlar: 200 000Ücretli burjuvalar: 100 000

TOPLAM : 826 116

Bu sayıyı 4,5 milyon kadar tutan toplam ücretlilerden çıkarınca geniş anlamda işçi sınıfının nicel ağırlığını buluruz.

Geniş anlamda işçi sınıfı (işçiler ve küçük memurlar): 3 670 bin. Bunların 320 bin kadarı tarım, ormancılık, balıkçılık ve avcılıkta çalışıyor.

Proletarya dediğimiz modern işçi sınıfını bulmak için bu sayıdan küçük üretim ve manifaktürde çalışan ücretli işçileri çıkarmak gerekir. Marx, Engels ve Lenin modern işçi sınıfının modern üretim, yani endüstriyel üretim ile bağlı olduğunu, onunla birlikte ortaya çıktığını vurgularlar. Küçük üretimde kullanılan ilkel teknik, o alandaki işçilerde de "üretim aracı sahibi olup işçilikten kurtulma" ümidini beslemekte ve küçük burjuva eğilimlere taban olmaktadır. Üç-dört işçi çalıştıran atelyelerde kendisi de bedenen çalışan mal sahibi ile işçi arasındaki ilişkiler, işçilerin sömürülmesine rağmen, bir kapitalistle işçi arasındaki ilişkiler gibi değildir, daha kişiseldir. Pederşahi etkilere daha açıktır. Bu nedenlerle küçük üretimde çalışan işçileri yarı-proleter diye niteliyoruz. Modern endüstriyel üretimle birlikte ortaya çıkan kapitalist ticaret, bankacılık ve sigortacılık gibi üretken olmayan alanlarda veya modern tarımda çalışan işçiler ise proletaryaya dahildirler. Görüldüğü gibi burada ayırıcı rolü modern üretim güçleri ile olan bağ oynuyor.

Şimdi işçiler içinde yarı-proleterlerin sayısal büyüklüğünü kestirmeye çalışalım. Yukarıdaki birinci tabloda yarı-proleterlerin

özellikle imalat sanayii; inşaat ve bayındırlık işleri; toptan ve perakende ticaret, lokanta ve oteller; toplum hizmetleri,
sosyal ve kişisel hizmetler; iyi tanımlanmamış faaliyetler
kalemlerinde yer aldıklarını varsaymak gerekir. Yukarıdaki tablo imalat sanayiindeki ücretlilerin sayısını 789 643 olarak veriyor. 1976 yılında 10 veya daha fazla kişinin çalıştığı "büyük
işyerleri"nde ise çalışan ücretlilerin sayısı 724 385 idi (Kaynak: Yıllık İmalat Sanayii Anket Sonuçları 1976, DİE Yayın No.
838, S. 1). Demek ki ücretlilerin % 8,3'ünü oluşturan 65 258
kişi küçük imalat işletmelerinde çalışıyordu.

Ticaret işletmeleriyle ilişkin olarak ise elimizde ancak 1970 yılının verileri var (Kaynak (2), S.184-187). DİE ticaret yerlerini büyük-küçük olarak sınıflandırırken çalışan sayısına göre değil, yıllık satış tutarına göre sınıflandırmış (yılda 500 000 TL'den fazla satış tutarı olanlar büyük sayılmış). Buna karşılık bizim amacımız açısından 5 kişiden daha az kişinin çalıştığı tüm işlerlerini "küçük" saymak, buradaki ücretlileri asıl ticaret ve büro proletaryasına katmamak doğru olur. Diğer bir deyişle, bizim "küçük" tanımımız DİE'nin tanımından daha geniş kapsamlı oluyor. Buna göre ticaret sekötünde çalışan 92 bin ücretlinin \$ 67,3'ünü oluşturan 62 bin ücretli küçük işyerlerinde çalışıyor. Aynı oranın otel ve lokantalar için de geçerli olduğunu varsayarsak, toptan ve perakende ticaret, lokanta ve otellerde çalışan 290 bin kişinin \$ 60'ı olan 174 bin kişinin küçük işyerlerinde çalıştığını kestirebiliriz.

Toplum hizmetleri, sosyal ve kişisel hizmetler bölümünden yaklaşık 1 milyon kişi tutan memurları çıkardıktan sona geri kalanların büyük bir kısmının yine küçük üretici olduğu kesindir. Yine iyi tanımlanmamıs faaliyetlerdeki 500 bin ücretlinin büyük bir çoğunluğunun küçük üretimde çalıştığını varsaymak gerekir. Her iki kesimden toplam 700 bin ücretliyi yarı-proleter sayıyoruz.

İnşaat ve bayındırlık işlerinde 377 bin ücretli çalışıyor. Bu sektörde üretim güçlerinin imalat sanayiinin gerisinde olduğunu hatırlarsak, yarı-proleter oranının en az % 10-20 olacağını kestirebiliriz. Demek ki burada da en az 50 bin yarı-proleter bulunmaktadır.

Çeşitli işkollarında 989 bin, yani aşağı yukarı 1 milyon yarıproleter işçi saptadık. Bu sayıyı yukarıda geniş anlamda işçi
sınıfı için bulduğumuz 3 670 bin sayısından çıkararak Türkiye'deki modern işçi sınıfının (proletarya) sayısı olarak 2 670 bin
veya yaklaşık 2,7 milyon (1975 senesi için ve tarımdakiler dahil)
elde ederiz. Karşılaştırabilmek için ekliyorum: SSK'nın yaptığı açıklamalara göre Türkiye'de sigortalı işçi sayısı 1975'te
1 823 bin, 1976'da da 2 018 bin idi (Kaynak:Türkiye'nin Ekonomik
Göstergeleri 1974-78, Türkiye İş Bankası, S. 11).

Türkiye'de yaygın küçük üreticilik nedeniyle yarı-proleter unsurların önemli yer tuttuğuna değindik ve bunların tarım dışındaki ücretliler içinde 1 milyon kişi kadar tuttuklarını bir ilk yaklaşım olarak saptadık. Bununla beraber tarım dışındaki yarı-proleter kitleyi oluşturan diğer büyük bir grup "ücretsiz aile işçileri" olarak anılan gruptur. Bunların sayısı 1975'te Kaynak (2)de (Sayfa 79) 191 bin, Kaynak (1)de ise (S. 28) 277 bin kişi kadar gözüküyor. Bu verilere dayanarak tarım dışındaki yarı-proleterlerin sayısını yaklaşık 1 200 bin olarak saptayabiliriz.

Orta Katmanlar:

Tarım dışındaki orta katmanların en büyük bölümünü oluşturan küçük üreticilerin nicel büyüklüğünü saptamaya çalışalım. Kaynak (1)deki tabloda "kendi hesabına" ve "işveren" kavramları küçük üreticilerin yer alabilecekleri iki grubu gösteriyor. İşverenlerin toplam sayısı 210 bin. Bundan yüksek öğrenim görmüş olanları, müteşebbis ve üst kademe yöneticilerini ve tarımdakileri (yaklaşık 90 bin kişi) çıkarınca 120 bin kişi kadar kalıyor. Bu 120 bin kişi tarım dışındaki küçük üreticilerin üst kesimini oluşturuyor, çünkü emrinde başkasını çalıştırıyor. Bölgesel dağılıma baktığımzda "işveren"lerin çoğunun büyük şehirlerde, "kendi hesabına çalışan"ların çoğunun da küçük şehirlerde toplanmış olması bunu doğruluyor.

İkinci grup olan "kendi hesabına çalışan" kavramında toplananların sayısı 4 965 bin. Bundan yine yüksek öğrenim görmüş olanları, müteşebbis ve üst kademe yöneticilerini ve tarımdakileri (toplam 3 629 bin kişi) çıkarırsak 1 336 bin kişi kalır. Her iki grubu toplayınca Türkiye'de tarım dışındaki küçük üreticilerin sayısı olarak 1 456 bin kişi buluruz.

<u>Ucretli orta katmanların</u> sayısını yukarıda yaklaşık 200 bin olarak saptamıştık.

Aydınların sayısı olarak"ilmi ve teknik elemanlar, serbest meslek sahipleri ve bunlarla ilgili meslekler" kategorisine giren 614 539 kişiyi alıyoruz. Bu toplamdan, "işveren", "ücretsiz aile işçisi" ve "diğerleri" kategorilerinde toplanan toplam 34 bin kişiyi çıkarınca, geriye yaklaşık 581 bin kişi kalıyor.

Böylece tarım dışındaki orta katmanların toplam sayısı olarak 2 237 bin kişi buluyoruz.

Burjuvazi:

"İşveren" kategorisinde, tarım dışında olup da "orta katman" grubuna girmeyen 90 bin kişi var. Bunlara "ücretli", "kendi hesabına çalışan" ve "ücretsiz aile işçisi" kategorilerinde gözüken burjuvaları da ekleyince 165 bin kişi elde ediyoruz. Bu sayıya 75 bin kişi kadar tuttuklarını varsaydığımız "yüksek memurları" da katınca yaklaşık 240 bin kişi buluruz. Bu, tarım dışındaki burjuvazinin sayısı için bir ilk yaklaşım olabilir.

ÖZET: Tarım dışında sınıfsal yapı

Tarım dışındaki modern işçi sınıfı: 2 400 bin (Modern tarım proletaryası 300 bin küsur) Yarı-proleterler (tarım dışı) 1 200 bin Ucretli işçi 1 000 bin Ücretsiz aile işçisi .: Orta katmanlar 2 240 bin Aydınlar: 580 bin Ücretli orta katmanlar: 200 bin Küçük üreticiler (üst kesim): 120 bin Küçük üreticiler (alt kes.): 1 340 bin 240 bin Yüksek memurlar: 75 bin 6 080 bin kişi

DPT Verilerine Göre Türkiye'de Çalışanların Sektörlere

Dağılımı (15 ve daha yukarı yaştakiler):

Sektör:	1967 Çalışanlar 1000 kişi:	Yüzde:	1978 Çalışanlar 1000 kişi:	
Tarım	9 556	64	9 085	53
Sanayi	1 222	8	1 906	11 .
Madencilik	· 101	1	159	1
· İmalat Sanayii	1 082	7	1 653	10
Enerji, su ve havagazı	39	0,3	94	1
Inşaat	384	3	549	3
Ulaștırma	312	2	506	3
Ticaret	434	63	639	4
Banka v. sigortalar, gayrımenkul sahipliği	87	1	196	1
Hizmetler (Lokanta ve otelle	r d.)916	6	1 694	10
Bilinmeyenler	. 327	2	. 270	2
TOPLAM SİVİL İŞGÜCÜ (çalışan)	13 238	89	14 845	87
Tarımsal işgücü fazlası	1 050	7	720	4
Tarımdışı işgücü fazlası	630	4	1 566	9
Yurt içi işgücü fazlası	1 680	11	2 286	13
TOPLAM SİVİL İŞGÜCÜ (yurtiçi)	14 918	100	17 131	100

(Kaynak: DBYKP, S. 26 ve 251. Dikkat: "işgücü fazlası" gibi ters kavramları yanlışlık olmasın diye aynen aldım. Aslında işssiz sayısı demek gerekir.)

Burada kullanılan "çalışan"kavramı, aslında geçimini sağlayan şeklinde değiştirilmelidir. Yukarıdaki sayılar hem gerçekten çalışan emekçileri, hem de söz konusu sektörde "faaliyet gösterip" emekçileri sömüren kapitalistleri v.s. kapsıyor.

Siniflarin tarifi

"Tarihsel olarak belirlenmiş bir toplumsal üretim sisteminde aldıkları yere, üretim araçları ile olan ilişkilerinme (ki bu ilişkiler çoğunlukla yasalarla saptanmıştır), emeğin toplumsal örgütlenmesinde oynadıkları role ve böylece toplumsal servetten aldıkları payın alınış biçimine, ve bu payın büyüklüğüne göre birbirlerinden ayrılan büyük insan gruplarına sınıf denir. Sınıflar, belli bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde tuttukları yerlerin farklılığı sayesinde biri bir diğerinin emeğine el koyabilen insan gruplamındır."

(Lenin, Büyük Girisim, Tüm Esemrleri, C.29, S. 410, Almancası)

Düşmanlar arasındaki çelişkilerden yararlanmayı bilmek

"Daha güçlü bir rakip ançak düşmanlar arasındaki en küçük çatlakları, gerek farklı ülkeler burjuvazileri arasındaki, gerekse her bir ülke burjuvazisinin değişik grup ve katmanları arasındaki her çıkar karşıtlığını ve ne kadar küçükm de olsa, ne denli geçici, sallatılı, güvenilmez, dayanıksız, koşullu da olsa yığınlar arasında bir bağlaşık kazanmamak için her olanağı mutlaka, en uygun ve dikkatli bir biçimde özenle, ustaca kullanarak yenilebilir. Kim bunu anlamamışsa, marksizmin, bilimsel modern sosyalizmin en küçük bir kırıntısını bile anlamamış demektir. Kim ki oldukça uzun bir zaman dilimi boyunca ve birbirinden oldukça farklı politik durumlarda eylemde uygulayabildiğini pratikte kanıtlamamışsa, o henüz devrimci sınıfa tüm emekçi insanlığın sömürücülerden kurtarılması mücadelesinde yardım etmeyi öğrenememiş demektir."

bu gerçeği

(Lenin, Komünizmin çocukluk hastalığı sol radikalizm, Tüm Eserleri, C. 31, S. 56-57, Almancası)

Türkiye'de Sınıflar

Bilimsel komünizm "tarih sınıfların x mücadelesi tarihidir" cümlesi ile başlıyor. Bugün Türkiye'de hızla gelişen sert mücadelelerde işleyen toplumsal süreçlerin ana hatlarını görebilmek için onların sınıfsal özünü saptamak gerekiyor. Bu ise Türkiye'de toplumsal ve siyasal sahnedeki "aktörleri", değişik toplumsal sınıf ve katmanları belerlemeyi gerekxtirir.

Bu sorunun çözümü için zorunlu temel değerlendirmeleri TKP Programında ve partinin diğer belgelerinde buluyoruz. Ancak, Türkiye toplumunun sınıfsal yapısının ayrıntılı bir incelemesi elimizde yok. Burada ilk adımda yapılması gereken, ülkedeki başlıca sınıf ve katmanların ayırıcı niteliklerini belirleyen kavramların açıklığa kavuşturulmasıdır. Yani bu sınıf ve katmanları birbirinden ayrıd etmeye yarayacak sınırlar çizilmeli, tanımlamalar ortaya koyulmalıdır. Kuşkusuz, tanımlama derken, basma kalıpçı, şekilsel tanımlamaları değil, toplumsal sınıf ve katmanların nesnel özünü yakalayan, "kavrayan" kavramları kastediyorum. Bu yapıldıktan sonra ikinci aşamada belirlenen sınıf ve katmanların toplumdaki sayısal güçleri araştırılabilir.

Sınıfları belirlerken ilk çıkış noktamız ülkemizdeki üretim biçimlerini saptamak olacaktır. Bunları şu şekilde sayabiliriz: l. Kapitalist üretim biçimi (egemen üretim Biçimi); 2. Küçük meta üretimi; 3. Feodal artıklar. Egemen üretim biçimine bağlı olarak iki temel sınıf, işçi sınıfı ve burjuvazi beliriyor. Ayrıca küçük üreticilerin, ücretli orta katmanların ve aydınların oluşturduğu orta katmanları ve büyük toprak beylerinin ve bunlara bağımlı ortakçı köylülerin oluşturduğu feodalizm artığı katmanları saymamız gerekiyor. Kapitalist üretim biçimi bizde özel kapitalist ve devlet kapitalizmi olarak ikiye ayrılıyor.

İşçi sınıfı

İşçi sınıfı genel tanımıyla yaşamını sürdürebilmek için işgücünden başka bir şeyi olmayıp işgücünü kapitaliste satmak zorunda olanlardır. Bu genel tanımdan yola cıan beli.
ele alını,
an sayılmaz. karak Türkiye toplumunda işçi sınıfının sınırlarını belirlemeye çalışalım. İşçi sınıfını belirlemek için ilk yaklaşım olarak <u>ücretliler</u> grubu ele alınıyor. Ancak

Tarihrel olarak belirlenmis bir toplumsal üretir sisteminde aldıklan yare, üretir araçlan ide alan sisteminde saptanındır. Sisseminde yasalarla yasalarla gaptanındır.) amegin toplumsal sistemisinde aldıkları yayınklingüne lie bir poyun alınış alaş birimine göre birtirgüne lie bir poyun alınış biri yük ivsan gruplanına sınış denir. Sınışları belli bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları yerlenin farablım sayanındı biri toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları yerlenin farablım sayanındı biri insan gruplanın sınış tultikları göre birtiriları sınış sayanındı bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları yerlenin farablım sayanındı biri bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları yerlenin farablım sayanındı biri bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları yerlenin farablımı sayanındı biri bir diğeninin sayanındı biri bir toplumsal ekonomi sisteminde alalıkları

Siniflar insan gruplander. Bru simflam Oluşman, yalnızca ekonomik yapının gelişmen, bura bağlı olarak a toplumsal yapının gelişmen ile olmaz!

Tophunsl ortak horehet, simf savan yok önemt bir etkendir! Ideolojinin geligmen!

"Kendhigjindle simil tan kendin i fin simf!"

İsci sınıfı

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Türkiye'de tekeller ve Burjuvazimin ic yapısı

Tekeller Hakkenda Notlar

Klorik anlanda kapitalist tekelin iki tenel miteligi vor: 1. Pigasa nekonituronotan su vege bu chindle bajum olumbe; 2. Diger rekipleden iste daha farla ekonomik gine kumanta etnek. 3. Dolapsysta tekeli kas Türkiye'ye beheldiginda, birini niteligin okolen beri var olduğum, ikimi niteligin ise su 15-20 yılda ortaya yıktığım göniyoruz. Daha eshiden de üretimin türnümi vege iste büyük böhümimi elirde tutan üretimler vardı ve isin bu yöniyle orlar birir kekel halinde idi. Ansale ürtün ekonomik güçlen olmadığından, dayanaklan bir takın siyonl ilişkilendi, kişisel

Bu durum dezishi. 2. niteligir kozonlinosyla nigosil egenell ile teheller armidaki ilijki tessire dondi. Amal da sirer devon edizor.

kagnage sigord agricultord, ekenonih ishilih

agnishblack. Bu redele sajlonar korlom onl

Turkige'nir thim bir ötelligit, teketeki simmede degil, tredi ve dovit srijlannen kommunda gojun lanender. Bremen sigle bis somun sluger:
Bou alarda bozan oram virekin gücünün geline disteginden boğunur. Sünide tekstet yeni boşlyar.
Yani tekellerin siyorl boğunlıkılan bu qılan süniyor.

3. nitelik de su anda belingir, tankel vlank none gelijk incelenel grek.

M

Tebeller holled nother a devan:

Türkige'de a) hite telen och ve b) in omdaki üretimin yut isi teleli karpiamaltan utak olum nedenigle günümürde hehanji bir mal konusunta % 100 tekele de sahin olar, bir firmonn bu tekel konumum konusulihesi tolay değildir.

Norsten jekorsk Tijkize'de och senagnin se tekel den brigisk semageni, oldekra grigki bir komunda bulunduğunu Sephyonez.

you orth remajor "ystim" pel söt komm dezil! Teheller torspuda "yntulmon" de pele götlenniger! "Furion" her de pele olmuger. Sötlemen olan yolmsen tekellen dahe hish bry aty gelijnen & Ancale digerlen de (tehel olmayonler) gelijger!

Annyx'dek thellegre sirerinde joke

Banka kredleinden daha og gorolomger!

Türkize'de brugin varini, it aprimalorm götlegebilmek, tekeli: remage ile kheli: vluayon
remage oronndok: çelizkile: itlegebilmek için
hereyde önce birbinizle ibizkili: iti svruya
avan oronnde geekizor:

2) the Türkiye'de ijretimi re semayeni groginlosmon

To be toplatozmon (kisora: tekelleste) hongi
biginlede oluşuyar, re gili ötellihler topuyar,
ve hongi ozonododar?

1. Türkize'de bugivorinir i finde bogha hangi katmanlar vorder?

Mining som, burjavoriyi oluzharan geziki katmonlaran tenel niteliklerini sapetamaya, bu katmonlaran aralaran daha sımırları belirlenezi zonenhi kiliyar. Ancal bun-dan srurahır ki bu katmonların ça andahi nicel ağırlıkları ve bunun zonen içindeki değişimi incelene bilir. Jonun soğlakla tenelli bir çözüm bulundi içi zonunlı olan bu ilk adem ga Türkize için hemiz ahlmış değildir. Türke bunin lan kat dar generele Penne bu konuba dileket exilerel en önenli noltalar fumlardır. Mitale burjavorinin bışlıka iç gopunm in celehen bu banıfı totak katmanı bişlıka

不可以

- a) lihikki tekeli semaje
- 6) Brigish remaje
- c) orth serveye
- d) kiril serrye

Bu katumlardan vonunwomme to prindilih bir kenon brokalen. gen kalan dördinin belirleyili ötelliblenni bajlica seletister in (imalat, modera: lik, inset, ticoret, himsker) icin ayn ayn sontanoh gerkir.

genellible semajeni kend i finde forkel 1 guann göstemek i in fu ölfütler kullamliger:

- 1. Nominal semaye (Fisherite nominal semage genete semage)
- 2. Galztinian in sayın (itye bri züklüğü)
- 3. O it-koluntski hylom satzler I kindeli pay
- 4. Kar oram. Germyeninin kumanda ettiği üretin güşleninin toplamını yanıtmak işir kullanılır. Arack Princi Blütter Türkize'de nomind remaze ile gener semeje oromet hijth forther blundings ign youther sompler weliler.

Iking ölent yire remagerinin kumonte ettigi üretin givini yountmak itin tullomliyor, omak birisisinden forke clark parosal living degil de tim wetin girtenini degil, isginini terd alyon. Por ölynt, is gramin teknih donating rettorde seltine forkelile gosterligi zoman yanetin talitir olalitir. Brown tarthe age istolanda yoplarsk kors

Ornegin in bosser teknih donehnum yethrek olduge petrol veg fineto sonagii ile tekni in bossen teknih donehnum diriile olduge grobe sonagii herek donehnum diriile olduge grobe sonagii mesh benne tolionali teknih militari kullomekee dikhert ediluen gerekee and önendi motta puder:

Türkiye'de inetin gerekee and önendi motta puder:

gini belirlega vega inetin geregini belirlege iki önendi etne doba vorder: Bonka kredlejade

te ötellitte de dövit yorolonna ve dövit bulma

olonagi. Güntii Türkiye ekonomixiningganl

ötellije, semagei inin ond sommun sortis

deşil ünette yorolonder. I

(von gelorder (1930'torton bei) talelin om kyrsta och dala oger brokgi bir ekonomi Olmon somm

sernagen: itin satis yrpunal brir somm degilder, and somm inchi sataral mal bulahil election yapatilmektir. I that you ithalet vega inetin yopensilmektir. I that you ithat you it that you it that you it that you it that you it that you it that you it is somm of degen in artistagen artistagen artistagen inches (rechesse) degil in retueltir. Usebilming malu satlamamon dige bir somm genellille yolut.

Etsetin in se don't ve bonten tretist Ma boginhlight ve semage biritiminity yeterit venn somments in iretin in otellible yetimmler

in dirit ve banka kredn bulush bigul god torunludur. In nederle Ulkemitale sermage. cileir forkelismslounds to grayes kunonda ettikler üretim grun kodar önemli bir etmen divit ve bonka krediti bulma olonaklander. bunun pratik somun töyle olugar: Ekonomik gin taget da 0182, kumanda ettigi űretim gürlen knijeh de olsa, örnegje siyosal gine dayonarsk don't be tred bullille mir kapitalish kisa romanda brigale atilimler yopalitiger. Daha brigin topitalister reterment istinticleine dagonask onun gelinerini enzellegemigorlar. Bu nederlede, yukonde verdigimit ihim oligitis Gogarasina it tokklymorm yourhal isin ynkond belittigimit ikimi ölütü (falytinly ini sayon) bruginginin it tookeles mann göstemen in tullowken on similar abulda tutuck geekir.

TIP plant.

TIP

ploning

of!

Konitalister orandak. forklingmage governet im tullomlon for diger öligh belli sir molen toplom satrandaki pajder. Hey bell bir it. Omegin Tip plan 5.165k kapual göstenaden Orhan bilier de altanlose (5.31) venten sayılarda bu göstege tullonleyor. Yire for moltage dilated verger layalen:

Dregin Tiskize'de bujumium içinde tekeli remaye, trijih remaye, orth senaye ve küyül semazenin opilisi katur yı bidijde ayon velliblening beliteben sermagening brightiger, islettede ochson in sayin gili geligmig kopitalist alkelee kiyosla doha or önemlider. Burn korplik dövit kaynak. lonra vlom yakınlık, Milliaki (dön't sağlaya. hilizor mi? Omegin TSKB tretin!), empeyalist tekellede istnikigi (örnegin empergelist tehellole Tisons ontlymen var mi?), derlet eligle dojnhlan att dejerde altin Goralonna olonogi (tgvih tedhirlerinde gordonslitiger un!)/ pigontaki gin (yerel, bolgesel, uluse veg uluster orm pijosaga

Sürin Jopmon), gelenetsel is kollometer mi, yoken yen istollowed in ether, gits ether olduge is kolumen niteligi (gelenderel veya modern), semage itti ile giritarith il lentertinin sürecinin vardist ajama ayrona titer (yirksel ögrenin gorning teknih ve gideck idani personel kullomyor nu ? My sooney & firell bonks tretin (kullongor mm?), this fikangor " remaye p'yosomdak. yen (tahuil Elkanyou mu?) gili ölgiller önen koroniyar.

Tiskize'de Prujuvanini it yopen

Bothen Turkiye'de ystone semayenin komunen ile ilişkin both Kapulan septayelim:

1) Tühize'de enperzik'st sernegenis derlet sernegen hisimirde geleninis örel remege biçimirde gelenise kayor
latela oranla bopta ülkelere kayorla (örreğin
Letin Anaika!) dohn forlosler, hette In roman
en yübsel olduğu ülkelerderkir. Kuşkusur bu
olgu Türkiye'nin enperzikin için tondağı siyosel
(ve orbesel) önemin ekememik övene göre doha opr
bordağını konstluyer. Ayon tomorta yek serneye
ile enperzikit remeye arandık. çeliştimin, porreler
ve yetinin alanları an işin reketettillikler gili dar
"ekememik" alanlardan yolı deriliminyen, deş tiroret
AET ile iliştisler işili "siyosel" di teysle ortaya
ulmanın yol aşıyır.

2.) Türkiye'deki viel emperget v semaye gerellikle
tel brinn dezil, yek semaye ile, viellike brizih
telellere istrikizi itirde be nicelik olark
(vimezin bir Latin Amerika ile korsilatinorah)
briyah bir azırlızı talin dezil. Ima Bru olgu
raye den yek remnaye ile empergetish remnaye orosında
le teketeti, WV year yatışımanın murkyor

tek tek semaget ler ditezinde Tukije'de brugi varinin it goguann inceleken bu runde døst kesine brölmel gest geschiger: I isbirkikni tekelni remage ve gabana empergelit lekeller

II. Prizih remaje

II. Orta remaye

N. Figh & semage

Theretale "oth tet and brounds "think brogues"

There'de yerlesmis olon "triquil broguesn" terim: "oth
tatmonks" anloment treloneldigned broguesnine en alt
kerimine "kirish brogiesni" digenizonez. On redele "brigish
brogiesni", "oth brogiesni" yerise "brigish senege" vis.
trimini tullomyonin)

Pon dort go kerimin take seltosterie belilegis ötelliklerini borlica reltostertiving ayon ayon sontamish gerkir
Bu teriulu armadık. sinila jimelt, inport, hicaet, hiretar)
imalet Sonapiri

Ishirlika Tehela Gennage: Ceriki is kollonnda Gretin gopan, borken remages ile jestimuser sema. yeri ile ishirligi ifindle olan ve gerellikle holding hifiminde organilennis olan remage. Türkize'deli balla başlıca venage graplona keler klur ele alangımırdan burda kira tinlen ini dayın veya yılılı ciro qili) ölçüt ile yetinhele yonultur olur

Genellile makent ekonomi politikte "kekel" Favorm

pigora nekonitmasına uynak tonında olmayon onlonunda

pigorayı deretleyelildiği irin kullonılıyır. Kakışıtır ize pigora

Kopitalizmin rebet rebstetzi döreminde oların, empergentist döreminde oların, empergentist döreminde oların, pigostip deretlerenin başlıcı

Topithismus. Theoreticle I alhelle genillspuble der markining- leninishische dronopel theorie Referte ud Mishumionsteitrige des Kolloquiums des lusiths für trorkinische Studie ut Forschungen Frankfut au drais 26./27. Juni 1976
Verlag Markishiele Mitter 1976, 16,50 DM"

your tietin aroxlon ûterindelig deretin it. Tij hige 'de ise betyleten golosoon ekonominin dirik gelijne distegie brigh olook (ve topitalitum "umpringle Akkun muhtin" (ugpra benko bifinde) piyarayı deretlenenin iki önerle yolu doka var: Dövit tayraklarını deretle neh ve derlet deskiği sizlamısk. An nedele brugingi içineleki fahliqmayı aroxtınıken bu iki sonun da dibbot etnel gereli.

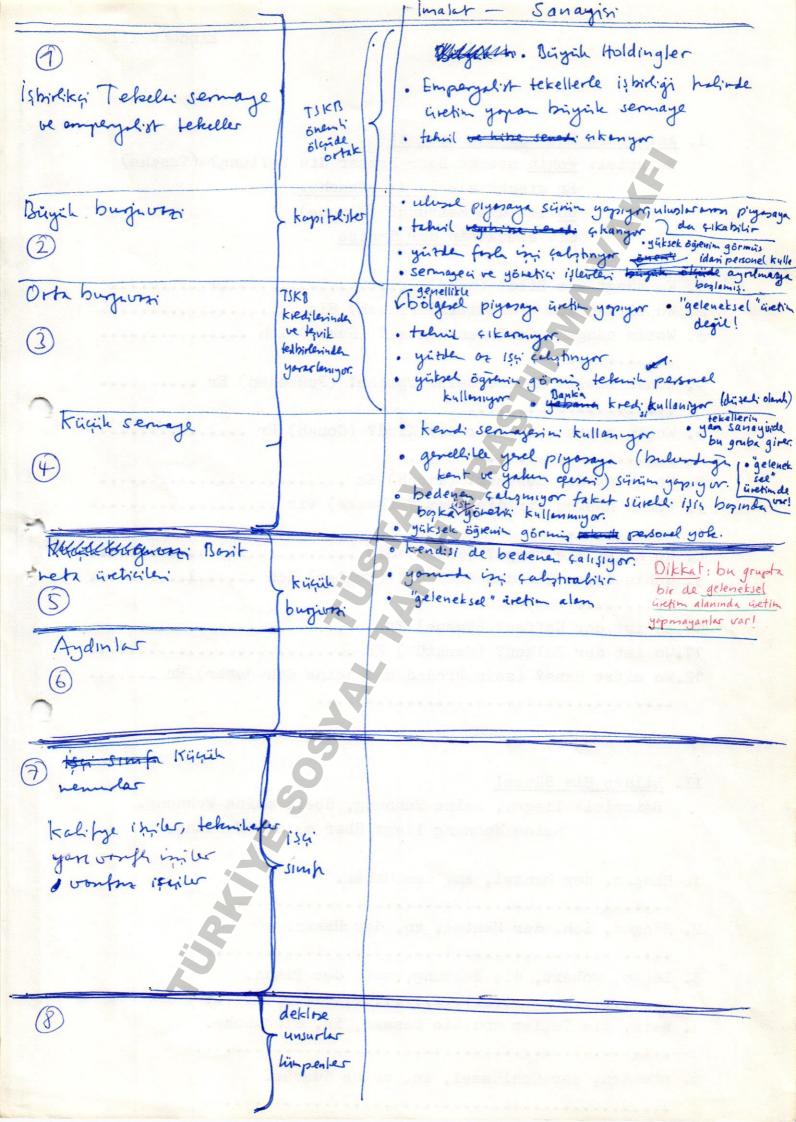
Might Semage

- . Ulvse pigoraga sinim gapuja. Uluskrom pigoraga da cikabilir!
- . TSKB ortsk! TSKB kretileide gorodoniger.
- · Tahvil fikanyor!
- · Sernagen ve göretis itlevlen agrelnuz: griksek örjrenin görnin, idan lækker (yahnara teknik değil) personel Kullonyvr.
- · Tenik tedlirlerinde gorodonym.

- · Ulvne piyasaya degil biblyesel kog pijosaya sünün
- · tahvil 41 karnsyn. Bonka kredisi kullonyn
- yntreh ogrenin gomis idan personel degil, teknik personel kulloniyor. Semayer ve yorehis itlevleinis to aprous since iledenemis.
- . TSKB trediterinde yordonyor.
- . Terrik tellirlerinde yandonyv.
- · gelereksel degil, jogdog is ekim!
- o mohan certisi portamizor.

trivil Semaje

- · Yerel priyasaya sünün yopuyor (bulunduğu kent ve ysku (even)
- · Gelereksel üretim olalitir. Veya grider üretim, imegin tekellerir "yon sorayiri" bu grutu giver. · Kendi remayerini kullonnyar, branka serayiri desirl
- dezil
- Kendin bedenen jalynnyn fakat fürekt isinis bonnda, bonka" ürt yörekir yok. Yübsek ögrenin görnin personel yok



	Yopen Sonagini (Infort)	Ticaet
0	Pon alonda tebela: nemazeden Sir edilebilerlegini sanmızorum. Uluslararın ihalelel gire born semaze gruplamının duru- mumı invetemel gerekir. Örneğin en büyük yapım sirketi olan Sezai Türkler, - Feyzi Akkaya grubu.	tekeli: semaye bu alana hem "Ithalatfilik" ve hem de "brigish perakende satis, "majasalan" bifiminde yeni yeni el atiyor. Aprica incelluren lassum.
2	· uluslar oran ihaleler de ginger göretig ijlen · teh ulusl parada iş yapıyar sernat oynlıyar. · tehnil çıkanyar yükseli öğlenin görmiş · sanayisel veya altyayı ihalelenin üstlenizm · kendirmirkina parkı var.	• Brigisk yerlegne merherleninde brigisk tikehim med seton perstandiciter (usmanlapmis) • yut capinda treaset yapan toptamular • Ithalita ve ihrreatin ticcour of illevinde agnima • aging stellik: sermage ve youatin güksek öğrenim görmüs peronel • Nölaksel sürim ! Anadoluduk bolaksel melen
	 makina padama ağır makina pada yok genellile bölgesel piyosadı if yapıyır yüksel öğreni görnüş teknik personel olabilir. büyük capta konut üretimi (arra spekuloyomi: parelleyip satma) de yapıyır. devlet ihalelerine giriyir 	· Bölgesel sürüm! Ausdolnduk bölgesel nerken lendek; troptomular, büyük sehirlerdek: kabamal, celep tüünde troptomular · Müyük dülden sahipleni (büyük recherlerde) · Kuma, İnsast malsenni troptomulan (yerl) · diger tüketin meh toptomulan (yerl)
(F) (F)	e verken komt yopinn ile ugrajyr. geneliste yerl capte direct dand derlet ihalelei agnon arm spelon kondir bedre felymyr, sirf idaesith yopingr. yoksel ögrene görnig resonel yoh.	"bijnik "hird taccor" • Kaiqik ve orta sehirlerde bijgih dhilden "bijnik" om cal bu alandı ortu sehipled esnaf " dene girk" ile kriçik senaye armadı bir ayırım yapanlı bilgin yok. • kar çeşik: ta saneyi mallanını yerel taniki hijini yapanlar. • ben ili istoryam salı plesi us.
	· tomone yerel çepte konut üretimi · kendisi de bedhe falisyar (hirt olmossa zone zone) · Topern tipinde	perakenderi dikhan sahipleni bakkal, manav, kasap, nalbur v.s. • bunların genellikle bir-iki cinği v.s var. Ayn grup: Dezginci Schalar
(1)		Lacted also rebine III Lee . morell alongs bat Lacted and a Lacted an
(8)		ikanilgod yez "fesoda" "è

Tün gruplom songel kölcenlerice Tühize'de Simpsel yon degir! de 4.70.73/1 Olmayın işqirimi kapıi-talishe satmalı zonurta Olonlorder. Terel Karram lonn Applommen: Isi simp: Isi simp; genel tonimigla yazonim fristrichilmele Sind bu good tommden ifin is givenden both the bir seji otunago larder.
yola çıkarık Türkiye toplumunda işi sınıfının sınırlanın kka Ancol bu genel tonum daha somutle trimik
belirleneye çalışalım. qerellitle ücretliler işi sınıfım belirlenek itis ilk yaklızın olarak ele alınıyor
ini sınıfımı ozonya ve yukony doğu sınırlanın daha taja
cimel tonundayız. Günki omegji ücrekileri tüni ini supra gimez Ilkin, Tirkize gili tapitalion men iliskilerit yaygın olduğu nir ülke asısından ich önel. mir ayının yayalın, gerek Max gerelse Lenis, in simpnum moder gretin, you endrishigel üsetim ile bright olduğunu, munde birkite ortaya moden kapitalizm önun üsetim britisherinde (kingil yetin ve monifaltur) yer alon virek: initeri moden ini sufundan, yoni proletonjadan ayn totale ele elmal gerkir. An nedente buntone "yom protete" linking mischen hisimlerinde ürchen gürlerinin gelijnenin oluon, hullomla ittel teknik, o alandok in lede ikke de "inchin aron salisi olupe isq'like turbelma" ümidini syll bestemeltetta ve tripil brigin egitinlere taba olumetrader. A Harrison Ustelik üz - dört inille colphon atelyelede kendin de bedera jobson mol sahihi ile in: orrandel: ilijkiler, tompi imilenia tominimenie righen, hir tapitalitle in aroundak: ihitiler gili degildir, daha kiniseldir. Paderschi ethilee daha aqiktur. Bu medenlerle to trail viettude galezon in len yon-proleter vega

endishigel gretinele birlihte ortage gikan kapitalet tilaret ve bonkunde gili gretken olnayan alankortar catzan iniler de protetongayan dahildirler. Görüldüğü gilil norden intetin güçlen ile olan bağ bunta is ayını relifoynuyor.

Utretteter grobe in de inj srufin segmek im
ik: ayran drha goch yar. Brahata bije de inch;
cofin invette gernen aydurlote, digen de invets;
orda katmon deligimiz forter au grupla orodok;
forter a belitenezi tronnh kilar. Ancol tra simundan
orda katmonton ele aldigimenta belitegregimi rden
pintilih tar kenan birakiyonez.

I'm sinfin tommunda en överle terro öge üsetin oraçlarını dan tamonan yokanı olmandır. Bon açıdan Türkize'de kvizde sehise gör etmi, ansıl tirzinde territ de ola hiror tranga kit konact da ola tendisini geçinderiele kadas tranza sahix inilen, ayan tardan grapton olayı mevrilik ini olarlı norda tende yılın belli aylarıda nadenlerle veya yayım (?) (ivant) sarayinde uplanı inileni ile yan proleter grahını katıclı geckir.

boir yigin de aile rigeri olare cubjan milymberen insonder. Bunder ötellible who saysta gith isottin de yer alder terindir e Toplusse yele agunda time

in snufnden deha da und ka krivik huguvrige deha gelen hir kenindirler.

Oth Ketnonter

Türkiye toplumunda sayıca en bijgüh toplumal kazin,

kuzkuruz orta katımılar (vega küyük buginorii) dediğinit

kerimdir. Lenin, her kapitalirt toplumda üç ora sınıfın,

bruginorii, ini sınıfı ve kinük bruginoriini var olduğunu

yoryar. Born ilen kapitalir ülbelerle nambar (örreğin federl

Almonga) Harkerist bilim adamları ortak türük bruginoriin

nin boşlabanını bir sınıf niteliğini yitirdiğini, gününiyde)

bru toplumal kerimin "orta katımılır" olarık nitelendirilme

sinin daha doğu olarağını belitiyorlar. Türkiye'de baş

küyük bruğurrinin ekrononili ayıdan beştayı 'de baş

küyük bruğurrinin ekrononili ayıdan beştayı 'de orta

dan kalkınıştır, bura tarşılık soyusal olarak ve

iderliğili dü teyde önenli bir oğırlığı vordur.

Orta totmoniar korsterishilar, forka

Orta totmoniar korsterisher to katmonn

Kajish üretisiler derken üretim oraçlanma sahin Olun da
Tamirinur, Zanstkarlır, atelye sahipleri, bakke, kozopi manar gibi kürik tücürler bin
kerdin de bedenen jatzan inomlan koştediyerine. Bunlar
hem üretim oraçlanada ötel mülkizetin topyun ve hem de
pedenen
jatzan enekeni Olunk gibi jelişkili bir durum dodi dar. Geçimlerini
hen kerdi anekleriyle, hem de jabotraklan az sayıda imiyi
sönmirerek sağlarlar. Küyüle üretisilesin biri diğer ötelliği,

(Turkize afisindam onet)

brenlom kend iflerinde hencius olmamalon, bester iki gruba agrelmalander. Por godfette tiller gruplan Egritalian innen krinik üsetin ve moden endrishige bagh krijk ürctim dige bozlica iki gruta aguluslander. Billigette hand Bu ik grup dronnta ekonomik ukarlar, iderlogik totagene egihinler arisindon and forkler vorder. Kapitalita önnen trigit ürchigiler Kapitelimi gelijnesigle yskuma ugrayon ve gideck orbotan talkon is alondonada yer alayorlar. Deminiler, mangorlar, territer, bakkel ve diger krijule tiscalar Mr medale V.S. bu jour give. Thenlar iderlogite alon distegde de onegin MSPhia jugunlukla geleneksel, diesel gönisler daha beighbolka dayana. gins buniar delar. V Onini roleh. yellarda da trigita Faritalish ohypumelar) tekellerin ve yatom erreyelit semajenin bakana by grup üterindek. Disken atacaktır. Küjül üreticileria modern andishrije, vega daha genel olask ifode edesel justin girlennin gelipmence bigh iking pruba ise sayer aton, get juelte olan her gruptur. trages traban kongon, traktir tomirrilei, don't yokhige resterrigle ithis estilenegen hir who yell para vs. yo wieten torna freze atelyelan, otomotiv soragiti gili bon soragileis you arctialerinis bir bölümi (yahnıza bir bölümi, Günki

on you todici sonayinin bir diger kumi kunl within degil, trivile to vege on topiblet githin remajeden sayılmakdır), brigih tekelleri yur japanda kurdyklan satz ve senis terriliitillei

(benzis istrymundon, orsba, brik vega burdolah

setumnet koder. Bu ikim grup tile briginomi aromneta överli ekonomik olmelle bereber bell. akader de vroler. Whiteha thoden archivle olan yeku iliskini redenigle befolksted iderlogik dri tegde divsel görnislerde vole ya brigina milligetri tigine kaktoreti piderele foritre, ya da reformist görnislere kopulmeletoder. Ömi mi tolek yallarda bu konvele brigish semage aromnetak ukar velijkileinin (Türkige ekonomi nindeki buruslima ve yopu old deziriblihlere koput olarah) teskistese veziri. Söyleyelikist.

Anderser:

Ork tetmentem tönel bir bötimini aydınlar olustumyor. Aydınlar üretin araştan üterinde örel mülkiyete sahip

olmadan kendi enekleiyle genine bair toplumıl gruptur

tin simfinden im grafi işni sinafından ayıran öte boşlin

fork önenli bir uzmanlık kazonnuş olmandır. Kaz uzman

ula gerellikle yüksek öğrenim ile mazmanlığın dayana

kozonulmakla benter yüksek öğrenim file aydınlar diğir enek

formin olmayı aydın kesiminden sayırıla yüksek bir

görüş olmayı aydın kesiminden sayırıla yüksek bir

sayılmalı için zonunlı bir ön koşul olaralı gönel

yonlı olur. Bu katman öğretmenlei, bilin ordamlanın,

kopsar de Tärkige'de tonibsel gelipnegle gakudan bogh bon önent ötellihlen vorder Bunlar ayn

hir incelere konum Olmakla birlikte Firma degirne-

ye sabisalim. Aydinler dige adlandirdignuz toplumsil kenim gorellille kapitalitm önceniude de ortaga uknushla birkihte bu kenimin sayıca ve toplumsel işbö-

*

ligninde tellinge ger axistendar gistenner tapitalide, entrishigel denim ile olnustur. Entrishigel devin ile bikite bitim ve teknigin üktim sükejude ortan rolijne, bornente bikitle toplum igude ortanga ukon deginihebler (genel egitim, genis carta bilisel oration, yaygun soight himeter us.) bigh Ronk again o ramona kodar fevstal begt onlædelse bogh, branlon bir tir tipisel hitretton durumte olom aydraler otom ölgide tipisel tiketik alonade hem sayun orthur, hen der toplumel ijetik ve iphoshimi afito girdiler. along kaydylar. Brenun sonu. unda aydınların ideolojik yanılan ve tıplunsıl daeranglan da dezijnege bosladi. Türkize'de the adishiye derrin generlez reden in despured and direct buganine ego a thing oninia egenen olman endishijel Accimate once olde. Ihr tirez iginde neken derlet birokrassinde thicket yer alon ve topiblist empergalist the alkelenia (yoni disternia) teknik bilginini ülkeye altornalla girerlandirilmi, o'geler la son dece önenli her not agnad. Bu ögeler bet, your bugina egitimi gomis aydınlardı. Destalitati 18. osm Son landon 20. oran boju todas 13' I . Dings Brigish Oktobr Deninie koder tilletste tilkede bugins egitim görmüs ve osmanlı kirokoninde görek.
genebleştirilen teformlarda "aydın" keniniste diger ülkelede götlerebildiginde daha forla the ine hir gas onwith youth Whose Furtules,

Deniminde ve amhunizetis ilk gellonnde genekleztivilen anti-feodal reformanda ayantar ulusal bugin brinis yannda yer aldelar. Brylere ülkemirde aydın. lar oranda gürli onti-feodal petettette geleneller yerlesti, bu Miller grubun gicki bir grup bilinei" olustr. In sed Aym redelele by grape terribe brugion milligetiliji ve uhval ve sorgel reformizm de ovent tomumlos schiptir.

Günimite the aydenter arounds protektesne egilinles gömliger. Arynishle gelerlein erihen, yazgın ibritlik genis ayılın terimlerin utural - denur kerstik hedefler yoninde allif savasıma girmis olmalan da orta tatmontonin bu onel boliminar gitzill

Ögrensi hakte- druginon iderlogi hinin etkei hinden syntonke tinin yarının ay-dınlarım katanmak imi sınıfının yonunda yer alnını i'çin daha uygun afısından önemil topullar hoppiyor. In örgitli savorım aydınların işçi

Sinifinin ideologisini benimsemelen yolunda pratik, yiginsel bir okul rolin oynuyor.

Unek Ma Fathon L:

Orta katnontonn üjünü guhun üvek. oka katnonler detiginit googs to terin olighner. Munder kendi enebler ile genne enekriter oldyklon halde, im simpreden toplemmel is biblioninde aldelon yer bakernundan agnirlar. Otellible:, toplumse üretimin orgitlemente deretin ve tometa is dogitim ve konnets islevlering istlemming olinslander. Isletne

lede "ustron" vega "portation" dize adlanderlan terdilar fila calismayin islatione is do johning ve denetlerenji geneklestiven enekniler om gruk giver. that tolar a Engel on hylunsel gruhn semajenis "estegmenteis" dige allow drayorlar. Geseller semaje de on grupsk emekrilen in: supoda ayunde in gode burlow hylusvilasve brighange abject venege ve signal andon kerdie brighans army deli ger nenel blank the celiptibility this youdan entirthings institude mend acido tomata desetim ve go it dogitan, your gits and migel inchinde nevel blook towner bir islen (bu isler frogelinde de gecklicher) yene getin-ve bu andan biece enchen slovel ihr simpun jakinder yorlar apparts fabet apun tamonda semajenis idulen dohn yogun calisting dohn fork somme, cera to ve "istal dajstorske dasiph bosk altook tutur gils islevlesia de gublenigerlar, he ogsda de brugernige gahlongerler. I'm nemel jelijki onlonn ötrel tarskonna, or tylund hilinflerie de yonnyor.

And Topland is bolimide alm yee gok benjer bir aynım devlet memulan aranda da yapındı gerekir. Bu tesim de ki ürrekile baktığınında (burjuvniye dahil olan yükseli nemuları bir torah burjuvniye dahil olan yükseli nemuları bir torah burjuvnil) beşlum iki grubu fork edeliyini ilkin Gazdaş Toplansıl hazıtın sürdinlelilmesi ini tomunlı olan islevleri üstlenen ürrekiler, ki bunlan örreli olan ve devleti torahın yüntüle

4.10.79/9

ornesis the belatige incluites, orgale ve porta incluites goodse the Made Ikini olanli ise bugion devletinis tenel islen olan supol books islevini yüniten enekniler, onegin polis nemulan. Birini grup in dogudon üretinde cabananskla berster in smehnen bir para gier. Ucrek: orta katmanton ton kesimini diger enchileden, osellible in simporton agn ontack um ezeren simplar bir ich öulemler alerter: Onlann sertiful hellown tentlouch, grew halk see tanimonisk, ideologik ise alisken signood be ideologik trustomme ötel diblit governel gitte. gotto bizlante anish gruplardan (ötellelle gothen graplan) servel gili.

in simpon eh:

in noch iginde nitchte in der (bunker "chirale yetige" vlobileren gih. soort erstitien hegum de vlobilir), you nitchte. in der ve nitchtent in der gibt bonden ür grup roptayalisist. Arma ikullonna göre doğulun—iklete briyabli blenie göre doğulun—iklete briyabli blenie göre doğulun—brolyele göre doğulun

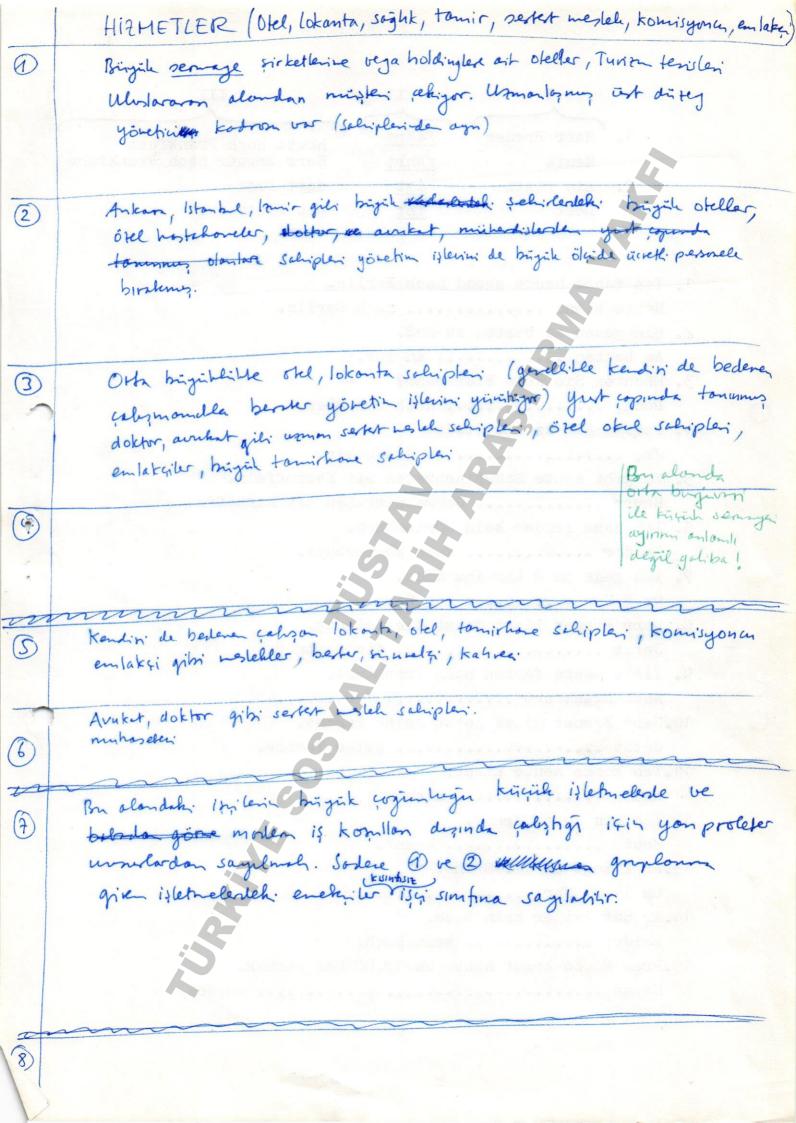
brolyele göre doğulun

Etimikle Türki je'lke ini sınıfının for trylural bokeni helken da aratımılar yok. Yire de "aylak görle" bakarak ini sınıfınıngın "genç" bir ornaf olduğunu, yoni önendi bir bölümünün genç" bir ornaf olduğunu, yoni önendi bir bölümünün bir bölümünün öne süreli bir . Somme

ini sinimum "genç" hir smaf olduğum, yani mil bir bölümümüm tiy kötenli olduğumı öle sürelilirit. Somme amal türül bir omuth ola "" nitelili iniler" bet kötelilir te Elimirle inilesi kökeni habbuda yeneğe veni olmodiğudan, bir ilk yahlayını olarle kent köteli ipilesin büyüh bir bölümümün "nitelik! ini" olduğumı taxayarale, bura taxalılı köy kökel. inilesin nitelikvit alay ya da yan nitelili. olduğumı varayaralı ini sınıfının taylural kökeni habbuda bir fikir estivelilirit. Ket kökel. inilerde öneli bir bölü mününe de küçül ürelişi tökel. olduğumı hatırlaral Türkiyelle ini sınıfının "gençliği" dala belirginlerir. trjuh üveticiler songal köke agunndan yne
kent küjüh üveticiler dayandi lereği gihi küy kökenl.
de olabilir. Om ayıdan küyül üveticiler, özellille
tersetlerler Tüthiye'de unun bir genniye soliye
topluml bir kerindir.

Aydınlar töken olarak urun süre bruginomiden vega yire orta tartmanlardan kayrallandılar. Som 15-20 yıldır ise aydınları enrekçi ve özellible töy kökeli aydınların sayınında öneli artış oldı.

you on tatamorator.



isoret edeck etnemin de yororh olocogina Ivani your. Mass. Toplum sinflan sexebilel in,

Baras sessant with sough lank bright ivsan gruplannen toplumsel üretim sisteminde, gideel tylungel ekonomi sisteminde aldellan forthe yerlen, wehim arritangle olun forthe deginh iliskilenni, enegin toplumsel orgitlermentele ognosillon forth roller, we toplumont tenginlitte aldeblon payarm forth birginklikler be bu despire elde edis bir edilip britisher in element gochigm. (> Leni)

Dasta ülhedek terel is kollonny (tarım, maderailik, imalet sonapini, yopum sen (infant) sonapini, ticoret, ulogim, bonda ve sigurtschel, lais ofel bohata hostelar git hirefler, devlet aggit, kom sektöri) agnit etrok geski edeck boglayalım. Mundan sonon kolumen ötellihlerie takken sloode sinislande belikele jetellenie takken sinislande sinislande belikelesel ölütleri saptamalyaz. İlkin tüm ykollanda le ülkelede) gerek ran gerek ölütleri hatırlatılım.

araclongha iyelik ilijkibi veriyor. A lyelih demilince trum hukuhne iyelik ile ötdeslestirnemak gerkir. Six komm olon ekonomik iyelik, yon: vietin anglan üzeninde tosomut ginin dür. Bu ekonomik üyelik gerel. like hukulosse izelih ile urt use distrebbe berster, bu her zoman volmayskir. Örnegig brigtet hir

design ribelin hir kot hime reselve roling old hir enething to the month to the water water of the properties of the design bell hir islettening remajoriste "/0 20-30 gibt omable page old hir holding bu islettening timine kunnt edelisis.

Diger viene. hir ölgich toplurad enegin orgitennemiale tuble yerdir. Yoni; gerellikle borkosinin
enni elterde karçalayar kil veye kifa
enegi ni veniger, yokar bir yordan ennir
kushen ayne tamonte borkolonnun enegine
kumonda ne ediger (if doğutral ve derektanle
giri), yokar gerellikle enir almodan az
cubrank kendi borna konr venel yetkinie ni
nahip. Im ölüt örellikle devlet nemuslanın,
itan seltönüte çalpanlan singlandar.
iten borunlarık bir ölüt olehir.

Unimin ise toplumsel servette about paying sele exiting briging your brightigh ve by paying short mily (circle, kor, the organit mil)

Politically gib, bore topitalist for aget bisiminale

kendi sistetinde gond mindier stup mon slown),
omeh komplig elde edilen trigle his pay tor
bisimie de girelilir (bir isportnemme "kortage" giti)

topolumial kökenleri By we done the Prigor bir dayile, simplen Tisk: pédek: ortage çulir, bisis leini ele almada one such son onents front par one gorden topon bir noting definedin. hukum-lemmin unflow and tolette active highler tenedical that Saylighus britis and is temporar whom sikelicom sapher, their simplen band. songo-ekonomik terreller de otdestestimes. blank sindler ekunnik stolkblenin etkenlei, blank sindler etkennik ide begle psikolojik, yelme sorgo-ekonomik terellerie bukank yongen tribelt germijler ile bogh psikologik, sizene, iderlogik sangen deneginler orelleter sangen deneginler olandarder. Kaking Leninianin ustolan Bul, 1. Engle, miet on P. Emst, S.6. 1890, variller den simplon yeterina degerter single capité leacles on mother ougalonipleades. diktile dista somut, out, topland how/ Engl angundle Mich, Jakin 1953, S. 488-JOD; Uchlkon pryne, were By 17, 5.402) * F. Enges, miet on J. Blood, 21/22,3.8021830, a.a.O. S. 502-503 ; Levis, Prinsipulle frige du

Ustalom bu santomalon, ötellikle Türkize gibi toplumse gopun huse bir degipin isinde olan, dolayısıyla topluml renfloren ve tatmınları aralamdah. sınırları sürekle değiştiği, bir sürlem sürekle değiştiği, bir sürlem sigerie gerişleri değiştiği bir sürlem sigerie gerişleri değiştiği bir sürlem sigerie gerişleri değiştiği bir sürle için birbitin önelidir.

Türkize'de Tann Man Brigivaninin Sonzel youn Holdingler Istarblida Bringin semaje (Marmon bölgeri ve Ansdelled brigil bolgerel mecherleste this sitation Oth by saraji ithhele: Imalet (territ belger chypre, TSICIO de yordin Sanan algorly Kacil Sonay isletelle Bügüh mitahitler (dérletle is yongur) kingel de osta mitabiller Alhouster types 1 Halatzi Herry Timet Il ann inner lein aly son (tortgesel high time (tytom) helestedt) Bright kurrentiflee eyes oldner, typel selfple vs bell mellorda urman Kind unto tienet, with migil (Mozima (yih re yoth) sishester. -Tarlige could is yould - Uliston alak is japaler - bilgesel mitelitelite

A

Simfsal Yapının İncelennen Program

1. grundfragen..., : Teil I, S. 326-376 Hame 2. "Teil II, S. 254-1061 Kumen towns

of Marchalder

3. 1 :Teil II, 5, 1173-1380

4. Laternacike: 5,1-164; 5. 385-433

13.8.79. gm-lfryer, Tel I, S. 347 ge keder okunde ! 14.8.79. "Teil II, S. 993 - 1025 Tei I, S. 296-322 " S. 347 - 360

-> Lenia: Vermel eier Klomifitieg der rumische politische Partie, Werke Rd. 11, 5,85 f.

Fotokopi yapıllacak:

1 grundfrage, Teil II, S, 986 - 1090

Türkiye'nir dunumum daha iji anlamak ikir incelen men genhen ülkeler:

- Letin aneila, ötellie Sili, Mekrika, Arjantin Misir, Hindistan, Irak, Surige, Iran Lenin, die Skelling 2 de bringerden (B Posteien, Nerke Bd. 12, 5, 492-515