

THE PLACE OF THE WORKER IN TURKISH SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Türkkiye ATAÖV

Classes are large groups of people differing by their place in a historically determined system of production, by the relationship to the means of production, their role in the organization of labor and by the mode they acquire a share of social wealth. In every class society, there are basic and non-basic classes. The workers almost always constitute one of the basic classes in most contemporary societies.

Turkey also possesses a working class with a potential far beyond the role it plays in its contemporary society and politics. This article aims to trace briefly the development of the Turkish working class, describe some of its outstanding features (supporting these judgements with annexed tables) and cite certain important Turkish sources on this subject that may be of value to foreign scholars.

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The working class of Turkey was born in consequence of the destruction of our national arts and crafts and the establishment of the early factories during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. With the signing of the now-notorious 1838 Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty¹ and the ensuing period of reorganiza-

¹ This treaty did not attract the due attention of the historians of the older generation as opening the vast market of the Ottoman Empire to Western economic control and eventual political subjugation. For instance, there is no treatment of it in the eight-volume *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ottoman History) published by the Turkish Historical Society. Apart from the hitherto known ones, the last few years saw a crop of research evaluating Ottoman backwardness in terms of the semi-colonization of the empire by Western capitalism. Some of them are: Oya Sencer, *Türk Top-*

tion of the Ottoman economy and society to accommodate the requirements of Western capital interests, local industry faced destruction in its infancy, and an economic network controlled by the foreign industrial centers was created. It was under such circumstances that an embryonic working class came into existence.

The commercial treaties that the feudal² Ottoman society signed in 1838–1842 with the majority of the European powers that had attained various degrees of capitalist development, signified the fatal beginning of Western domination over the Ottoman economy. Hence, the latter society rapidly sank to the level of a semi-colony exporting agricultural products and raw materials and importing finished goods and later foreign capital. It also accepted the first foreign loan in 1854 with the expectation of a take-off, only to reveal in 1875 that the state had gone bankrupt, unable to pay regularly even the interest on the loans.³ Six years later, a General Debt Council, composed chiefly of the representatives of the European capitalist circles, commanded over all state revenues. It was mainly during this period that foreign capital was invested on Ottoman territory and a network of foreign banks organized.⁴

lununun Tarihsel Evrimi, İstanbul, Habora, 1969; Tefik Çavdar, *Osmanlıların Yar.-Sömürge Oluşu*, İstanbul, Ant, 1970; İsmail Cem, *Türkiye'de Geri Kalmışlığın Tarihi*, İstanbul, Cem, 1970; Doğan Avcioğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni: Dün, Bugün, Yarın*, Ankara, Bilgi, 1968; Demir-Taş Ceyhun, *Haçlı Emperyalizm*, İstanbul, Başaran, 1967; Kerim Sadi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Dağılma Devri ve Tarihi Maddecilik*, İstanbul, Doğan, 1962; Niyazi Berkes, *İki Yüz Yıldır Neden Bocalıyoruz?* Ankara, Yön, [1963]; Muzaffer Sencer, *Osmanlı Toplum Yapısı*, İstanbul, Ant, 1969; İdris Küçükömer, *Düzenin Yabancılaşması*, İstanbul, Ant, 1969; Kurthan Fişek, *Türkiye'de Kapitalizmin Gelişmesi ve İşçi Sınıfı*, Ankara, Doğan, 1969; Türk-kaya Ataöv, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Yarı-Sömürgeleşmesi: Bibliyografya," *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (June 1969), pp. 53–99.

2 There is also a difference of opinion on feudalism in Turkish past. As examples of two opposing views, see: Muzaffer Erdost, *Türkiye Sosyalizmi ve Sosyalizm*, Ankara, Sol Yayınları, 1969; Sencer Dıvıçioğlu, *Asya Üretim Tarzı ve Osmanlı Toplumunu*, İstanbul, İktisat Fakültesi, 1967.

3 Donald C. Blaisdell, *European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1929; Kurthan Fişek, "Osmanlı Dış Borçları Üstüne," *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (September 1967), pp. 169–202.

4 J. Lewis Farley, *The Resources of Turkey*, London, Longman Green, 1862.

The formation of the working class in Turkey, certainly, bore the mark of such circumstances. A rural proletariat, which had nothing to sell but its labor, shaped on fertile soil such as Çukurova (Adana), to meet the needs of the European industries and markets for specialized agricultural products. In harvest-time, they amounted close to 50,000–60,000, working 15 or 16 hours per day and paid in cash or in kind.⁵ To help save the national industry from the crushing rivalry of the stronger economies, the reform-minded Sultans such as Mahmut the Second led a feeble drive for industrialization. The initial state armament factories as well as those operating on paper, leather or cloth further contributed to the emergence of a working class in this country.⁶ The number of the workers employed at the factories owned by the foreigners or non-Moslem Ottoman subjects kept increasing in bigger towns such as İstanbul, Bursa and İzmir. Another field that created the working class was the coal mines of Zonguldak and Ereğli on the Black Sea coast. Investments on railways especially after 1856 also drew seasonal workers to such enterprises.⁷

Although there is no adequate information on the earliest workers' movement in the Ottoman Empire, some articles in a Police Rules and Regulations, dated 1845, stating that "the workers' societies be closed down to prevent a revolution" and that the workers who leave their jobs "be punished"⁸ indicate that certain sections of the workers had already started to look after their class interests. Consequently, new regulations, known after Dilâver Pasha, were made in 1865.⁹ However, the first known workers' association was founded in 1871 (*Ameleperver Cemiyeti*) and the first strike (at the Kasımpaşa Naval Docks in İstanbul) came in 1872.¹⁰ Other strikes followed. (See Table I

5 Hüseyin Avni Şanda, *Türkiye'de 54 Yıl Önceki İşçi Hareketleri*, İstanbul Evren, 1962, p. 10.

6 Ömer Celâl Sarç, "Tanzimat ve Sanayimiz," *Tanzimat: I*, İstanbul, Maarif, 1940, pp. 423–440.

7 E. M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Baghdad Railway*, New York, Macmillan, 1923.

8 Lütü Erişçi, *Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfının Tarihi*, İstanbul, 1951, p. 1.

9 Ferit Hakkı Sayman, *Türk İş Hukuku*, İstanbul, 1959, p. 49.

10 Kemâl Sülker, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketleri*, İstanbul, Gerçek, 1966, pp. 137–138. The author is one of the leaders of the *Disk*, one of the confederations.

for strikes in 1872–1906.) In the pre-1908 era, or before the Second Constitutional Government, working hours per day reached sixteen while wages dropped to 6–7 *kuruş* in the cities and even to 1–2 *kuruş* in the rural areas, with child labor predominant in many factories.¹¹

The first few months following the 1908 Constitutional Government may be termed as the “months of strikes.”¹² (For strikes in 1908, see Table II.) In August 1908 an Ottoman Society for the Improvement of Industry was formed, and a year later came into existence an Ottoman Society of Compositors.¹³ Consequently, in July 1909, strikes and union organization were prohibited in public services and utilities. The formerly organized unions in industries under concessions were abolished as well. The Work Stoppages Act (*Tatil-i Eşgâl Kanunu*), prepared by the Kâmil Paşa government and which forbid strikes, was actually a concession to the foreign capital interests. This Act was opposed by some deputies in the infant Ottoman legislature as designed to serve foreign interests. Although the Act was successful in reducing the frequency of the strikes, it could not suspend them all. Not only there were new strikes among the tailors, upholsterers, book-binders, barbers and more importantly the Cibali (İstanbul) tobacco and bear factory workers, there was also an attempt to establish the Ottoman Socialist Party in 1910. (For strikes in 1909–1914, see Table III.) The working conditions did not improve during the war years of 1914–1918. For instance, 15,000 women and children were crammed into the filthy rooms of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturing Co., for an average 1.6 *kuruş* per day.¹⁴

The 1919–1923 period, or the years of the War of National Liberation, saw politically more conscious and better organized worker's movements against foreign firms and foreigners in general. A Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants was formed

11 Erişçi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

12 Cahit Talas, “Sendikacılığımızın Dünü, Bugünü ve Politikası”, *Prof. Dr. Yavuz Abadan'a Armağan*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1968, p. 636; Also see: Sedat Toydemir, “Türkiye’de İş İhtilâflarının Tarihçesi ve Bugünkü Durumu,” *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları*, Vol. IV (1951), pp. 45–66; Mete Tuncay, *Türkiye’de Sol Akımlar*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1967.

13 Sedat Ağralı, *Günümüze Kadar Belgelerle Türk Sendikacılığı*, İstanbul, 1967, p. 26.

14 Erişçi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

in 1919, and the workers in İstanbul participated in meetings protesting the Greek occupation of Western Anatolia, supported the Turkish War of National Liberation and held numerous strikes directed at imperialism. (For strikes in 1919-1923, see Table IV.) As can be judged from the Act on the Rights of the Ereğli Coal Mine Workers, passed on September 10, 1921, the Nationalist Government in Ankara seemed sympathetic towards labor cause.

The İzmir Economic Congress of 1923¹⁵ may be regarded as important from the point of view of the working class, not only that the workers were also represented, although in small numbers, among the total 1135 delegates, but also it was the first time that they came together to converse openly on common problems and present to the Congress some thirty proposals in their favor, among which were maximum 8-hours, pays on holidays, annual vacations, social insurance, better health conditions, a worker's hospital and prohibition of child labor (below age 12).¹⁶ Although the İzmir Congress basically took decisions that in the long run helped to create an economy principally resting on private enterprise, the working class was also formally recognized as one of the social classes. Encouraged by such tolerance, some attempted to organize a nation-wide union, in which there was immediate worker's interest principally from İzmir, Adapazarı and Zonguldak. However, the decision to strike of the İstanbul tobacco workers on May 1, 1923, and the circulation of printed labor leaflets and posters on the same day led to arrests on May 24. Although the suspects were acquitted the first day of their hearing, the unionization movement received a blow. In spite of several liberal provisions in the new 1924 Constitution, the Work Stoppages Act (of 1909) was still in force. Furthermore, the Restoration of Peace Act (*Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu*) of March 4, 1925, greatly restricted workers' rights and prohibited the formation of unions and political parties, except the ruling one. This Act effectively ended unionism in Turkey until 1946.

Articles 316 and 317 of the 1926 Obligations Act provided in theory the right to make collective agreements. But generally

15 Gündüz Ökçün, *Türkiye İktisat Kongresi: 1923*, İzmir, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1968.

16 Sülker, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

not much beyond minimal social assistance and mutual aid arrangements were achieved for the workers. The adoption in 1926 of the Swiss Civil Code based worker-management relations on the individual contracts. The Labor Code of 1936, that came after Turkey's participation in the International Labor Organization (1932), concerned the manual workers employed in places with ten or more people. The government saw no reason to grant to its working population the right to establish trade unions and conduct strikes. Such acts were justifiable, it believed, in 1919-1923, since they were then directed against foreign exploitation. But the new rulers thought that there could be no foreign or even domestic exploitation of labor in the Turkish Republic, the foreign firms being nationalized¹⁷ and the state taking protective measures for all. Right to organize unions, make collective agreements and call for strikes were not interpreted as the result of conflict between the social classes, but rather its cause, and that separate rights for the working people seemed incompatible with the "populist" (*halkçılık*) program of the government. If a few insignificant protests originating from the İstanbul tramway workers are laid aside, no meaningful movement of the workers took place between 1924 and 1936. Further, the Associations Act (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*) of 1938 prevented the founding of "class-based organizations." Although this Act was amended on June 10, 1946, such organizations were nevertheless suppressed once more only after six months. While, on the one hand, the restriction cited above was upheld, an amendment passed, eight days later, to Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code apparently envisaged a multi-party system for Turkey - without a working class party. The said articles, originally borrowed from the inter-war Italian Penal Code, barred the working class from political activity.

An Act on the trade unions was finally passed in 1947. Its Article 4 prescribed that employees' and employers' trade unions might enter into collective agreements on behalf of its members and Article 7 stipulated that a labor union could not be suspended or dissolved permanently without the decision of the court, acting

17 In 1929, in Turkey there were in total 166 firms, 80.12 % of which could be classified as domestic; 47.37 % of these firms controlled 74.36 % of the total capital, but 181 of the 625 Executive Committee members of those firms were foreign national. Hikmet Kivilımcılı, *Türkiye'de Kapitalizm*, İstanbul, 1965, p. 163.

as enumerated by law. The workers, now, had not only the right to collective agreements, but also the executive could not suspend a trade union by direct administrative action. However, the right to collective agreement was not supported by the right to strike, and Article 5 stated that employees' and employers' organizations could not engage in politics or political propaganda. Further, a Turkish trade union could not pursue international goals, even though such goals might not be political in character. It could join an international organization only after the permission of the government. (For the distribution of the workers into a number of unions in this period, see Table V.)

Hence, the opposing Nation Party included the right to strike into its program in 1948, and the Democratic Party did the same a year later. Consequently, most of the unions supported the main opposition party prior to the general elections in 1950, which brought into power the Democrats, dedicated to liberal economic policies. As seen in Table V, there is a sudden increase in union membership with the coming to power of the new government. From 1951 onwards, however, the new government did not repeat its pledge to award to the workers the right to strike.

Nevertheless, in this period, the organization of the Turkish Federation of Trade Unions (*Türk-İş*) in 1952, was an important step in Turkish unionism. It was not only a national center, comparable to the AFL-CIO in the U.S. or the T.U.C. in England, but it seemed pledged to widen the scope of collective agreements, introduce the right to strike and was also successful in holding the first Labor Council in 1954. The Republican People's Party, which had, while in power, opposed the right to strike, included it in its program as amended at the Tenth Party Congress in 1953. In summary, the working class of Turkey had been successful in taking certain initial, but important steps in organization, but was in a hostile environment with a number of legal restrictions and increasing control of the suspicious ruling circles.¹⁸ Organization within the union solely in terms of economic demands and lack of political consciousness still kept the working class outside political power. There was a decrease

¹⁸ Bahir Ersoy, "Sendikacılığın İnkişafına Mâni Olan Bazı Sebepler," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları*, Vol. VII (1955), p. 47.

in the ratio of women and child labor in this period (Table VI), but the workers could not bring about significant legislative changes, legislature being dominated by the party in power, representing the interests of the ruling classes. Workers' interests were in no way represented in the Grand National Assembly.

A somewhat brighter future for the working class was in the making with the change of government on May 27, 1960. Although it was engineered by officers, who represented the generally progressive portion of the petit bourgeois in the Turkish society, it also signified for labor some promises. Not only the lower-class originated officers uttered unusual statements in defense of the unprivileged, but also six union leaders participated in the Constituent Assembly, convened by the military administration, and the Constitution, the first draft of which was prepared by university professors, included provisions favorable to the working class.¹⁹ In the multi-party era, all political parties had at different times promised the right to strike, but none had kept its pledge. The 1961 Constitution legalized this right. The specific law, however, was passed on July 15, 1963.²⁰ Unions were no longer looked at as suspicion-drawing centers, but component parts of a more democratic, just and advanced society.

The military government permitted *Türk-İş* to be affiliated with ICFTU, and let the *birliks*, banned by the former Democratic

19 Article 47: "In their relations with employers, workers have the right to bargain collectively and to strike in order to protect or improve their economic and social situation. The exercise of the right to strike and exceptions thereto and the rights of employers shall be regulated by law."

20 For the treatment of the subject prior to the right to strike, see: Orhan Tuna and Metin Kutal, *Grev Hakkı*, İstanbul, İktisat Fakültesi, 1963. For a post-1963 analysis, see: Sait Kemâl Mimaroglu, *Türk Hukukunda Toplu İş Sözleşmesi*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1964; Seza Reisoğlu, *Türk Hukukunda ve Mukayeseli Hukukta Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri*, Ankara, Hukuk Fakültesi, 1967; Cahit Talas, *Sosyal Politika*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1967; —, "Sendikacılığımızın Dünyü, Bugünü ve Politikası," *Prof. Dr. Yavuz Abadan'a Armağan*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1968, pp. 635-656; Nusret Ekin, "Türkiye'de İş Uyuşmazlıkları, Grev ve Lokavtlar," İstanbul, İktisadî Araştırmalar Tesisi, Türkiye'de Emek-Sermaye Münasebetleri Konulu Uluslararası Seminere Sunulan Bildiri, 1967. A more comprehensive recent publication on collective agreements is Orhan Tuna, *Toplu İş Sözleşmesi Düzeninin İktisadî ve Sosyal Tesirleri*, Ankara, Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtı, 1969. For a study of "legislative and socio-political dimensions," see Toker Dereli, *The Development of Turkish Trade Unionism*, İstanbul, İktisat Fakültesi, 1968.

government, resume their activities. A workers' political party was also formed in this period. Further, the First Five-Year Development Plan stated that "the workers who have an important role in the realization and continuation of development, should enjoy the same economic and social rights as other social categories" and that "the participation of labor in the search for solutions to social and economic problems is a natural consequence of the democratic system."²¹ The Plan admitted that the workers had now become "conscious of their functions and responsibilities in the process of development."

According to the new Collective Agreements, Strikes and Lock-Outs Act, the trade union is the only organization empowered to make a collective agreement. A federation or a union organized on an industry basis, representing the majority of the workers may make collective agreements on behalf of all the work-places. The Act permits strikes (or lock-outs) only after the failure of a compulsory conciliation period. It covers people working in public and private sectors, manual workers as well as those, the intellectual character of whose work may outweigh its manual nature. Civil service personnel, religious professions, high supervisory functionaries in certain public enterprises and some economic undertakings are banned from joining the trade unions. The right to organize of the white collar workers is subject to the State Personnel Unions Act.²² The trade unions are also forbidden to receive money from the political parties. Prior government permission is no longer required for affiliation with an international organization.

II. AN OVER-VIEW OF BASIC FACTS

Having brought the subject to the 1963 Act, we may pose here to draw attention to some basic facts and figures to help us place the working class in its proper position in the contemporary Turkish society. Situated in a moderate climate belt and endowed with considerable subsoil riches, Turkey is basically an agrarian

21 T. C., Prime Ministry; State Planning Organization, *First Five-Year Development Plan: 1963-1967*, Ankara, 1963, p. 103.

22 Cemâl Mihçioğlu, *Türkiye'de Kamu Personeli Sendikaları*, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1968.

country (Table VIII) with a highly homogenous but fast-increasing population (Table IX). Close to 80 % of the labor force, which is about half of the total population, works in agriculture. Those in industry and services make up the remaining twenty percent.

The Development Plan is very frank in pointing at characteristic bottlenecks: "Of the population of school age and above, 60 % is illiterate. 53 % of the villages and 55 % of the small towns have either no drinking water or not enough, 69 % of the population is without electricity. Out of every 1000 babies born, 165 die in the first year. 2.5 % of the population has tuberculosis. There is one medical doctor for every 4000 inhabitants, and in the hospitals one nurse for every 111 beds...In the three biggest cities, 30 % of the population live in single-room dwellings..."²³

The industrial investments of the recent years have not changed the overwhelming ratio of the active population in agriculture.²⁴ Furthermore, most of those employed at construction industry or even in the Zonguldak coal mines are seasonal workers with one leg in the village. Such dispersal handicaps faster organization (Table X). The economically-active population between ages 15-64 (Tables XI, XII and XIII) is not evenly distributed in various types of work (Table XIV). The ratio does not seem to change much in manufacturing industry while there is a slight increase in the field of construction. The average employment capacity, based on the 1965 census figures, is 41.7 % of the total population (Tables XV and XVI). The national economy is not organized in a way to supply sufficient openings for those able to work. In addition to acute unemployment, there is also "disguised" unemployment or underemployment, especially in the agricultural sector. The bigger cities are plagued with high labor turnover. The high unemployment figures cannot be explained totally in terms of high population increase, because unemployment is basically a social and economic problem, requiring measures of greater dimensions than birth control or worker export to foreign lands.

The weakest aspect of Turkey's material structure is probably the lack of required concentration of capital and equipment.

²³ *First Five Year Plan, op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁴ Necdet Serin, *Türkiye'nin Sanayileşmesi*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1963.

The channelization of the available investments to areas other than the industry creating means of production is the main source of the present economic problems. However, Turkey offers more expectations compared to some other undeveloped countries, which have recently won their independence. It possesses not only some branches of the consumption industry, but also certain basic industries such as iron, steel, chemicals and cement. Some areas have attained the level of mechanized agriculture. The import of such tools of advanced technology, however, shows that the problem of equipment in agriculture is not yet based on a solid foundation.

It is on this basic structure that the working class is trying to organize. As seen in Table V, the number of unionized workers has radically increased since 1960, especially 1963. The number of the present unionized workers are estimated as 800,000. Although this figure is low especially in comparison with the industrially-advanced countries, it nevertheless signifies an important increase compared with the past. Another result of unionism in Turkey has been the impetus leading to the formation of the employers' unions. The employers have been organized on a nation-wide scale with the formation on December 20, 1962 of the Confederation of the Employers' Unions of Turkey. (For the number and membership of the employee and employer unions, federations and confederations, see Table V. For a list of the employers' unions, see Table XVII.)

While the *Türk-İş* reorganized keeping in its structure a number of affiliated industries (Table XVIII), the number of collective agreements, the workers and the work-places affected by them increased rapidly (Tables XIX–XXI). The number of workers covered by the collective agreements made at the public sector constitutes more than half of the total workers within the framework of such agreements. The Turkish workers are more and more joining unions on an industry basis rather than a work-place or regional basis. Although collective agreements made on an industry basis serve workers' interests better and signifies respect for the principle of "equal pay for equal work", the real value of wages are nevertheless not the same because of price variations in the different regions of Turkey. There has been, however, a steady increase in the minimum wages of workers

since 1963. All provinces were finally classified into six groups and separate wages established for them (Tables XXIV-XXVI). Strikes, caused mainly for wage increase, generally take place in the private rather than the public sector, because various legal requirements are better met and circumstances for a better collective agreement are more likely in the latter (Tables XXVII and XXVIII).

Article 48 of the Turkish Constitution states: "Every individual is entitled to social security. The state is charged with the duty of establishing or assisting in the establishment of social insurance and social welfare organization." The social security system in Turkey is based on two different organizations, namely, the Government Employees Retirement Fund (Table XXIX) and the Social Insurance Institution.²⁵ (Tables XXX-XXXIII) The former started operations on January 1, 1950, providing social benefits within a retirement system. The Social Insurance Act, No. 506 presently in force, was applied beginning March 1, 1965.²⁶ Before this law, social insurance covered work-places with ten or more employees. At the end of 1967, the Social Insurance Law was extended to establishments with one person employed in 56 provinces. Law No. 506 entitles all persons employed by a contract of service. It excludes agricultural workers, self-employed and persons contributing to any one of the pension funds established by law.

Although the wages and some working conditions of the union-members are being improved, there is unemployment, open and "disguised", (Tables XXXIV) and migration from villages to big cities and to foreign lands. This discrepancy between the supply and demand of manpower belittles the achievements of the 1963 Act. If the rate of growth of the agrarian population

25 In the Ottoman Empire, "fitre", "zekât" and similar religious practices along with the "Vakıfs", a system of foundations, met some requirements of social security. The first social security organization, namely the Military Retirement Fund, set up in 1866, was followed by a retirement fund (1881) for civil servants. In 1930 a system based on paying pensions out of the general budget instead of a contributory fund was accepted. In 1949 the Government Employees Retirement Fund was established.

26 Social insurance was applied in Turkey in 1946 with the Work Injury and Occupational Disease Insurance and Maternity Insurance established by Law No. 4772. It was followed by Old Age (1950) and Sickness (1951) Insurances.

will remain unchanged (for a ratio of the agrarian population to the total population between 1927-1965, see Table XXXV), unemployment until 1977 is expected to be as shown in Table XXXVI. Employment created in industry and services is not sufficient to assure a more balanced distribution of manpower. The discrepancy between the labor supply and the limited employment possibilities create in the urban areas acute unemployment. What is more, there is probably disguised unemployment reaching 2.9-3.4 millions (1964) in agriculture,²⁷ which in turn creates a fast increase in city population (Table XXXVII). The economic and social costs of an unbalanced urbanization are certainly high. The infrastructure investments that such a rapid urbanization require are much in excess of the available resources. Moreover, the migrating population is not generally employed in industries useful for development, but as shoe-shiners, porters or servants. The keen competition in the big cities among those former village-dwellers raise the bargaining power of those who control manpower demand. One temporary solution has been to permit Turkish workers to accept employment in some Western European countries. (For the number of such workers since 1961, when the first bilateral agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany was signed, see Table XXXVIII.) Today, there are about 300,000 Turkish workers in the foreign countries, and 800,000 are waiting their turns to go out. Migration to other countries generally originate from the over-crowded big cities (Table XXXIX), and those absorbed by the foreign industries are to an great extent qualified or semi-qualified workers (Table XL).

III. THE WORKING CLASS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Again following the officers' movement in 1960 the working class pursued political struggle through various parties as well one that bears its name.

In spite of the proportional representation system stated in the 1961 Constitution, designed to enable all political groupings

27 Alpaslan Işıklı, *Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri ve Türkiye Ekonomisi İçindeki Yeri*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1967, p. 56. Also see: Orhan Türkay, *Gizli İşsizlik*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1968.

to be represented in the National Assembly, the Justice Party, an heir to the defunct liberal Democrats in ways more than one, received the majority of the votes and came to power alone. The ruling party's platform on workers' problems no less than its over-all social and economic policies are conservative, even at times reactionary. It represents, like the former D.P., the interests of landed aristocracy and the employers, but continues to receive the support of large sections of the laboring classes, deprived of class consciousness. The smaller political parties like the Nation Party (*Millet Partisi*), the National Movement Party (*Millî Hareket Partisi*), the New Turkey Party (*Yeni Türkiye Partisi*) and the newly-established Trust Party (*Güven Partisi*), all seem to support the existing order and do not differ much on major issues.

The Republican People's Party, known for its past reformist policies, but also influenced by big landowners and conservative elements in general, adopted a new "left of the center" policy, which split it into two groups, the more conservative section claiming that the R.P.P. had betrayed its goals and setting a new Trust Party. The R.P.P. had long pursued a policy of populism, which pretended to embrace all social classes and strata. Since the propagation of the new "left of the center" policy, it seems to have abandoned the illusion that the interests of social classes can be harmonized. On the other hand, there is no reference in its platform or individual statements to the leadership of the laboring classes for an eventual change, modernization and industrialization of the Turkish society. The criticism coming from the farther left and directed at this party is that it envisages a policy of concessions to certain strata of the laboring people, leaving the basic social structure intact. There is serious doubt that even such Western-type concessions in underdeveloped, agrarian countries lacking capital be actually made. Moreover, such a concessions policy will fall short of leading the country to the requirements of contemporary civilization. The question put forth repeatedly, in this connection, is that whether the R. P.P. regards "leftism" as a system of values, presupposing the absence of exploiting classes, with no antithesis between town and country, between mental and physical labor, with an economy on planned, proportionate basis and a state where working people are drawn into active administration. Apart from the stimulus

caused by the gradual emergence of the working class and the formation of another rival political party more to the left, some R.P.P. leaders are certainly motivated by moral considerations as well. However, a policy favoring the laboring mass needs to be based on a working class analysis of the society. Only such an analysis can give effect to the announced moral goals. An empirical and eclectic look at society cannot solve the problems posed by the emerging laboring masses, and the present class characteristics of the R.P.P. do not seem to permit a more rational and materialistic social analysis.

Such an evaluation is being attempted by the Workers Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*), founded on February 13, 1961, by twelve union leaders and described in its program as the "political organization advancing to power, through legal means, of the Turkish working class, of the intellectuals gathered around its democratic leadership based on history and science, having reached consciousness and happiness in unity of destiny with it, of the agrarian laborers, landless peasants and those with little land, artisans, small tradesmen, the salaried and the wage-earners, self-employed with meagre incomes, in short, of all citizens who live with their labor."²⁸ That party strived, since its inception, to interpret national and world problems from the point of view of the working class in Turkey, to defend its interests and to fight for new rights and freedoms favorable to it. The W.P.T. believed that such a policy is also a defense of the rights, freedoms and the high interests of the Turkish nation as a whole, since it was the laboring masses, constituting the majority, that really created all riches and values, that was potentially the only stimulating and the progressive class as well as the carrier of the heavy burden of development. It claimed to struggle to elevate to the level of genuine citizens the members of lower strata on whose behalf all other political parties spoke but none brought them anywhere close to the organs of governmental decision. The W.P.T. leaders believed that theirs was the genuine political organization of the workers and its allied classes, who would come to political power and reorganize the economic, social and cultural activities of the state in the interests of the majority and the nation as a whole. After much pain and strive against the

28 *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Programı*, İstanbul, Karınca Matbaası, 1964, p. 14.

thousand-and-one acts of suppression directed by the ruling circles, the W.P.T. was represented by 15 deputies and 1 Senator in the Grand National Assembly after the 1965 elections,²⁹ but the modification of the proportional representation system to enable the stronger, ruling J.P. to rid itself of opposition directed by the smaller parties reduced W.P.T. representation to one intellectual and one union leader.

The W.P.T. is being supported by *Disk*, which is a second significant confederation set up in 1967 and composed of the Metal Workers' Union, Rubber Workers' Union, Press Workers' Union and the Chemical Industries Workers' Union. While the *Türk-İş* spokesmen declare that their organization represents more than 800,000 workers,³⁰ *Disk* claims 62,400. Both figures are probably exaggerated. Characterizing the ruling Justice Party as the protagonist of the economically dominant classes in the country, the *Disk* advocates a better workers' representation in the National Assembly. It argues that a non-capitalistic economy would end all forms of foreign and domestic exploitation and develop Turkey. It claims that the "above-party" slogan of the *Türk-İş* is nothing but a myth, and that the workers should fight to conquer political power rather than facified by mechanisms such as collective bargaining. It also criticizes the *Türk-İş* for relations with certain foreign organizations, especially the financial aid accepted from the AID. The *Disk* is vehemently against those who push Turkey closer to the American model of trade unionism,³¹ and upholds the view that there are basic, incompatible differences between the American and Turkish unions in terms of history, structure and future aspirations.³²

Putting aside the official statements of the W.P.T. leaders and preferences of its members or sympathizers assessing it as the party of the working class, we may look now at the class structure of its members. The recent splits in that party and other developments cannot be analyzed without giving due importance

29 Nermin Abadan, *Anayasa Hukuku ve Siyasal İlimler Açısından 1965 Seçimlerinin Tahlili*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1966.

30 *Türk-İş: Üye Kuruluşlar Listesi*, p. 7.

31 Bruce H. Millen, "Gelişen Ülkelerde Sendikalar ve Siyaset," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları*, Vol. XIX (1967), pp. 4-5.

32 Türkaya Ataöv, "Türk ve Amerikan Sendikacılığını Ayıran Noktalar," *Sosyal Adalet*, No. 14 (June 18, 1963), p. 7.

to its class composition. The only reliable source in this respect is the data on the 12,695 membership cards.³³ For the purposes of analyzing the class structure of the W.P.T. members and the differences seen in the various localities, one may divide Turkey into four geographical areas (Table XLI): (a) *Marmara-Aegean-Mediterranean*, with 38.86 % of the population; mechanized agriculture; wage-labor; a somewhat developed production, commerce and commodity-money relations; comparatively high industrialization; a sizable industrial proletariat; a network of banks side by side usurers; and high rate of urbanism. (b) *Central Anatolia*, with predominantly small peasant economy; considerable industrialization in Ankara and Eskişehir, with the accompanying concentration of industrial workers; (c) *The Black Sea area*, with heavy workers in the Zonguldak and Karabük coal mines; divided, small land ownership; (d) *Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia*, with predominant feudal relations of production and backward economy. The distribution of the Turkish population and the distribution of the W.P.T. members to these geographical areas may be seen in Tables XLII and XLIII respectively.

The *proletarian and the semi-proletarian* members of the W.P.T. constitute 45 % of all members (Table XLIV). Their distribution in respect to urban and small town dwelling may be traced in Tables XLV. 79 % of the worker members are registered in cities with a 20,000 population or more. The comparatively high rate of industrialization in the Marmara-Aegean-Mediterranean area accounts for the fact that 72 % of the total worker members are gathered in that area. However, the total worker members in an industrial area such as Zonguldak, Karabük and Ereğli is only 3 % while the same in the backward and feudal environment of the Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia is 11.43%. Some of that latter-cited percentage, no doubt, includes daily-paid workers not employed at a plant and who have failed to give proper details in their membership card as to the kind of work they do. Qualified workers such as bulldozer, tractor and

33 Such a research based on the membership cards was carried out by the members of the Central Scientific and Research Council (where the author of this article had also accepted duties). The result of this research was later published. (Doğu Perinçek, "Türkiye İşçi Partisi Üyelerinin Sınıfsal Yapısı," *Aydınlık*, No. 3 [January 1969], pp. 205-226.) The tables referred to are from this research.

excavator drivers, machine-operators, mechanics, construction foremen, turbine experts or vessel fitters constitute a small proportion of the members. So do the general services workers such as postmen, waiters, fire-enginemmen, watchmen or ticket collectors. The percentage of the technicians and worker-artisans is considerably high - 9.38 %. (For their distribution in respect to profession, area and urbanism, see Table XLVI.) 83.30 % of the worker members who have classified themselves in their membership cards as "agrarian members" reside in the Marmara-Aegean-Mediterranean region.

The *petit-bourgeois* members, which include small tradesmen, artisans, minor bureaucrats and intellectuals, middle peasants and peasants with small land, the low-earning self-employed and house-wives, constitute 52 % of the W.P.T. members. Small tradesmen and artisans (Table XLVII) are threatened by modern industrialization. The more politically-conscious among them are inclined to support parties that seem to leave small property unmolested. Petit-bourgeois intellectuals and bureaucrats (Table XLVIII) reach 10.77 % of all members. This figure is all the more significant when one remembers that the government employees and those working in the state economic enterprises are barred from joining political parties. This legal obstacle probably prevents many petit-bourgeois elements from joining the W.P.T. The small land-owners, facing the danger of losing whatever is left in their hands, are represented rather well (Table XLIX). (For the distribution of the small businessmen, that is, small capital-owners who have no particular or continuous work to do, see Table L, and that of the house-wives, see Table LI.)

Those of *bourgeois* origin constitute 2.78 % of all W.P.T. members. They may be classified into three (Tables LII and LIII) as to the functions they perform: (a) the intermediaries such as traders, sale agents or brokers; (b) bigger capitalists such as restaurant, hotel or theater owners; and (c) manufacturers. An important portion of the bourgeois members dwell in small towns, which shows that they are probably crushed under the competition of even bigger capital-owners.

When the real characteristics of the W.P.T.'s class structure is analyzed (Table LIV), one sees that 62.91 % of all party mem-

bers gather in the Marmara-Aegean-Mediterranean region, where 39 % of Turkey's population congregates. The petit-bourgeois character of the party membership is detectable in the Central Anatolian and the Black Sea regions. Worker and intellectual ratio rises in localities where industrialization or capitalist agrarian relations are comparatively better developed. In Central Anatolia and the Black Sea, the party has been able to attract the small and middle peasants. The proportion of the petit-bourgeois elements, except small tradesmen and bureaucrats, rise in Eastern Anatolia. The W.P.T. strikes one as a city-dwellers party in the Marmara-Aegean-Mediterranean region (Table LV). The peasants in the Black Sea and the small-town dwellers in the Eastern and South-Eastern region predominate.

CONCLUSIONS

The working class of Turkey is a candidate to play a more important role in society and politics. It has elevated itself from the level of economic goals to the platform of political struggle (Tables LVI-LVII). Its fight has become legitimate, and consequently, not only many of the small forms of labor exploitation are being eliminated, but also its right to compete for power is attested. The unions have been successful in attaining for its members the right to make collective agreements and strikes, which are two of their important functions. Some of the more progressive unions are becoming educational organizations as well as bargaining mechanisms. After the progressive 1960 movement in Turkey, the working class has scored certain successes in its struggle against low wages and other inferior working conditions. The demonstration of the 5,000 bare-footed Sümerbank employees (İzmir) in 1961, the march of the 5,000 unemployed towards the National Assembly in 1962, similar events at Zonguldak and the famous Kavel strike of 1963, and 83 more in 1964 and many more that followed showed that the bourgeois democratic freedoms of the 1960's also meant new rights for the working class.

It will probably take some time, however, before the working class possesses a powerful organization, equipped with correct principles and matured in action. In spite of successes, a road of struggle and toil stretches ahead. In countries like Turkey.

the collective agreement creates benumbing state that retards the ripening of class consciousness as well as bringing some benefits. Many of the concessions rested from management are fast rendered meaningless on account of governmental policy elsewhere. For instance, the rise in prices far exceeds the 10 % increase in wages that some members of the working class have acquired with difficulty. Only a portion of the workers benefit from the collective bargaining system. Some agreements, prepared by the yellow unions, serve the interests of the employers. Measures to prevent work accidents and provide workers' representation on managerial boards are lacking. More progressive unions, however, are certainly utilizing the present legal mechanism to obtain new rights for the union representatives, paid leaves for labor education and additional wages for union members. However, the agreed minimum wages are still below the subsistence index, the employers still lay off experienced workers without any pay to avoid seniority bonus, salaries in industries where minimum wage is not agreed upon is below the average level of minimum wage and union representatives still face the threat of losing their jobs on account of professional activities.

Then, there is of course the crucial problem of surplus value that remains with management. For instance, the ratio of surplus value in the private manufacturing industry is 242 %. Another words, on the average, when a worker labors for 8 hours, 2 hours and 20 minutes of this time belongs to him and the rest to the employer; or only 29 % of the value created by the worker remains with him.³⁴ The realization of such root problems is delayed by means well-known in the history of all countries. For instance, the numerical superiority of the working class is being reduced by devices such as accepting some as "government employees," thereby subjecting them to less effective bargaining positions. Further, although the Social Insurance Organization has provided the insured workers with certain benefits, its housing and health policies have generally been failures. Only 13,000 houses

34 Kenan Somer, "Resmî İstatistiklere Göre, İmalat Sanayiinde Artı-Değer Oranı," *Forum*, No. 348 (October 1, 1968). Also see: Korkut Boratav, *100 Soruda Gelir Dağılımı*, İstanbul, Gerçek, 1969, pp. 147-148; Sabahattin Zaim, "Türkiye'de Mensucat Sanayiinde Ücretler," *İktisat Konferansları*, İstanbul, İktisat Fakültesi, 1956, pp. 25-41. Also by the last mentioned: *Çalışma Ekonomisi*, İstanbul, İktisat Fakültesi, 1968.

for one million industrial workers seem below any level of satisfaction, especially when one remembers that in Spain, certainly not known as a "workers' state", 1,130,000 labor houses are planned. The same organization operates only 37 hospitals, two sanatoriums and 42 dispensaries. Benefits achieved seem more easily available to the union bosses than the rank and file. The insurance premiums, deducted from the workers' wages are sometimes kept by the employer, the total having reached 289,474,879 Turkish Liras in 1968.³⁵ The transfer of the skilled Turkish workers to the comparatively low-paying jobs in the Western European countries is a multifaceted problem that neither promises far-reaching solutions, nor seems to reduce the number or the tension of the oft-repeating strikes, demonstrations and work-place occupations.

Finally, one reaches the most crucial problem whether at present a fully-grown working class exists in Turkey. Controversy on this question gains increasing momentum with the constant growth of tendencies favoring unrestricted independence and democracy, with the ultimate aim of establishing a socialist society. It is obvious that devoid of conscious and organized leadership of the working class and without the mature guidance of a working class party, which can say the most ordinary things in the simplest language, no permanent gains can be achieved. The leadership of the working class is a *sine quo non* of such an ultimate aim. Hence, there is also the opinion that the political movement of the working class in Turkey is still below the requirements, and that proletarian leadership has not adequately developed. The driving spirit of the socialists in the many facets of political struggle does not connote, in their opinion, that the working class has already assumed a conscious and organized leadership. Although many successes have been scored on behalf of the masses during the last one hundred years of history, theory and action originated from the intellectuals and youth, who had profound faith in the creative power of the masses but who themselves had petit-bourgeois origins. A wide range of numerous working class publications - among which *İşçi - Köylü* (Worker - Peasant) figu-

35 Sülker, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

res out as simple and easy and with the highest circulation seem to express a passionate faith in the strength of the masses.

Although the debate whether the objective and the subjective conditions have matured to a degree giving the working class unquestionable leadership in the struggle for a total transformation of the Turkish society, almost all the debating groups attest theoretically the need of such a leadership and help in their own way to achieve it.

Turkish workers in the comparative law-paying to be in the
Western European countries is a well-known problem that has been
discussed for a long time. The question of the working class in Turkey
and its class consciousness is a new problem that has not been
sufficiently studied. It is a very important problem which at
present a fully-grown working class exists in Turkey. Contrary
to this question gains increasing importance with the constant
growth of technicalities in a country which is striving for
democracy with the ultimate aim of establishing a socialist
society. It is obvious that devoid of conscious and organized
leadership of the working class and without the means and
force of a working class party, which can say, the most impor-
tant thing in the highest language, no permanent gains can
be achieved. The leadership of the working class is a task which
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that the political movement of the working class in Turkey
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a conscious and organized leadership. Although many successes
have been scored on behalf of the masses during the last one
hundred years of history, theory and action originated from
the intellectuals and youth who had profound faith in the
creative power of the masses but who themselves had been
portentous organs. A wide range of numerous working class
publications among which *Yeni Dünya* (New World), *Yeni
Medeniyyat* (New Civilization), *Yeni Kuvvet* (New Force),
Fakülte, 1951, pp. 23-41. Also by the National Council, Ankara,
1951, pp. 130.

TABLE I
WORKERS' STRIKES IN 1872-1906

YEAR	NAME OF THE STRIKE		
1872	STRIKE OF THE KASIMPAŞA NAVAL DOCK WORKERS		
1872	"	"	" TELEGRAPH OFFICE WORKERS(FEBR.17)
1872	"	"	" ÖMERLİ-YARIMBURGAZ RAILWAY WORKERS
1872	"	"	" İZMİT RAILWAY WORKERS (APRIL 8)
1872	"	"	" İZMİT RAILWAY WORKERS (APRIL 13)
1872	"	"	" BEYKOZ LEATHER AND SHOE FACTORY WORKERS
1875	"	"	" NAVAL DOCK WORKERS (JUNE 9)
1875	"	"	" QUAY PORYERS (OCTOBER 13)
1876	"	"	" NAVAL DOCK WORKERS (FEBR. 16)
1876	"	"	" HAYDARPAŞA RAILWAY WORKERS (MARCH 2)
1876	"	"	" NAVAL DOCK WORKERS (MAY 23)
1878	"	"	" İSTANBUL TAILORS (OCTOBER 16)
1878	"	"	" BRICKLAYERS
1878	"	"	" SHOEMAKERS
1879	"	"	" CONSTRUCTION WORKERS (MARCH 11)
1879	"	"	" SHIPS' CREWS (MARCH 25)
1879	"	"	" İSTANBUL ACCOUNTANTS (JULY 10)
1879	"	"	" NAVAL DOCK WORKERS (JULY 18)
1880	"	"	" SHIPS' CREWS (FEBR. 4)
1880	"	"	" HAYDARPAŞA RAILWAY WORKERS (FEBR. 28)
1880	"	"	" GOLDEN HORN SHIPS' CREWS (NOV.25)
1885	"	"	" WORKERS OF THE WOOD STORES (APRIL 11)
1886	"	"	" BEYOĞLU STORES PERSONNEL (FEBR.1)
1906	"	"	" TOBACCO WORKERS
1906	"	"	" İSTANBUL COMPOSITORS' (AUGUST)

TABLE II
STRIKES IN AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1908¹

STRIKE OF THE ISTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS		
"	"	SALONICA TOBACCO COMMERCIAL HOUSES
"	"	ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS' WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES
"	"	RUMELIAN RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	İZMİR TRAMWAY WORKERS
"	"	AYDIN RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	CIGARET PAPER WORKERS
"	"	COAL GAS WORKERS
"	"	TOBACCO WORKERS
"	"	BAKERY WORKERS
"	"	"ORODZE ET BAK" WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES
"	"	BRICK WORKERS
"	"	PRINTING HOUSES' WORKERS
"	"	BALYA-KARAAYDIN RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	ADANA COTTON WORKERS
"	"	SALONICA RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	SALONICA LEATHER STORES EMPLOYEES
"	"	SALONICA SWEET STORES EMPLOYEES
"	"	SALONICA TRAMWAY WORKERS
"	"	SALONICA RESTAURANT AND CASINO WAITERS
"	"	FESHANE AND HEREKE TEXTILE WORKERS
"	"	ISTANBUL NAVAL WORKERS
"	"	ALATINI BRICK FACTORY WORKERS
"	"	VARNA COMMERCIAL WORKERS
"	"	BAGHDAD RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	ORIENTAL RAILWAYS' WORKERS
"	"	EREĞLİ COAL MINERS

¹Sanda, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-25; Fişek, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47-51.

TABLE III
STRIKES IN 1909-1914¹

YEAR	NAME OF THE STRIKE
1909	STRIKE OF THE HASANAĞA TOBACCO DEPOT WORKERS (NOV. 3)
1909	" " " İZMİR COMMERCIAL HOUSE PERSONNEL
1910	" " " İSTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS
1910	" " " TRAMWAY CO. WORKERS (MAY 18)
1910	" " " KAZLIÇEŞME TANNERY WORKERS (JUNE 17)
1910	" " " RECEP ALSAN SHOE FACTORY WORKERS
1910	" " " MANASTIR TEXTILE WEAVERS (AUGUST)
1910	" " " BURSA SILK WEAVERS (AUGUST)
1910	" " " COAL LOADING WORKERS (OCT. 11)
1911	" " " SALONICA PRINTERS
1911	" " " CİBALI TOBACCO WORKERS (APRIL 2)
1911	" " " SALONICA TOBACCO WORKERS
1911	" " " İSKEÇE TOBACCO WORKERS (MAY)
1911	" " " BULGARIAN RAILWAYS' WORKERS (JUNE 18)
1911	" " " İZMİR-KARAHİSAR RAILWAYS' WORKERS
1911	" " " İSTANBUL FLOUR FACTORY WORKERS (SEPT. 3)
1911	" " " SALONICA PRINTING HOUSES' WORKERS (NOV. 3)
1911	" " " ZONGULDAK COAL MINERS (NOV. 15)
1912	" " " DRAMA TOBACCO WORKERS (MAY 9)
1912	" " " İZNİK ROAD CONSTRUCTION WORKERS (JULY 13)
1913	" " " İZMİR QUAY WORKERS (SEPT. 6)
1914	" " " EREĞLİ COAL MINERS (FEBR. 18)

1 Sencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-222; Fişek, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

TABLE IV
STRIKES IN 1919-1923¹

YEAR	NAME OF THE STRIKE
1919	STRIKE OF THE TOBACCO WORKERS (FEBR. 19)
1919	" " " HISAR QUAY WORKERS (JULY 13)
1919	" " " KASIMPAŞA DOCKYARD WORKERS (OCT.)
1919	" " " İSTANBUL PORTERS (OCT. 30)
1920	" " " GREEK AND FRENCH NEWSPAPER COM- POSITORS (APRIL 17)
1920	" " " SUBWAY WORKERS (APRIL 23)
1920	" " " İSTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS (MAY 11)
1920	" " " BLACK COAL ASSOCIATION WORKERS (JULY. 24)
1921	" " " İSTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS (SEPT. 20)
1921	" " " ÇATALCA RAILWAYS' WORKERS (OCT.)
1922	" " " İSTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS (JANUARY 26)
1923	" " " ZONGULDAK COAL MINERS (JULY)
1923	" " " BOMONTİ BEAR FACTORY WORKERS (JULY)
1923	" " " İZMİR FIG-PICKERS (AUGUST)
1923	" " " AYDIN RAILWAYS' WORKERS (SEPT. 2)
1923	" " " İSTANBUL PRINTING HOUSES' WORKERS (SEPT. 7)
1923	" " " İSTANBUL TRAMWAY WORKERS (OCT.)
1923	" " " ORIENTAL RAILWAYS' WORKERS (NOV. 18)

¹ Sencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-264; Fişek, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

TABLE V
GENERAL VIEW OF EMPLOYER AND LABOR UNIONS:
1948-1968

YEARS	EMPLOYER UNIONS		LABOR UNIONS		FEDERATIONS		CONFEDERATIONS	
	NUMBER OF UNIONS	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF UNIONS	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	WORKER	EMPLOY-ER	WORKER	EMPLOY-ER
1948	4	—	73	52,000	1	—	—	—
1949	2	—	77	72,000	2	—	—	—
May 1, 1950	2	—	88	76,000	3	—	—	—
May 1, 1951	5	—	137	110,000	8	—	—	—
Dec. 1, 1952	10	—	248	130,000	16	—	1	—
July 1, 1953	12	—	275	140,000	17	—	1	—
July 1, 1954	17	576	323	180,387	23	—	1	—
Dec. 1, 1955	25	1,059	363	189,595	27	1	1	—
Dec. 1, 1956	28	1,092	376	209,155	26	1	1	—
Dec. 31, 1957	27	1,244	385	244,853	18	1	1	—
Oct. 1, 1958	29	1,364	394	262,591	18	1	1	—
Aug. 10, 1959	32	1,434	417	280,786	21	1	1	—
Sept. 1, 1960	33	1,150	432	282,967	27	1	1	—
Sept. 24, 1961	35	1,706	511	298,679	28	1	1	—
Dec. 31, 1962	47	1,820	543	307,839	36	1	1	—
Dec. 31, 1963	78	1,605	565	295,710	26	—	1	—
Dec. 31, 1964	92	1,769	595	338,769	28	2	2	1
Dec. 31, 1965	104	1,927	658	360,285	29	2	2	1
Dec. 31, 1966	108	3,550	724	376,909	24	2	2	1
Dec. 31, 1967	?	?	798	834,580	18	?	3	1
Dec. 31, 1968	109	6,672	755	1,057,928	22	3	3	1

¹ Alpaslan Işık, *Toplu İş Sözleşmeleri ve Türkiye Ekonomisi İçindeki Yeri*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1967, p. 100; unpublished records of the *Türk-İş*; Cahit Talas, "Sendikacılığımız" *Cumhuriyet*, July 9-11, 1969.

TABLE VI

RATIO OF WOMEN AND CHILD WORKERS¹

YEAR	RATIO OF WOMEN WORKERS	RATIO OF CHILD WORKERS
1947	17.59	7.21
1950	12.41	7.06
1953	12.62	5.96
1956	13.94	3.49
1959	13.90	3.45

1 Cahit Talas, *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Sosyal Politika Meseleleri: 1920-1960*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Türk İktisadî Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi No. 1, 1960, p. 5. (The only other available figure is 17.41, on the ratio of women workers in 1966 - from the records of the *Türk-İş*.)

TABLE VII

INDICES OF REAL WAGES¹

YEARS	GENERAL AVERAGE
1963	100
1964	109
1965	121
1966	130
1967	144
1968	160
1969	168

1 From the unpublished records of the *Türk-İş*.

TABLE VIII
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKING
POPULATION IN THE MAIN SECTORS¹

SECTORS	NUMBER OF WORKERS
AGRICULTURE	9.251.000
INDUSTRY	1.585.000
CONSTRUCTION	488.000
COMMERCE	538.000
COMMUNICATION	363.000
SERVICES	1.170.000

1 T.C., Başbakanlık, Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtı, *1969 Yılı Programı: İkinci Beş Yıl: 1968-1972*, Ankara, 1969, p. 334.

TABLE IX
THE POPULATION OF TURKEY¹
1927-1965

YEAR	POPULATION	ANNUAL INCREASE (in thousands)
1927	13.648.270	
1935	16.158.018	21.2
1940	17.820.950	17.3
1945	18.790.174	10.5
1950	20.947.188	22.9
1955	24.064.763	29.7
1960	27.754.820	28.9
1965	31.391.207	25.0

1 T.C., Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *1960 Nüfus Sayımı*, Yayın No. 444, p. vii; ———, *1965 Nüfus Sayımı, % 1 Örnekleme Sonuçları*, Yayın No. 58, p. 3. Also see: Orhan Türkay, *Türkiye'de Nüfus Artışı ve İktisadi Gelişme*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi-İş Bankası, 1962.

TABLE X
EMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO THE SECTORS¹
1961-1970
(in thousands)

SECTORS	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
AGRICULTURE	9.640	9.725	9.853	9.844	9.765	9.901	9.940	9.350	9.510
INDUSTRY	956	1.048	1.125	1.152	1.245	1.354	1.424	1.540	1.688
CONSTRUCTION	304	319	339	343	379	414	472	505	540
COMMERCE	403	418	435	453	479	490	498	515	533
COMMUNICATIONS	241	253	269	283	301	321	339	357	376
SERVICES	720	759	808	867	935	1.003	1.066	1.122	1.180
TOTAL	12.294	15.524	18.829	12.947	13.096	13.485	13.739	13.389	13.827

¹ T.C., Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1967 Yılı Programı, p. 35; ———, İkinci Beş Yıllık Plan, pp. 129, 133.

TABLE XI
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY AGE GROUP AND SEX¹
1965

AGE Group	T O T A L			M A L E			F E M A L E		
	POPULA- TION	ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION		POPULA- TION	ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION		POPULA- TION	ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION	
		NUMBER	%		NUMBER	%		NUMBER	%
-15	13,148,624	—	—	6,826,949	—	—	6,321,675	—	—
15-19	2,910,055	1,972,971	67.8	1,545,911	1,144,967	74.1	1,364,144	828,004	60.7
20-29	4,560,201	3,539,166	77.6	2,265,889	2,145,856	94.7	2,294,312	1,393,310	60.7
30-39	4,205,180	3,336,014	79.3	2,135,896	2,106,069	98.6	2,069,284	1,229,945	59.4
40-49	2,256,539	1,805,371	80.0	1,150,052	1,132,464	98.5	1,106,487	672,907	60.8
50-59	2,067,670	1,632,855	79.0	1,061,573	1,025,762	96.6	1,006,097	607,093	60.3
60-64	954,205	720,173	75.5	452,705	419,485	92.7	501,500	300,688	60.0
65+	1,242,525	531,360	42.8	530,004	430,945	81.3	712,521	100,415	14.1
unknown	46,422	19,950	43.0	27,985	15,281	54.6	18,437	4,669	25.3
Total	31,391,421	13,557,860	43.2	15,996,964	8,420,829	52.6	15,394,457	5,137,031	33.4

¹ The 1965 Population Census.

TABLE XII
EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATES¹

1968

SECTORS	EMPLOYMENT (in thousands)	% RISE (1967-1968)
AGRICULTURE	9.251	85
INDUSTRY	1.585	9.45
CONSTRUCTION	488	10.10
COMMERCE	538	4.87
TRANSPORT	363	7.11
SERVICES	1.170	8.27

¹ T.C., Başbakanlık, Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtı, *1969 Yılı Programı*, Ankara, 1969, p. 334.

TABLE XIII
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
(AGES 15 AND ABOVE)

YEAR	T O T A L		M A L E		F E M A L E	
	Number	Ratio to Total Population	Number	Ratio to Economically Active Population (Ages 15 and above)	Number	Ratio to Economically Active Population (Ages 15 and above)
1960	12,993,245	46.7 %	7,697,483	59.2 %	5,295,762	40.8 %
1965	13,591,822	43.2 %	8,404,560	61.8 %	5,187,262	38.2 %

1 T.C., Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 23 Ekim 1960 Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Türkiye Nüfusu, Yayın No. 452, pp. 394-395; ———, 24 Ekim 1965 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, % 1 Örnekleme Sonuçları, Yayın No. 508, p. 14; Işıklı, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

TABLE XIV
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION (AGES 15-64)
TO VARIOUS BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY¹

BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	TOTAL NUMBER	%	MALE	FEMALE
AGRICULTURE; FORESTRY; HUNTING; EXTRACTION INDUSTRY; WORK RELATED TO THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTRICITY, GAS AND WATER; SANITARY SERVICES	9.414.720	72.1	4.627.380	4.787.340
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	921.179	7.0	847.371	73.808
CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY	345.376	2.6	344.774	602
COMMERCE, BANKING, INSURANCE AND SALE OF IMMOBILES	386.934	2.9	365.878	21.056
TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATION SERVICES	281.163	2.1	275.477	5.716
	781.704	5.9	680.020	101.684
NOT CLASSIFIABLE	917.704	7.0	824.020	92.723

¹ Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 24 Ekim 1965 Genel Nüfus Sayımı % 1 Örneklemeye Sonuçları, Yayın No. 508, p. 12; İşkl, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

TABLE XV
EMPLOYMENT¹
(in thousands)

1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
12.294	12.524	12.829	12.947	13.096	13.485	13.739	13.389	13.827

¹ T.C., Devlet Pınlama Teşkilâtı, 1967 Programı, p. 35; ———, İkinci Beş Yıllık Plân, pp. 129, 133.

TABLE XVI

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION (AGES 15 AND ABOVE) IN TERMS OF POSITION IN PROFESSION,
ACCORDING TO THE 1960-1965 POPULATION CENSUS¹

	1 9 6 0			1 9 6 5		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
WAGE-EARNER	2.437.135	2.177.263	259.872	3.057.344	2.746.755	3.105.589
EMPLOYER	156.108	150.539	5.569	153.453	151.146	2.307
SELF-EMPLOYED	3.683.362	3.317.683	365.679	3.817.923	3.662.718	155.205
WORK FOR FAMILY	6.220.725	1.561.022	4.659.703	6.413.547	1.697.296	4.716.251
UNKNOWN	495.915	490.976	4.939	149.555	146.645	2.910
TOTAL	12.993.245	7.697.483	5.295.762	13.591.822	8.404.560	5.187.262

¹ T.C., Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 23 Ekim 1960 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, Yayın No. 452, p. 311; ———, 24 Ekim 1965 Genel Nüfus Sayımı, %1 Örnekleme Sonuçları, Yayın No. 508, p. 21; İşıklı, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

TABLE XVII

MEMBER ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EMPLOYERS'
CONFEDERATION OF TURKEY¹
(FEBRUARY 1970)

NAME OF ASSOCIATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS
THE WOOD PRODUCTS EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	35
THE BANKING EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	9
THE GLASS WORK EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	9
THE NEWSPAPER OWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	19
THE CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	51
THE CHEMICAL MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	81
THE METAL TRADE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	240
THE MINERAL EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	9
THE PRINTING EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	50
THE SUGAR MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	26
THE TEXTILE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	156
THE SOIL-CEMENT-CERAMICS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	62
THE FOOD PROCESSING EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	231
THE LEATHER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	73
THE TIRE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	3
THE CEMENT MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	13
THE PETROLEUM EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	3
THE RUBBER AND PLASTICS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	6
THE ENERGY EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY	6
TOTAL	1082

1 Latest figures procured from the unpublished records of the Employers' Confederation of Turkey. The Agricultural Employers' Association and the Hotel, Restaurant and Night Club Employers' Association of Turkey are expelled for failure to observe membership requirements.

TABLE XVIII
UNIONS CONFEDERATED INTO THE TÜRK-İŞ¹
(FEBRUARY 1970)

	U N I O N S	NUMBER OF WORKERS
N A T I O N A L U N I O N S	AĞAÇ-İŞ (Wood)	4.000
	BASIN-İŞ (Journalism)	4.000
	BESİN İŞ (Food)	3.000
	ÇİMSE-İŞ (Cement-Ceramics)	11.066
	DERİ-İŞ (Leather)	4.899
	DOK GEMİ-İŞ (Docks)	10.000
	GES-İŞ (Energy)	20.000
	HAVA-İŞ (Air)	2.010
	KRİSTAL-İŞ (Glass)	3.050
	LİKAT-İŞ (Embarcation-Debarcation)	14.770
	AR-İŞ (Music)	2.010
	PETROL-İŞ (Oil)	12.000
	KOOP-İŞ (Coop.)	3.700
	PTT-İŞ (P.T.T.)	800
	SAĞLIK-İŞ (Health)	11.400
	SELÜLOZ-İŞ (Cellulose)	6.000
	SU-İŞ (Water)	4.430
	ŞEKER-İŞ (Sugar)	18.500
	TARIM-İŞ (Agriculture)	6.958
	TEKSİF (Textile)	117.000
	TEZ BÜRO-İŞ (Offices-Stores)	3.020
	TGS (Newspapers)	830
	TEK GIDA-İŞ (Food)	163.559
	TÜMTİŞ (Land Transport)	10.100
	YAPI-İŞ (Construction)	31.005
	GENEL-İŞ (General Services)	25.000
F E D E R A T I O N S	DYF-İŞ (Railways)	30.100
	HARB-İŞ (War)	20.240
	MADEN-İŞ (Mining)	80.000
	METAL-İŞ (Metal)	41.490
	TES-İŞ (Energy-Gas-Water)	17.000
	TOLEYİS (Hotel-Restaurants)	15.234
	ULAŞ-İŞ (Transport)	12.478
	YOL-İŞ (Road Construction)	34.250
	T O T A L	743.899

1 From the unpublished records of *Türk-İş*.

TABLE XIX
COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS¹

YEARS	NUMBER OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS	NUMBER OF WORK-PLACES COVERED BY THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS			NUMBER OF WORKERS COVERED BY THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS		
		PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTAL	PUBLIC	PRIVATE	TOTAL
1963	96	29	127	156	3,494	5,978	9,472
1964	1,078	1,435	2,483	3,918	263,836	172,926	436,762
1965	873	1,114	1,742	2,856	121,750	50,264	172,014
1966	1,172	1,006	2,624	2,630	159,734	170,027	329,761
1967	2,343	1,256	2,365	3,621	109,716	78,767	188,483
1968	1,241	1,379	1,516	2,895	219,203	158,610	377,813
1969	734(921) ²	734	926	1,660	41,268	87,822	122,090

1 From the unpublished records of the Ministry of Labor.

2 The figures for 1969 cover only the 734 collective agreements that have already passed into the records of the Ministry.

TABLE XX
UNIONS BASED ON WORK-PLACES¹

YEARS	NUMBER OF UNIONS	NUMBER OF WORKERS
1963	464	230.418
1964	455	240.152
1965	496	258.554
1966	505	269.568
1967	536	356.255
1968	457	463.549
1969	491	437.691

1 According to the records sent to the Ministry of Labor.

TABLE XXI
UNIONS ON INDUSTRY-BASIS¹

YEARS	NUMBER OF UNIONS	NUMBER OF WORKERS
1963	101	65.292
1964	140	98.617
1965	172	101.731
1966	199	107.341
1967	262	478.325
1968	298	594.379
1969	306	756.217

1 From the unpublished records of the Ministry of Labor.

TABLE XXII
AVERAGES OF LEGAL MINIMUM WAGES¹
1961-1969

YEARS	AVERAGE (in Turkish Liras)	RATIO OF INCREASE
1961	7.57	
1962	8.53	13 %
1963	8.91	4.5 %
1964	9.34	5 %
1965	9.70	4 %
1966	10.72	9 %
1967	10.79	0.6 %
1968	11.20	38 %

1 From the unpublished records of the Ministry of Labor.

TABLE XXIII
AVERAGE WAGE IN DIFFERENT ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES:
1960 - 1967

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, HUNTING	11.56	11.32	12.50	13.66	14.50	—	—	—
FISHING	16.29	14.99	14.14	15.30	20.12	15.00	22.00	29.46
COAL MINING	10.86	10.77	13.54	14.09	15.21	16.45	21.54	21.19
METAL MINING	10.90	12.62	12.02	14.01	15.61	16.56	19.68	21.05
CRUDE OIL AND NATURAL GAS	20.87	23.17	22.84	23.91	28.34	32.25	36.33	41.60
STONE QUARRYING, CLAY AND SAND PITS	12.76	12.73	12.87	13.34	15.39	16.51	19.03	19.71
OTHER NON-METALLIC MINING AND QUARRYING	10.63	10.92	11.58	13.58	16.77	17.28	18.96	20.62
FOOD MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES	13.85	13.92	13.76	15.15	17.60	18.91	20.50	21.73
BEVERAGE INDUSTRIES	14.85	15.71	16.64	18.59	21.87	25.03	28.07	29.17
TOBACCO MANUFACTURES	9.61	10.20	11.59	12.98	15.96	17.54	20.52	21.92
MANUFACTURE OF TEXTILES	13.42	14.53	14.55	15.47	16.87	18.18	19.48	21.39
MANUFACTURE OF FOOT-WEAR AND OTHER WEARING APPAREL	14.72	14.41	16.76	16.49	17.75	18.87	18.05	19.57
MANUFACTURE OF WOOD AND CORK	12.05	12.26	12.80	13.81	14.81	16.07	16.56	18.16
MANUFACTURE OF FURNITURE AND FIXTURES	14.75	14.78	15.24	16.30	17.38	17.14	17.44	18.61
MANUFACTURE OF PAPER AND PAPER PRODUCTS	14.16	18.10	17.35	18.94	22.18	25.18	28.13	31.58
PRINTING, PUBLISHING AND SIMILAR INDUSTRIES	17.79	22.46	24.95	24.35	25.53	28.90	30.23	31.87
MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER AND LEATHER PRODUCTS	16.39	17.14	17.58	18.18	19.98	20.89	21.72	22.33
MANUFACTURE OF RUBBER PRODUCTS	14.93	15.50	15.73	17.00	19.48	22.59	23.64	27.74
MANUFACTURE OF CHEMICALS AND CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	18.97	18.70	19.56	20.74	24.15	26.13	27.34	29.61

MANUFACTURE OF PRODUCTS OF OIL AND COAL	20.23	26.95	34.62	38.09	36.96	40.99	44.09	53.82
MANUFACTURE OF NON-METALLIC MINERAL PRODUCTS	13.98	12.92	15.15	16.27	17.70	18.35	21.42	23.44
BASIC METAL INDUSTRIES	17.70	18.74	19.72	23.70	25.58	28.64	33.32	36.55
MANUFACTURE OF METAL PRODUCTS, EXCEPT MACHINERY	18.11	18.39	19.14	20.64	20.73	22.67	23.33	25.31
MANUFACTURE OF MACHINERY, EXCEPT ELECTRICAL MACHINERY	16.01	18.21	20.88	22.39	23.53	23.94	24.69	27.20
MANUFACTURE OF ELECTRICAL MACHINERY	17.96	18.36	18.64	19.68	20.92	23.35	24.96	27.00
MANUFACTURE OF TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT	16.24	17.48	18.13	20.24	22.24	23.98	27.76	31.88
OTHER MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES	15.27	15.40	15.66	15.98	17.30	19.34	20.36	23.57
CONSTRUCTION	15.35	16.83	16.94	18.61	19.62	23.52	22.82	27.09
ELECTRICITY, GAS, STEAM	17.07	17.46	19.58	20.28	22.04	22.00	25.40	27.52
WATER AND SANITARY SERVICES	14.92	17.39	17.00	17.70	16.34	15.77	20.26	22.05
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE	21.84	24.08	24.75	25.01	26.70	27.50	29.20	28.98
BANKS AND OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	20.95	21.69	25.40	26.71	26.53	34.33	33.71	32.39
INSURANCE	14.86	24.27	26.98	28.12	29.13	36.01	38.23	39.12
REAL ESTATE	30.65	28.85	37.10	33.91	26.99	31.12	25.47	25.33
TRANSPORT	16.35	19.00	19.47	20.79	21.82	23.72	28.51	31.65
STORAGE AND WAREHOUSING	17.18	18.65	18.95	20.96	22.35	24.15	27.77	30.36
COMMUNICATION	11.46	21.50	18.90	17.95	21.94	25.26	38.69	43.46
GOVERNMENT SERVICES	—	—	—	—	—	15.99	16.52	18.50
LEGAL, BUSINESS AND TECHNICAL SERVICES	22.19	24.49	24.53	26.80	29.62	31.73	43.61	45.12
CINEMA, THEATER AND SIMILAR SERVICES	16.16	16.96	18.10	19.86	20.48	19.24	23.66	25.25
PERSONAL SERVICES	12.11	12.67	13.85	13.49	15.70	19.46	15.95	16.64
T O T A L	14.42	15.58	16.47	17.90	19.49	21.63	23.52	25.84

1 T.C., Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı: 1968*, Ankara, 1969, pp. 158-159.

TABLE XXIV
THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL PROVINCES TO CATEGORIES ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE OF
ITS DEVELOPMENT AS THE YARDSTICK ESTABLISHING MINIMUM WAGES¹

Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Group VI
İstanbul	Ankara Kocaeli İzmir Adana Zonguldak Eskişehir Bursa Gaziantep Sakarya Aydın Samsun İçel	Hatay Manisa Rize Kayseri Antalya Elâzığ Balıkesir Uşak Kırklareli Konya Edirne Kırşehir Bolu Malatya Trabzon Giresun	Çanakkale Burdur Muğla Denizli Nevşehir Amasya Diyarbakır Ordu Erzurum Erzincan Tekirdağ Isparta Bilecik	Siirt Tokat Kütahya Artvin Sivas Urfa Niğde Afyon Kastamonu Van Sinop Kars Çorum Çankırı	Muş Yozgat Ağrı Gümüşhane Bitlis Mardin Hakkâri Bingöl Adıyaman Tunceli Maraş

¹ From the Ministry of Labor.

TABLE XXV

MINIMUM WAGES EFFECTIVE
AS OF MAY 30, 1969, IN THE
SIX GROUPS OF PROVINCES¹

GROUPS	WAGE (in Turkish Liras)
I	19.50
II	18.00
III	17.00
IV	16.50
V	16.00
VI	15.50

1 Ministry of Labor.

TABLE XXVI

THE APPLICATION OF MINIMUM WAGES
ON INDUSTRY-BASIS AND PROVINCES¹

YEARS	INDUSTRY-BASIS	PROVINCES
1962	49	47
1963	38 ²	48
1964	39	51
1965	40	51
1966	41	62
1967	41	63
1968	41	63

1 Unpublished records of the Ministry of Labor.

2 The decrease in the number is due to the union of types of work in the agricultural sector.

TABLE XXVII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF STRIKES¹
(PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS)

YEARS	PRIVATE	PUBLIC	TOTAL
1963	7	1	8
1964	28	2	30
1965	24	5	29
1966	19	5	24
1967	25	14	39
1968	23	6	29
1969	36	9	45
TOTAL	162	42	204

1 From the unpublished records of the *Türk-İş*.

TABLE XXVIII
THE DISTRIBUTION OF STRIKES, IN RESPECT TO INDUSTRIES¹

TYPES OF WORK	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
FOOD	1	7	7	4	4	5	3
MINERALS	—	8	1	—	4	1	8
GENERAL SERVICES	1	1	2	1	5	3	3
TEXTILE	—	3	3	—	2	2	6
CONSTRUCTION	—	4	3	—	2	1	2
TIRE	3	2	1	2	—	1	1
CLAY OBJECTS	—	2	1	2	—	4	—
HOTELS- RESTAURANTS	2	—	—	—	1	5	3
OFFICES-STORES	—	1	—	—	3	1	2
WOOD	—	1	2	1	1	—	1
WAR	—	1	1	2	1	—	4
OIL	1	—	—	2	1	—	3
AGRICULTURE	—	—	1	—	1	1	2
PRINTING	—	2	—	—	1	—	1
CHEMICALS	—	—	—	1	2	—	1
ROADS	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
ENERGY	—	—	—	2	—	1	—
COMMERCE	—	—	—	—	2	1	—
WAREHOUSING	—	—	—	1	2	—	1
LEATHER	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
CEMENT-CERAMICS	—	—	1	—	1	—	1
LAND TRANSPORT	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
CLASS	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
SEA TRANSPORT	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
MINING	—	—	1	4	—	2	—
AIR TRANSPORT	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
JOURNALISM	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
TOTAL	8	30	29	24	38	29	45

¹ From the unpublished records of the *Türk-İş*.

TABLE XXIX

BENEFICIARIES RECEIVING RETIREMENT AND DISABILITY BENEFITS FROM THE GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYEES RETIREMENT FUND BY LENGTH OF SERVICE AND MONTHLY BENEFITS¹

1 9 6 7

LENGTH OF SERVICE (years)	TOTAL	MONTHLY BENEFIT GROUPS (in Turkish Liras)									1951 +
		250 and less	251-550	551-750	751-1050	1051-1250	1251-1550	1551-1950			
15 and less	671	445	172	25	18	7	4	—	—	—	
16-20	2,178	1,202	861	75	33	6	1	—	—	—	
21-24	3,588	1,284	1,753	133	256	138	22	2	2	—	
25	787	207	380	33	51	104	12	—	—	—	
26	5,042	734	2,909	509	415	384	80	10	10	1	
27	4,225	359	2,409	487	555	202	182	29	29	2	
28	3,750	202	1,997	439	522	162	384	43	43	1	
29	3,554	174	1,738	464	563	124	412	77	77	2	
30	3,077	133	1,486	433	532	79	306	107	107	1	
31 +	30,760	455	8,036	4,959	5,536	3,888	3,260	3,039	3,039	1,587	

¹ T.C., Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı: 1968*, Ankara, 1969, p. 143.

TABLE XXX

NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING MONTHLY BENEFITS FROM THE SOCIAL INSURANCE INSTITUTION BY TYPE OF BENEFICIARIES¹

BENEFICIARIES	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
WORK INJURY AND OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE INSURANCE	10.825	10.778	11.046	12.559	13.172	16.421	19.909	24.523
A. DISABLED WORKERS	4.395	3.042	3.034	3.329	3.442	5.148	7.227	10.432
B. WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS	2.342	2.586	2.761	3.070	3.197	3.598	3.957	4.348
C. CHILDREN	2.943	3.659	3.922	4.642	4.883	5.787	6.713	7.558
D. PARENTS	1.145	1.491	1.329	1.518	1.650	1.888	2.012	2.185
DISABILITY, OLD AGE AND DEATH INSURANCE	14.727	18.985	22.887	28.275	32.466	38.169	45.171	53.600
A. INSURED PERSONS	7.441	9.018	10.338	11.693	12.882	15.018	18.477	22.043
B. WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS	3.698	4.749	5.924	7.536	8.844	10.338	11.897	13.881
C. CHILDREN	3.416	4.956	6.274	8.536	10.139	12.111	13.952	16.671
D. PARENTS	172	262	351	510	601	702	845	1.005
T O T A L	25.552	29.763	33.933	40.834	45.638	54.590	65.080	78.123

¹ Türkiye İstatistik Yılı: 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

TABLE XXXI

NUMBER OF SOCIAL INSURANCE CASES BY TYPE¹

INSURANCE CASES		1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
WORK INJURY AND OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE INSURANCE									
A.	WORK INJURY	63,197	68,591	79,658	79,377	81,462	92,680	112,486	114,372
B.	OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE	494	523	472	571	830	1,081	1,803	1,087
C.	PERMANENT DISABILITY	1,758	1,865	1,781	2,050	2,210	2,691	3,391	1,832
D.	DEATH	414	435	365	475	430	593	457	191
SICKNESS INSURANCE		278,640	304,766	327,056	356,668	382,317	419,952	478,812	510,291
MATERNITY INSURANCE									
A.	INSURED WOMEN	5,242	5,989	6,477	5,738	5,706	6,614	7,989	6,408
B.	WIVES	75,653	79,810	84,145	88,404	94,679	111,981	125,517	127,793
DISABILITY INSURANCE									
A.	DISABILITY PENSIONS	840	1,054	1,112	11,36	1,287	1,296	2,481	2,400
OLD AGE INSURANCE									
A.	OLD AGE PENSIONS	893	1,208	1,205	893	925	2,620	2,794	2,239
B.	LUMP-SUM PAYMENTS	1,217	1,398	1,785	2,008	2,459	3,026	3,769	2,928
DEATH INSURANCE									
A.	SURVIVORS PENSIONS	1,283	1,479	1,645	1,795	2,264	2,094	2,620	2,753
B.	LUMP-SUM PAYMENTS	621	729	875	855	915	973	1,287	1,312
MARRIAGE PAYMENTS		2,262	2,112	2,884	2,806	3,509	1,796	—	224

¹ Türkiye İstatistik Yılı: 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

TABLE XXXII

ESTABLISHMENTS AND NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES COVERED BY THE SOCIAL INSURANCE INSTITUTION¹

ITEM	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
ESTABLISHMENTS	17.302	21.444	22.889	24.335	27.526	50.279	73.215	84.708
A. PUBLIC SECTOR	3.157	3.236	3.511	3.796	4.325	9.543	8.292	9.202
B. PRIVATE SECTOR	14.145	18.208	19.378	20.539	23.201	40.736	64.923	75.506
EMPLOYEES INSURED	620.900	688.819	680.125	710.820	765.317	895.802	991.510	1069.387
A. MALE	534.206	597.823	604.290	633.239	686.562	791.524	885.970	960.131
B. FEMALE	70.036	76.861	63.952	65.363	67.736	104.278	105.540	109.256
A. PUBLIC SECTOR	292.026	298.460	288.159	311.904	323.620	388.935	412.487	436.816
B. PRIVATE SECTOR	328.874	390.359	391.966	398.916	441.697	506.867	579.023	632.571

¹ Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı: 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

TABLE XXXIII

WORK INJURIES BY AGE GROUP

AGE GROUP	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
- 14	432	532	664	740	1,112	1,302
15 - 19	8,101	9,813	10,137	11,649	16,066	17,991
20 - 24	10,914	11,210	11,586	13,690	17,591	18,874
25 - 44	46,997	51,615	51,902	58,015	67,380	74,922
45 - 49	5,802	5,425	5,868	7,047	7,951	8,416
60 +	605	571	747	754	778	689
UNKNOWN	15	9	28	119	136	249
T O T A L	72,866	79,175	80,932	92,014	111,014	122,443

1 Social Insurance Organization.

TABLE XXXIV
POPULATION SEEKING JOB BY LAST OCCUPATION AND LAST ECONOMIC ACTIVITY¹
1965
(AGES 15 AND ABOVE)

LAST OCCUPATION	ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES										Total
	Persons Without Previous Occupation	Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishing	Mining Quarrying	Manufacturing	Construction	Electricity, Gas, Water Sanitation	Commerce, Banking, Insurance, Real Estate	Transport Storage Communication	Services	Activities Unknown and Not Adequately Described	
Persons Without Previous Occupation	15,980	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,980
Technical, Professional and Related Workers	—	3	3	53	74	2	31	6	477	325	974
Salesmen and Related Workers	—	8	1	16	4	1	758	3	11	962	1,764
Farmers, Lumbermen, Fishermen, Hunters and Related Workers	—	10,310	—	19	4	—	5	3	6	24	10,371
Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers	—	2	126	3	8	—	—	8	—	9	156
Workers in Transport and Communications Operations	—	28	1	17	6	2	5	1,319	23	26	1,427
Craftsmen, Production Workers and Repairmen	—	8	13	4651	1,530	17	18	19	114	519	6,889
Unskilled Workers	—	8	1	58	3,865	12	26	40	400	3,321	7,731
Managerial, Administrative and Clerical Workers	—	4	7	56	51	7	109	34	179	381	828
Service Workers	—	18	3	35	26	25	27	24	1,761	317	2,236
Unclassifiable or Unreported Occupations	—	14	1	5	5	—	2	4	4	7,333	7,364
TOTAL	15,980	10,403	156	4913	5,573	66	981	1,456	2,975	13,217	55,720

¹ 1965 Genel Nüfus Sayımı.

TABLE XXXV
THE RATIO OF THE PEASANTS TO THE
TOTAL POPULATION¹

YEARS	%
1927	83.6
1935	83.4
1940	82.0
1945	81.7
1950	81.5
1955	77.9
1960	74.9
1965	71.7

¹ Ruşen Keleş, *Türkiye'de Şehirleşme Hareketleri*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü Türk İktisadi Gelişmesi Araştırma Projesi, 1961, p. 5.

TABLE XXXVI
UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT LEVELS¹
(in millions)

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1972	1977
15-64 AGE GROUP	15.7	16.1	16.5	16.9	17.5	18.0	20.9	24.2
LABOR SUPPLY	14.2	14.4	14.7	15.0	15.3	15.7	17.6	19.9
TOTAL VOLUME OF EMPLOY- MENT TO BE CREATED	12.7	13.1	13.5	13.9	14.4	14.8	16.8	19.2
UNEMPLOYMENT	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7

¹ *First Five Year Development Plan*, op. cit., p. 429; Işıklı, op. cit., p. 52.

TABLE XXXVII
INCREASE IN TOTAL AND URBAN POPULATION¹
(1927 - 1965)

YEARS	INCREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION (%)	INCREASE IN URBAN POPULATION (%)
1927 - 1935	18.4	20.0
1935 - 1940	10.3	19.8
1945 - 1950	17.5	20.4
1950 - 1960	32.8	79.4
1960 - 1965	12.8	17.6

¹ Keleş, op. cit., p. 451.

² 10,000 or above.

TABLE XXXIX
CITY ORIGINS OF TURKISH WORKERS
EMPLOYED IN THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY¹

CITY OF PERMANENT DWELLING BEFORE LEAVING FOR F.R.G.		CITY OF LAST DWELLING BEFORE LEAVING FOR F.R.G.	
CITY	%	CITY	%
ISTANBUL	41.1	ISTANBUL	45.7
ANKARA	5.7	ANKARA	9.5
İZMİR	4.3	İZMİR	5.7
OTHER CITIES (including villages)	48.3	OTHER CITIES (including villages)	38.7

1 Nermin Abadan, *Batı Almanya'daki Türk İşçileri ve Sorunları*, Ankara, Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtı, 1964, p. 51.

TABLE XL
LEADING COUNTRIES WHICH
SEND QUALIFIED WORKERS
TO F.R.G.¹

COUNTRY	1962	%
ITALY	15.060	19.6
SPAIN	4.507	12.4
GREECE	4.741	14.8
TURKEY	5.160	46.8

1 Abadan, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

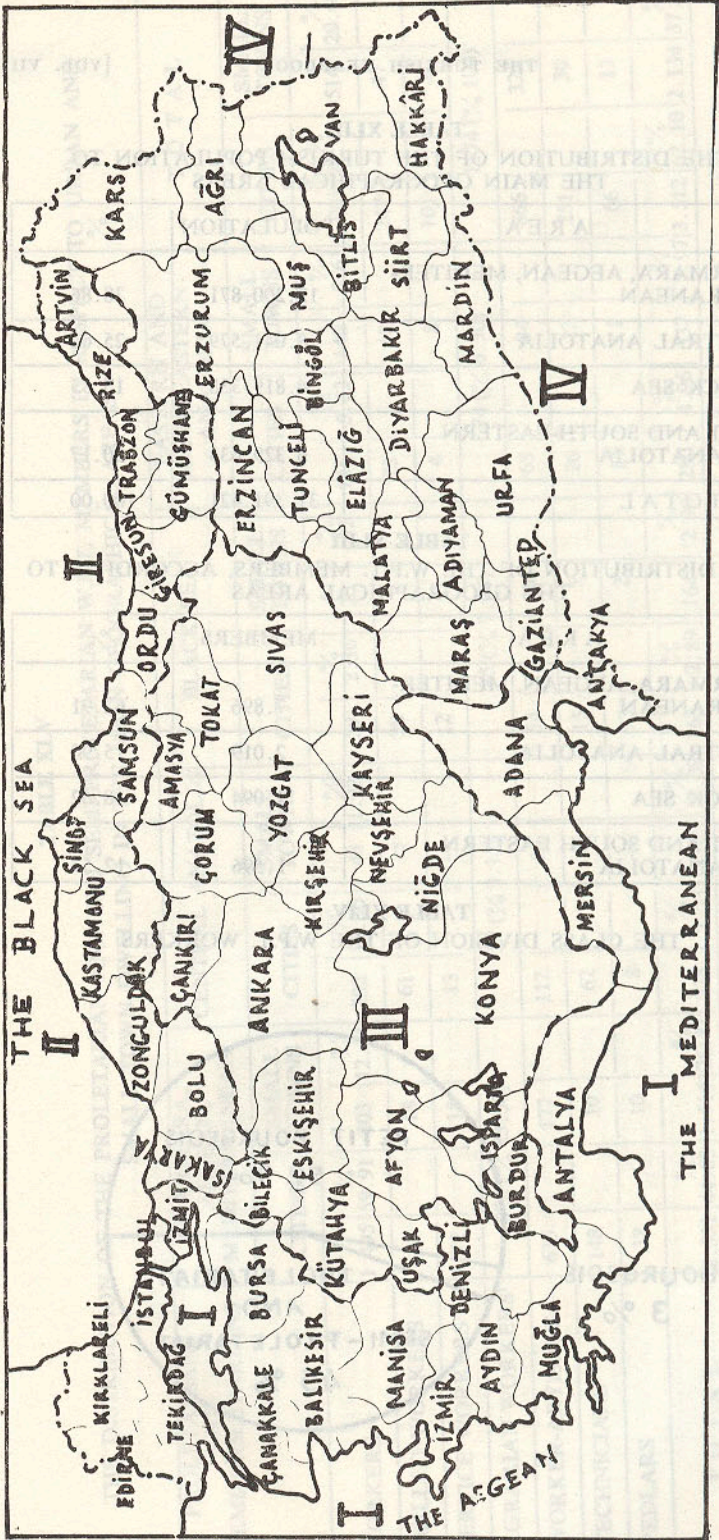
TABLE XXXVIII
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TURKISH WORKERS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES¹

1964		1965				1966				1967				1968				1969				TOTAL OF 1961 - 1969			
EMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL			
1 084	54 902	34 456	11 116	45 572	22 865	9 715	32 580	3 715	3 484	7 199	30 099	11 310	41 409	77 472	20 670	98 142	25 256	63 485	315 741						
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	8	43	—	43	21	—	21	72	—	72						
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	106	1	107	962	8	970	1 068	9	1 077						
50	1 434	1 937	36	1 973	435	34	469	1 031	12	1 043	668	5	673	918	55	973	7 434	228	7 662						
—	6 651	1 661	—	1 661	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13 917	—	13 917						
—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	184	7	—	191	272	—	7	279							
8	2 958	2 178	3	2 181	1 207	1	1 208	48	—	48	874	1	875	3 404	—	3 404	10 912	13	10 925						
—	—	8	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	8	4	12						
34	193	98	24	122	140	13	153	178	37	215	73	24	97	162	21	183	833	166	999						
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	92	—	92	—	—	—	—	—	—	92	—	92						
—	W13	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	16						
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	342	—	342	—	—	—	87	—	87	429	—	429						
1 176	66 176	40 341	11 179	51 520	24 647	9 763	34 410	5 414	3 533	8 947	31 863	11 341	43 204	83 210	20 765	103 975	287 309	63 912	351 221						

COUNTRIES	1961 - 1962			1963			MALE
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
GERMANY	11.923	578	12.501	20 908	2 528	23 436	50 818
U.S.A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AUSTRALIA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AUSTRIA	160	—	160	901	36	937	1.384
BELGIUM	—	—	—	5 605	—	5 605	6.651
FRANCE	—	—	—	63	—	63	25
HOLLAND	—	—	—	251	—	251	2 950
ENGLAND	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SWITZERLAND	—	—	—	23	13	36	159
LIBIA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SOMALI	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
SAUDI ARABIA	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
T O T A L	12.083	578	12.661	27 751	2 577	30 328	62 000

1 Employment Organization (The figures include only those workers sent through that Organization)

TABLE XLI



- I. MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN
- II. BLACK SEA
- III. CENTRAL ANATOLIA
- IV. EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA

TABLE XLII
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TURKISH POPULATION TO
THE MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

AREA	POPULATION	%
MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITER- RANEAN	12.200.871	38.86
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	8.041.579	25.62
BLACK SEA	4.819.338	15.35
EAST AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA	6.329.633	20.17
TOTAL	31.391.421	100.00

TABLE XLIII
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, ACCORDING TO
THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

AREA	MEMBERS	%
MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITER- RANEAN	7.896	62.91
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	2.019	15.90
BLACK SEA	1.094	8.62
EAST AND SOUTH EASTERN ANATOLIA	1.596	12.57

TABLE XLIV
THE CLASS DIVISION OF THE W.P.T. WORKERS

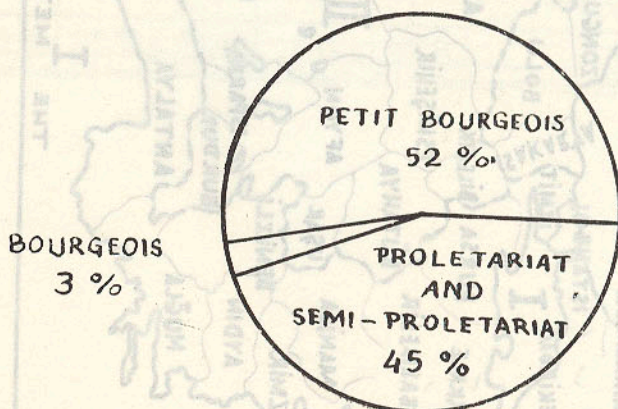


TABLE XLV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROLETARIAN AND THE SEMI-PROLETARIAN W.P.T. MEMBERS IN RESPECT TO URBAN AND SMALL TOWN DWELLING IN THE MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

PROLETARIANS AND SEMI-PROLETARIANS	MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN				CENTRAL ANATOLIA				BLACK SEA				EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA				T O T A L			
	CITIES		SMALL TOWNS		CITIES		SMALL TOWNS		CITIES		SMALL TOWNS		CITIES		SMALL TOWNS		CITIES		SMALL TOWNS	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
WORKERS	1.495	59.91	303	12.14	282	11.30	48	1.92	59	2.36	23	.92	145	5.82	140	5.61	1.981	79.40	514	20.60
SKILLED WORKERS	143		18		61		7		20		4		23		18		247		47	
SERVICE WORKERS	72		18		13		—		12		5		4		8		101		31	
AGRARIAN WORKERS ¹	978 (% 83.30)				37 (% 3.15)				85 (% 7.24)				74 (% 6.30)				1174 (% 100)			
WORKER-ARTISANS	635		177		112		24		54		40		65		84		866		325	
TECHNICIANS	148		10		62		2		15		5		26		13		251		30	
PEDLARS	38		10		8		—		3		2		17		1		66		13	
T O T A L	2.531	44.83	1.514	26.81	538	9.53	118	2.09	163	2.89	164	2.90	280	4.96	337	5.97	3.512	62.10	2.134	37.80

1 The agrarian workers have been classified as such without taking into consideration whether they are registered in the city or small town headquarters of the W.P.T. In the total figure, however, they have been shown as registered at the small towns.

TABLE XLVI
THE DISTRIBUTION OF TECHNICIANS AND WORKER-ARTISAN W.P.T. MEMBERS IN
RESPECT TO PROFESSION, AREA AND URBANISM

PROFESSION	Marmara, Aegean, Mediterranean		Central Anatolia		Black Sea		East and South- East, Anatolia		TOTAL		Grand TOTAL
	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	
DRIVER	195	95	40	15	11	15	19	32	265	157	422
SHOE-MAKER	124	22	11	1	3	3	2	19	140	45	185
CARPENTER	80	12	23	5	11	18	20	10	134	45	179
PAINTER	49	12	6	0	3	1	6	2	64	15	79
ELECTRICIAN	38	12	4	0	10	0	1	6	53	18	71
REPAIRMEN	34	2	3	2	1	0	4	4	42	8	50
TURNER	28	6	3	0	7	0	0	0	38	6	44
WELDER	20	7	4	0	1	0	3	3	28	10	38
CAB REPAIRMEN	16	3	10	1	1	0	3	0	30	4	34
FITTER	19	4	1	0	3	0	3	0	26	4	30

TABLE XLVII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TRADESMEN-ARTISANS AMONG THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS AND URBANISM

	MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITER- ANEAN		CENTRAL ANATOLIA		BLACK SEA		EAST AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA		TOTAL	
	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns
INTERMEDIARY TRADESMAN	196	94	38	8	21	31	44	69	299	202
THE NONINTERMEDI- ARY TRADESMEN-AR- TISANS	281	125	50	29	28	34	93	103	452	291
TRADESMEN-ARTI- SANS ATTACHED TO BACKWARD TECH- NOLOGY	45	19	8	3	4	1	30	28	87	51
T O T A L	522	238	96	40	53	66	167	200	838	544
%	38	17	7	3	4	5	12	14	61	39

TABLE XLVIII

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PETIT BOURGEOIS BUREAUCRATS AND INTELLECTUALS AMONG THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS AND URBANISM

	MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN		CENTRAL ANATOLIA		BLACK SEA		EAST AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA		TOTAL	
	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns
LOWER BUREAUCRATS	51	3	14	2	4	2	6	11	75	18
INTELLECTUALS-BUREAUCRATS	363	24	171	1	11	1	22	6	567	32
STUDENTS	313	27	217	300	16	2	10	15	556	47
LABOR LEADERS	60	1	8	0	0	0	3	0	71	1
TOTAL	787	55	410	6	31	5	41	32	1,269	98
%	58	4	30	5	2	5	3	2	93	7

TABLE XLIX

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDLESS PEASANTS AND MIDDLE PEASANTS AMONG THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

AREA	MEMBERS	%
MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN	1.194	46.35
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	523	20.30
BLACK SEA	518	20.11
EAST AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA	341	13.24
TOTAL	2.576	100.00

TABLE L

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SMALL BUSINESSMEN AMONG THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND URBANISM

AREA	CITIES	SMALL TOWNS	TOTAL
MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN	698	79	779
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	56	44	100
BLACK SEA	17	16	33
EAST AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA	16	35	51
TOTAL	787	174	961

TABLE LI

THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSE-WIVES AMONG THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND URBANISM

AREA	CITIES	SMALL TOWNS	TOTAL
MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN	211	43	254
CENTRAL ANATOLIA	74	—	74
BLACK SEA	3	—	3
EAST AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA	—	—	—
TOTAL	288	43	331

TABLE LII

THE MAIN CLASSIFICATION OF BOURGEOIS W.P.T. MEMBERS

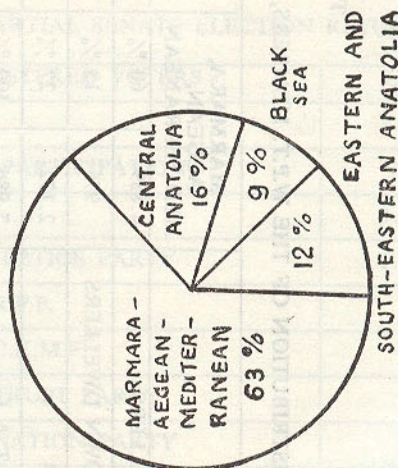
INTERMEDIARIES-BROKERS	214	% 1.68
BIG CAPITAL-OWNERS	84	% 0.66
MANUFACTURERS	55	% 0.44

TABLE LIII

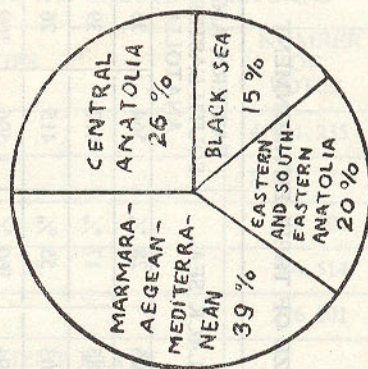
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BOURGEOIS W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO GEOGRAPHICAL AREA
AND URBANISM

	MARMARA, AEGEAN, ME- DITERRANEAN		CENTRAL ANATOLIA		BLACK SEA		EAST AND SO- UTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA		TOTAL		Grand Total
	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	Cities	Small Towns	
INTERMEDIARIES- BROKERS	49	15	56	18	4	5	21	46	130	84	214
BIG CAPITAL- OWNERS	23	6	9	7	1	5	16	17	49	35	84
MANUFACTURERS	14	3	1	2	7	3	11	14	33	22	55
TOTAL	86	24	66	27	12	13	48	77	212	141	353

TABLE LIV
THE AREAL CHARACTERISTICS OF W.P.T.'s CLASS STRUCTURE



THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO THE MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS



THE RATIO OF THE POPULATION IN THE MAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS TO THE TOTAL POPULATION

TABLE LV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE W.P.T. MEMBERS, IN RESPECT TO THE SIZE OF THEIR ENVIRONMENT

	MARMARA, AEGEAN, MEDITERRANEAN		CENTRAL ANATOLIA		BLACK SEA		EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA	
		%		%		%		%
CITY-DWELLERS	4.839	60 %	1.261	63 %	306	28 %	564	35 %
SMALL TOWN DWELLERS	975	13 %	198	9 %	185	17 %	617	39 %
PEASANTS	2.172	27 %	560	28 %	603	55 %	415	26 %
TOTAL	7.986	100 %	2.019	100 %	1.094	100 %	1.596	100 %

TABLE LVI
THE 1965 ELECTION RETURNS¹

PARTIES	NUMBER OF VOTES	%
JUSTICE PARTY	4.921.235	52.9
R.P.P.	2.675.785	28.7
NATION PARTY	582.704	6.3
NEW TURKEY PARTY	346.514	4.0
W.P.T.	276.101	3.0
NATIONAL MOVEMENT PARTY (the former CKMP, the present MHP)	208.696	2.2
INDEPENDENTS	39.558	0.4

1 T.C., Başbakanlık, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1950-1965 *Milletvekili ve* 1961, 1964 *Cumhuriyet Senatosu Üye Seçimleri Sonuçları*, Ankara, 1966.

TABLE LVII
THE 1968 PARTIAL SENATE ELECTION RETURNS¹

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	5.420.255
PARTICIPANTS	3.595.976
PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPATION	% 66.3
VALID VOTES	3.322.710
VOTES FOR THE JUSTICE PARTY	1.656.802
VOTES FOR THE R.P.P.	899.444
VOTES FOR THE C.K.M.P.	66.232
VOTES FOR THE TRUST PARTY	284.234
VOTES FOR THE NATION PARTY	200.737
VOTES FOR THE W.P.T.	157.062
INDEPENDENTS	58.317

1 T.C., Başbakanlık, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2 *Haziran 1968 Cumhuriyet Senatosu Üyeleri Kısmi Seçim Sonuçları*, Ankara, 1969, p. viii.