

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
IN TURKEY
1975 - 1980

BİRSEN TALAY KEŞOĞLU

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

2007

SOCIALIST WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

IN TURKEY

1975 - 1980

Dissertation submitted to the
Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Philosophy of Doctorate

by

Birsen Talay Keşođlu

Bođaziçi University

2007

ABSTRACT

An Abstract of the Dissertation of Birsen Talay Keşoğlu for the degree of Ph.D. from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken October 2007.

Title: Socialist Women's Organizations in Turkey, 1975-1980

In this study, socialist women's organizations established between the years 1975-80 in Turkey are explored. The Turkish left, which had not welcomed the idea of separate women's organization, started to establish women's associations by 1975. The Progressive Women's Association (İKD) constitutes the first example in this respect, which was established by the leadership of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP). In the framework of this study, the Democratic Women's Association (DKB), the women's association of the Socialist Worker's Party of Turkey (TSİP), and the Women's Section established under the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) are also discussed. From a broader perspective, the purpose of this study is to evaluate the approach of the Turkish left towards women and the women's question from 1975-1980 through an analysis of socialist women's organizations. The solutions that these three parties proposed for "women's emancipation," the policies that were developed, and the principles that were put into practice allegedly in the name of or for women are also within the scope of this study. In order to evaluate the period in a wider context, the development of the European women's movement, particularly in England and Germany, is examined closely. Tracing back the legacy of the socialist women's organization of the 1970s in Turkey and exploring whether or not it was transferred to the feminist movement of the post-1980 era revealed that it was mostly the "former leftist" women of the 1970s who paved the way for and shaped the feminist movement of the post-1980 era.

TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde
Doktora Derecesi için Birsen Talay Keşoğlu tarafından
Ekim 2007'de teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: 1975-1980 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'deki Sosyalist
Kadın Örgütlenmeleri

Bu çalışmada 1975-80 yılları arasında Türkiye'de gerçekleşen sosyalist kadın örgütlenmeleri ele alınacaktır. Daha önce ayrı kadın örgütlenmesine sıcak bakmayan Türkiye Sol'u 1975 yılından itibaren ayrı kadın örgütleri kurmaya başlar. 1975 yılı itibarıyla Türkiye Komünist Partisi'nin önderliğinde kurulan İlerici Kadınlar Derneği (İKD) ilk örnektir. Bu araştırmanın çerçevesi içinde Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi'nin (TSİP) kadın örgütü Demokratik Kadın Birliği (DKB) ve Türkiye İşçi Partisi'nin (TİP) parti bünyesinde oluşturduğu TİP Kadın Seksiyonu da incelenmiştir. Daha genel çerçevede ele alırsak, temel olarak Türkiye Solu'nun kadına, kadın sorununa bakışı, sosyalist kadın dernekleri aracılığıyla değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmanın bütününde bu üç partinin 'kadınların kurtuluşu' için getirdiği çözümlere, "kadınlar adına" üretilen politikalara ve gerçekleştirilen uygulamalara yer verilmiştir. Dönemi daha iyi değerlendirebilmek için de 1975-80 yılları arasında Avrupa'da kadın hareketinin gelişimi incelenirken, özellikle İngiltere ve Almanya'daki kadın hareketine daha yakından bakılmıştır. Türkiye'de 1970'lerdeki sosyalist kadın örgütlenmesi nasıl bir miras bıraktı, 1980 sonrası gelişen feminist harekete bir aktarımı var mı sorularına yanıt aranırken, 1980 sonrası feminist hareketin önünü açan ve yönünü belirleyenlerin çoğunun 1970'lerdeki "eski solcu" kadınlar olduğu görülmüştür.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME : Birsen Talay Keşođlu
PLACE OF BIRTH : İstanbul
DATE OF BIRTH : May 13th, 1964

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED

Bođaziçi University
Bođaziçi University
Bođaziçi University

DEGREES AWARDED

Master of Arts in History, 1994, Department of History,
Bođaziçi University
Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy, 1990, Department of
Philosophy, Bođaziçi University

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Women Studies and Social History

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Instructor, Department of International Relations, Kadir
Has University, İstanbul, 2004-...
Instructor, Preparatory School, Kadir Has University,
İstanbul, 2004-...

PUBLICATIONS

Talay, Birsen. "The Changes in Turkish Family Structure
Between the Years 1923-1935," Master's Thesis,
Bođaziçi University, 1994.
"Bilanço: 1923-1998," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 31, no. 181
(January 1999), pp.61-62.
"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuruluşu," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 31,
no. 182 (February 1999), p.64.

- "1979 Seçimleri ve Bakiye Beria Onger," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 31, no. 183 (March 1999), pp.55-60.
- "27 Mayıs'a Adım Adım ...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 31, no. 185 (May 1999), pp.26-29.
- "Şakir Paşa Ailesinin Kadınları...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 33, no. 195 (March 2000), pp.85-88.
- "Ömer Erkmen Arşivinden DP Tarihine İlişkin Belgeler," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 33, no. 197 (May 2000), pp.40-50.
- "Yakup Kadri Arşivi ve İzzet Melih Devrim," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 33, no. 196 (April 2000), pp.52-55.
- "Tarihçiler Tartışıyor: Tarih ve Roman İlişkisi Üzerine," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 33, no. 198 (June 2000), pp.4-15.
- "Fahrelnisa Zeid'den Binbir Öpücük," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 33, no. 198 (June 2000), pp.58-59. (Yakup Kadri archive)
- "İki Gözüm Burhan ...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 34, no. 199 (July 2000), p.52. (Yakup Kadri archive)
- "Şarklı Talebe Cemiyetlerinden Leman Asaf Hanım'a... Yakup Kadri'den Fevzi Lütfi'ye...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 34, no. 200 (August 2000), pp. 32-33.
- "Sevgili Hemşirem Hanımefendi... Bern'den Ankara'ya Ulaşan Bir Rica...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 34, no. 201 (September 2000), pp. 56-57.
- "Yakup Kadri'yi Üzen Bir Mektup," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 34, no. 204 (December 2000), pp. 51-52.
- "Görsel Ziyafete Davet...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, no. 205 (January 2001), pp. 31-33.
- "Yakup Kadri Bey Haremi," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, no. 207 (March 2001), pp. 47-54.
- "Balarısı ile Fahişe," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, no. 208 (April 2001), pp. 30-35.
- "Nazım'ın Neşr Olunmamış Bir Şiiri," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, no. 209 (May 2001), pp. 42-43.
- "Leman Hanım'dan Güzin Dino'ya Bir Mektup," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, no. 210 (June 2001), pp. 42-43.
- "Kıymetli Üstadım...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 36, no. 214 (October 2001), pp. 21-23.
- "Cebimde Çok Küçük Elma Var," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 36, no. 215 (November 2001), pp.38-40.
- "Fahrelnisa Zeyd, Hitler'in Davetinde...," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 37, no. 217 (January 2002), pp.56-57.
- "'Temsili Bir Karakter' Ya da Bir Karakterin Temsili: Bakiye Beria Onger," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 37, no. 220 (April 2002), pp. 4-10.
- "'Alternatif' 23 Nisan Kutlamaları," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 39, no. 232 (April 2003), pp. 4-10.
- "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Üzerine Bir Alan Çalışması," *XI. Uluslararası Sözlü Tarih Konferansı*, vol. 2,

- Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, May 2000, pp. 893-899.
- "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, (Kemalizm) vol. 2, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, pp.430-441.*
- "İki Eczacılık Dergisi Üzerine," *Asklepios, Tıp Kültürü Dergisi, no 2, İstanbul, 2003, pp.69-71.*
- Balat'tan Bat-yam'a, Eli Şaul, edited by: Rıfat N. Bali-Birsen Talay, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999.*
- İstanbul'da 1894 Depremi, Fatma Ürekli, editor: Birsen Talay, İletişim yayınları, İstanbul, 1999.*
- Geographika, Yeniden Keşfedilen Yunanistan, Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, editor: Birsen Talay, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001.*
- Nüfus Mübadelesi, Kayıp Bir Kuşağın Hikayesi, Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, editor: Birsen Talay, İletişim yayınları, İstanbul, 2003.*
- Fotoğraf ve Kartpostallarıyla Girit'ten İstanbul'a Bahaettin Rahmi Bediz Beyaz Atlı Fotoğrafçı 1875-1951, Seyit Ali Ak, editor: Birsen Talay, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004.*

PAPERS

- XI: Uluslararası Sözlü Tarih Konferansı, "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Üzerine Bir Alan Çalışması," June 15-19, 2000, İstanbul.
- IV. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi, "Bakiye Beria Onger'in Yaşamöyküsü," October 12-14, 2001, İstanbul.
- Türkiye Kültür Araştırmaları Sempozyumu (Kültür ve Modernite), "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'ndeki Modern Kadın Anlayışının 1970'lerdeki Sosyalist Kadın Hareketine Etkileri," October 25-27, 2002, Antalya.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to my advisor, Prof. Zafer Toprak, who has been my teacher for nearly 20 years, and who supported me throughout all the stages of this study. I thank my lecturer, Prof. Zafer Toprak also for providing me the opportunity of examining the archives of the TİP and TSİP in the Foundation for Social and Economic History of Turkey and provided its further depth by proposing that it include a work of oral history.

I thank Prof. Dr. Ayşe Buğra, Prof. Dr. Esra Danacıoğlu, Assoc. Prof. Duygu Köksal and Assoc. Prof. Arzu Öztürkmen for accepting to take part in my jury and for sharing with me their valuable views on my study.

I thank with all my heart all the women who accepted my interview requests and who shared their memories with open hearts, thereby helping me in the realization of oral history.

I am indebted to the directors of the Library of Women's Works for providing me access to the archives of the Progressive Women's Association; and to dear Firdevs Sarıkaya, who warmed the ice-cold rooms of the Library with an electric heater and me with nice cups of tea.

I am very grateful to my friend Tansel Demirel, who read all the chapters of my study, and who never hesitated to spare time for discussions even on a single sentence that sometimes lasted for days and nights.

My dear friend, Elçin Gen, gave her support during the arduous stages of the study.

I can never thank enough my husband Mustafa Keşoğlu, who has restricted his life in favor of my study throughout all the years, who tried his best to support me in completing this study, and who gave support on all the technical issues with his experience on computer technology.

And my daughter... Zeynep Deniz has had a mother who has been writing her thesis since she was born and who has had to spare the time she could be with her to her study. I cannot give her back the time this study has stolen from us, but I hope that when she grows to be a woman, she will understand, and even empathize with me. I thank you for enriching my life, for being my daughter, for just your "being"... This dissertation is dedicated to my daughter, Zeynep Deniz.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xi
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Conceptual Framework.....	1
Presentation of the Research Topic.....	13
CHAPTER II WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE.....	31
The Women's Movement in Britain.....	48
The Women's Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany from the 1970s to the 1980s.....	59
The Dynamics of the Women's Movements in the 1970s in Europe and in Turkey.....	71
CHAPTER III ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF TURKEY IN THE 1970S AND THE "WOMEN'S QUESTION".....	86
Economic and Political Developments in the 1970s..	86
The Women's Question in the 1970s.....	103
The Stance of the Turkish Left Vis-à-Vis the Women's Question in the 1970s.....	139
CHAPTER IV WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION UNITS OF THE THREE PARTIES TO BE STUDIED.....	180
The TKP: Progressive Women's Organization (<i>İlerici Kadınlar Derneği</i>).....	180
The TSİP: Democratic Women's Association (<i>Demokratik Kadın Birliği</i>).....	246
The TİP: Women's Section (<i>TİP Kadın Seksiyonu</i>)... ..	263
CHAPTER V TKP's, TSİP's AND TİP's APPROACH TO WOMEN'S ISSUES.....	265
The Stances of the TKP, the TSİP and the TİP towards the "Women's Question," the Women's Movement, "Women's Emancipation" and Separate Women's Organizations.....	265
CHAPTER VI FIELD RESEARCH AND INTERVIEWS.....	317

The Progressive Women's Organization	317
The TSİP (Democratic Women's Association)	330
The Women's Section of the TİP	333
Common Points Throughout the Interviews	338
Modernism and "Tales as Told" by Socialist Women .	346
CHAPTER VII ADDENDUM	361
The Women's Movement in Turkey between 1980 and 1985	361
CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSION	371
BIBLIOGRAPHY	389
APPENDIXES	408

PREFACE

Before starting to work on this study, I knew that the feminist movement in Turkey which developed after 1980 did not acknowledge the presence of a women's movement before 1980 and that it severely criticized the political developments between 1975-1980 in terms of the women's movement. However, I was also aware that thousands of women were organized under the left movement between 1975-1980 and that separate women's organizations were established.

I became occupied with certain questions. I started to seek answers for questions, such as could we indeed make such a distinction; was there really such a break, and what was the legacy of the socialist movement of the 1970s to the movements of the 1980s? Why did women deny their backgrounds, what were the developments that led them to reject their legacy? I was also curious as to why the coup of September 12, 1980 was declared a turning point. In order to grasp the post-1980 developments, it was crucial to get a profound understanding of the period which was both criticized severely and in a way mythicized.

Inquiring about the women's associations which were established between the years 1975-80 led me to the conclusion that the most expansively organized one was the Progressive Women's Association (*İlerici Kadınlar Derneği* [İKD]). I started to probe the attitudes of the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (*Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi* [TSİP]) and the Workers' Party of Turkey (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi* [TİP]) towards the women's question and their units for women's organization, both of which were ideologically close to but in competition with the İKD, in fact the Communist Party of Turkey (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi* [TKP]). I tried to expand the framework by handling the organizational structures, discourses, demands, activities and attitudes towards the women's question of the İKD, the Democratic Women's Association (*Demokratik Kadın Birliği* [DKB]) which was established by the leadership of the TSİP, and the Women's Section (*Kadın Seksiyonu*), which TİP established as part of the party. TİP and TSİP were legal parties, whereas the TKP was illegal. Looking over the three parties altogether allowed me to see the outcome of their distinct positions in terms of women's organization.

I presented a paper titled "The Reflections of Modern Understanding of Women in the Republican Turkey to

the Socialist Women's Movement of the 1970s" at the Culture and Modernity conference held by Turkish Cultural Studies Group (*Türkiye Kültür Araştırmaları Grubu*) on 25-27 October, 2001, and the question I was asked after my presentation opened a new path for my work. A member of the audience said that she had not known about the İKD's politics and activities for women between the years 1975-1980 and that she was very surprised to hear about them and she asked me what those women had done for women today. My paper did not provide information on that matter, but I already knew the answer, so I told her that some of those women were still working for women: Ayşe Bilge Dicleli, Zülal Kılıç, Gönül Dinçer, and Tezer Toksarı in *Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği* (Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates [KA-DER]); Yüksel Selek and Melek Nurlu in *Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı* (Solidarity Foundation for Women [KADAV]); Halime Güner in *Uçan Süpürge* (Flying Broom); Şeyda Talu, Zehra Toska in *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı* (Women's Library and Information Center Foundation); Zülal Kılıç in *Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü* (General Directorate on the Status of Women); and Yüksel Selek¹ in *Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği*

¹ There are many "former İKD members" who work in the mentioned

(Helsinki Citizens' Assembly). Although I cannot cite here their names, it is known that there are also many "former İKD members" working at *Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği* (Association to Support Modern Life), *Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı* (Mother Child Education Foundation [AÇEV]), *Küresel Barış Hareketi* (Global Peace Movement), and *Ankara Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı* (Women's Solidarity Foundation- Ankara). For example, in KA-DER, after Şirin Tekeli's departure, Gönül Dinçer and Zülal Kılıç served as managers for a period. In fact, they stated that they "had to do it since there was nobody to put their hands to the plough."² They expressed their position and mission by saying "People say they get weary and they leave, but we do not have the right to get weary."³

Some former İKD members, carrying on the socialist tradition, continue their activities of getting in touch with the masses. But with one difference: They try to

organizations but whom I can't cite here since I do not know their names or last names.

² An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 17 March 2001.

³ Ibid.

connect with women independently, without committing to an organizational structure.

Today, many former İKD members who still work with an activist's spirit tell each other their deeds and these efforts are recorded only in these talks. They do not become publicly visible by their achievements.

It is proper at this point to diagnose a shift from organized activism to individuality. We can say that there is a close connection between a critical revision of the old tradition and the substance of the newly developed women's movement.

It was evident in the interviews conducted with "former leftist" (*eski solcu*) women that they had not lost their enthusiasm or their activist spirit. What they had experienced back in those days was nostalgic for them, but they took great pride in having been a part, in fact, the motor of that experience.

We see that "former leftist" women in particular provide ideological renewal. They form a considerable group who value their organizational experiences and who do not become visible in the media as public figures.

These answers for the aforementioned question provided a path for me and I took them as a starting point in this study.

In forming the methodology of this work, I focused on the archives. I first examined the documents of the İKD in the archives of *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi* in İstanbul. I looked over the collection of the İKD's publication *Kadınların Sesi* (Women's Voice) from the first issue to the 61st. I also conducted more research at the *Bilgi-Belge* (Data-Documents) division of *Türkiye Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarih Vakfı* (The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey) for the İKD documents which could not be obtained from *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi*.

I also reviewed thoroughly the archives of the *Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi*, TSİP (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey) in the Data-Documents division of the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey. In addition, I surveyed journals *İlke* (Principle), one of the publications of the TSİP, and I specified the articles on the "women's question."

I reviewed the program of the *Demokratik Kadın Birliği* (Democratic Women's Association) and its publication, *Kadın Dayanışması* (Women's Solidarity). I conducted another search through TİP's archives, again in the Data-Documents division of The Economic and Social History Foundation, and I specified the party's approach

towards the women's question and its ideas on women's organization in *Çark Başak* (Wheel Ear) and *Yürüyüş* (The March), two publications of the party. I examined the İKD's and the DKB's programs and their policy guidelines within the framework of this study.

I also surveyed all the issues of the journal *Devrimci Yol* (Revolutionary Path) and reviewed all the texts and news on the women's question.

I gave particular weight to reviewing works written and referred to in that period in order to understand how the women's question was discussed in those days and to be able to compare it with the socialist movement's approach towards the women's question.

The party programs and policy guidelines of the *Türkiye Komünist Partisi* (Communist Party of Turkey), *Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi* (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey) and *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Workers' Party of Turkey) were reviewed.

In order to set the wider context for the study and to establish its conceptual basis, I also studied the Marxist literature on the women's question.

While conducting this study, I also interviewed women who had participated in the organizations referred to above. These interviews brought to light many

documents and brochures that could not be found in libraries and archives.

Because a study on a topic from the mid-1970s is considered to be recent history and because some of the activist women who participated in socialist women's organizations may still be alive, scholarly research in this field has been neglected because of the fear of the problems it might stir up. We should also remember that the idea that people become historical materials only after they pass away is a common verdict among historians. Needless to say, this belief is neither appropriate nor applicable to oral history. When one thinks of the destruction of many documents pertinent to this study because of the political tension in the country at the time, the significance of oral history in the interpretation and verification of the existing documents becomes more evident.

I derived valuable information from the interviews I made during this study. However, most of the interviewees did not want their names to become publicly known. Therefore, the interviewees were defined by their responsibilities in the organization or party in which they had participated.

If an active female member of a related organization or party was 20 years old in 1974, she is 53 now. Therefore, as the interviewees too noted, it is important to "refresh fading memories" and record this history that confronts the "cruelty of time."

One of the most important features of oral history which distinguishes it from other methods is that it can shift the center of history. The historian at work steps out of the dusty rooms of the archives and comes into contact with people, finds the "opportunity to share human experiences" which would otherwise remain unknown to her/him.⁴

In the field of my research in particular, the interviewees did not restrict themselves to my questions. During second meeting they wanted to share with me instances from their private lives. The crucial point in such correspondences is to understand their language well and to interpret and translate it correctly. I was especially mindful on this point and tried to avoid anything that would do injustice to their history while interpreting the accounts.

⁴ Paul Thompson, *Geçmişin Sesi Sözlü Tarih* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p.7.

Women lie at the center of all the discussions and comparisons in this study. The interviews were used to consolidate this center.

We need to review the written sources in order to be able to grasp the political conjuncture of Turkey at that period and we need oral history to see the actual process. And the only way to understand the process is to conduct interviews with people who personally lived in that period under study.

"Oral history may well be a means for transforming both the content and the purpose of history;"⁵ but to what purposes one uses oral history remains to be questioned since the historian may well become an archivist or a compiler at the end of his/her study. What I try to do is to free the events from myth and contribute to historical research. The oral history in this study is not confined to the sole presentation of anecdotes; the accounts of the interviewees are mediated with firsthand written sources of that period. I believe that such discussions can raise the veil of shadow and contribute to women's public "visibility."⁶

⁵ Ibid., p.2.

⁶ Joan Wallach Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," ed. Jay Kleinberg, in *Retrieving Women's History* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1988), pp.5-6.

When we consider the fact that even a comprehensive history of the left still awaits to be written, it will not be realistic to expect women's visibility in this respect. A study on the history of the İKD, titled *Kızıl Feministler* (The Red Feminists) has been published. Developed from a dissertation by Emel Akal, this study is important in that it provides insider information since the author is also a member of the association. However, the study I conducted provides also an outsider's look as well as a more comprehensive and critical evaluation with the close examination of the women's organizations under the three parties (TKP, TİP, TSİP). In this study, effort is made to expand as far as possible with the interviews conducted not only with the women members of the mentioned parties, but also with those of all women's associations available.

This study aims to do more than represent the history of a particular period. While looking over the past here, I also try to discuss a past politics on the women's movement, which has been conveyed to the present in a different manner.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Conceptual Framework

The 1970s in Turkey was a period when the student and worker's movements were at their heights. Thousands of women took part within this organized activism. In the second half of the 1970s in particular, many socialist women's organizations were established. The decade was also a period in Europe when massive activism was at its peak; it was also when the feminist movement established itself. However in Turkey the feminist movement did not develop until the 1980s.

It is argued that the Second Wave feminist movements in Europe were born from the student movement of 1968. Although this is partly true, the women's movement was affected by many other developments in Europe starting from the 1960s. The 1960s was a period when many countries in Western Europe lived through the so-called economic miracle. The goal of a united Europe first was visualized as an economic union and a certain

growth was accomplished. And women also benefited from this growth.

The goal of a united Europe appeared as the union of Europe against the two super powers, the USA and the USSR, after the Second World War. The aim towards both economic and political union at the outset placed in time post-war Europe in a special position in the economic world. The "European Economic Community (EEC) comprised many European countries after 1950. The 1960s was a period when West Germany in particular lived through the economic miracle."⁷ The economic growth led to an increase in women's participation in labor.

These developments brought about the debate on women's equality in employment. Unlike the post-First World War period, women were not immediately sent back to their traditional roles after the war. Those who had lost their husbands in the war or who had to raise their children alone had entered into business life.⁸ These circumstances opened up new possibilities for women in the fields of education and work, which in turn led to an awareness of gender discrimination in every field. At the

⁷ Gisela Kaplan, *Contemporary Western European Feminism* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), p.10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.12.

end of the 1960s, the civil rights movements and the student movements paved the way for the women's movement. Certainly these macro developments do not suffice to account for the Second Wave feminist movement. Micro level developments occurred as well as technological and social developments. The most significant technological novelty was the laundry machine.⁹ On the political level, the new right for women to vote and election must also be added. And the most important invention was the contraceptive pill. At a time when abortion was still illegal in Western European countries, the contraceptive pill was introduced in the 1960s and acquired great popularity among women. It was taken as the new measure of freedom.¹⁰

In the 1970s, the main issue which united the European women's movement was abortion. The already politicized women's activism accounts for the masses recruited at that time. Those women had acquired many experiences within their former political engagements. They had participated in political activities led by socialists, students, workers, anti-militarists and other

⁹ Ibid., p.12.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.12.

dissident groups led by men and they parted in a while since they realized that their demands and goals were being suspended with the excuse of "more urgent problems."¹¹

Since the main problem discussed in this study is women's approach towards the women's question, it is necessary to look at how the "more urgent problems," whose urgency was determined ideologically, affected their struggle. How does Marxist theory approach the women's question? It is a commonplace fact that Marxist theory does not handle the women's question *per se* as one distinguished from the class problem.

It is a widely expressed argument that the views of Marx and Engels and Marxist theory developed afterwards were constructed by men and for men. However, it is also acknowledged by many that Marxist theory underlies feminist theory.

During the debates in the mid nineteenth century on whether liberal feminism's solutions could be realized or not, Marxist feminism's alternative solutions came onto the agenda. Marxist feminism argues that in a class society there can be no real equality in opportunities

¹¹ Ibid., p.8.

and that capitalism lies behind the exploitation, oppression and domination to which women are subject. Marxists hold that the distinctive fact behind women's suppression is not gender but class. Even though it is not possible to treat all women as one class, it is possible to recruit women from different classes towards certain causes of struggle on the basis of certain similarities.

According to the socialist feminists, in the system of capitalist exploitation women are oppressed more than men. The reason behind is alienation, which is the outcome of capitalism. Marxism holds that the domestic work which women are forced to assume causes them to experience this alienation more profoundly than men.¹² Engels argues that this problem can be solved by ascribing the social task of childcare and education to society.¹³ But this can only take place when the mode of production changes. Therefore, it is argued that the women's question cannot be solved by legal reforms as the

¹² There are various views and debates on alienation. Women's alienation towards domestic work, motherhood and sexuality is another point of discussion. These debates will not be discussed in detail here. Marxist/socialist feminists have distinct arguments on this issue.

¹³ Friedrich Engels, *Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni*, trans. Kenan Somer (Ankara: Sol yayınları, 1992), p.167.

liberal feminists claim. The problem of prostitution for example is also not treated as a moral problem, but an economic one.

Marxist theory rarely handles the questions of reproduction and sexuality directly. Marxists rather give weight to issues such as the relation of the family institution to capitalism, how the domestic work undertaken by women is devalued, and how women are employed with lower wages in comparatively unqualified jobs. Marxists mainly offer two solutions for these problems: The socialization of domestic work, and waging of domestic work. This second solution is advocated by feminists, who hold a position somewhat different from that of traditional Marxism.¹⁴

The concept of socialism can be appropriated in terms of various currents of thought. Socialist feminism constitutes one example. Socialist feminism has contributed to a great extent to the feminist discourse. Roughly speaking, "the first feminist movements were defined as liberal feminism. The changes in the economic and social conditions in Europe led Marxism and Marxist feminism to come to the fore. Radical feminism, born in

¹⁴ Andrée Michel, *Feminizm*, trans. Şirin Tekeli, *Yeni Yüzyıl Kitaplığı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p.94.

reaction to Marxist and liberal feminisms"¹⁵, also contributed to the debates on the women's question by opening up new dimensions. The feminist movement which developed and marked the 1970s tried to form a synthesis between Marxist and radical feminisms. Socialist feminists hold that relations between men and women cannot be explained without the conceptual framework put forward by Marx and Engels. They also find the argument that women's liberation will be accomplished when the class society is superseded to be insufficient. They argue that the women's question cannot be treated solely under categories of economy and class as Socialist feminists do.

Socialist feminists argue that the patriarchal relations behind the oppression of women are as deeply rooted and pervasive in society as class conflicts. Hence, the analogy "unhappy marriage" refers to the relation between Marxism and feminism.¹⁶

Socialist feminists also hold that the women's question is rooted in the class society, but they object

¹⁵ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Teori*, trans. Aksu Bora, Meltem Ađduk Gevrek, Fevziye Sayılan (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), pp.267-268.

¹⁶ Maggie Humm, *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Feminist Literary Criticism* (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: Harvester Wheatscheaf, 1994), p.74.

to radical feminism's highlighting of patriarchy as the main reason.¹⁷

It is precisely for this reason that the socialist feminist movement has two axes. This double structure, though at times troubling, contributed considerably to the development of a socialist theory on the women's question since the nineteenth century.

How Marxism views women's organization and what it offers as a solution to the women's question is also important in the context of this study. It must be made clear first that Marxism does not welcome women's separate and autonomous organization. There have been various organizational models in different countries, but Marxism views the work of "consciousness raising" as primary.

The understanding of "consciousness raising" of modern feminist theory is also rooted in Marxist theory.¹⁸ "Consciousness raising" aims at making people aware of their class positions and urging them to work for the benefit of that position, because one's

¹⁷ Socialist feminists have different arguments at this point. But this debate will not be analyzed in detail here since the conceptual framework aims at an only brief discussion of the differences among feminists.

¹⁸ Donovan, pp. 129-130.

membership in a certain class determines one's position in the dominant mode of production. One's condition of existence depends on one's gaining consciousness of a class membership. "Class consciousness" underlies the economic criterion in Marxist theory. There is also "false consciousness," which accepts the dominant class's views uncritically, which sees the world through the eyes of the oppressors.

It is known that historically both feminists and socialists worked for "consciousness raising" in their own ways. According to Marxist theory, the way to change the world is "revealing the false consciousness" and struggling for the "proper class interests."¹⁹ Marxist determinism argues that those who control the means of production also control the intellectual means of production. August Bebel, who contributed a great deal to the praxis of Marxism, holds that "in order to create a situation which enables full economic and intellectual freedom of both sexes by means of proper social institutions women of the proletariat (hand in hand with

¹⁹ Donovan, pp. 129.

their fellow comrades) are obliged to struggle for the radical transformation of the society."²⁰

As to the solution of the women's question, Bebel argues:

What is at stake is not only the goal of the bourgeois women's movement to realize the equality of the sexes within the present order of state and society, but beyond that, it is to eliminate all barriers which make a human being dependant upon another, a sex upon another. This solution to the women's problem goes hand in hand with the solution of the social problem. It is for this reason that those who wish to solve the women's question in all aspects, must walk hand in hand with those who have inscribed the solution of the social problem as a cultural problem of all humanity in their flags, namely, the socialists.²¹

The difficulty that socialist feminists face lies here. How can one improve and nurture the feminist movement by "walking hand in hand" with men? The socialist feminist movement in Europe had to struggle until the mid 1970s to acquire an autonomous organization. The traditional left tried to catch up with the growing women's movement. In England, the Communist Party in the mid 1970s had to recognize officially the

²⁰ August Bebel, *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*, trans. S. N. Kaya (İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, April 1996), p.41.

²¹ Ibid., p.41.

need for an autonomous women's movement.²² And in Turkey, the Communist Party of Turkey took leadership in the establishment of the İKD in 1975 and paved the way for a distinct though not independent women's organization. After 1975 many parties, organizations and movements formed units for women's organization in order to "reach" women.

From the nineteenth century to the last quarter of the twentieth socialist women had to struggle to gain official support from the communist parties for the autonomous organization of women. But this support was always one to be withdrawn at any time and it did not involve an analysis of patriarchy. Communist parties in this period were content with adding options such as abortion and childcare to their programs.²³

Historically, the decisions taken at the Second Congress of the Communist International shed light on this approach of the communist parties. These decisions hold that in countries of pre-capitalist development "women members of the communist party should be united under a special unit," and "in each local party

²² Sheila Rowbotham, Lynne Segal, Hilary Wainwright, *Feminizm, Sosyalizm ve Eylemde Birlik*, trans. Emel Çetin Özgül (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984), p.241.

²³ Ibid., pp.213-225.

organization a women's committee for agitation where men comrades can participate should be established."²⁴

It took a great deal of struggle especially in Europe till the last quarter of the century to change this decision. To support the Comintern's decision, it was argued that women did not have sufficient class consciousness. It took more than half a century for this understanding to change, rather *to be changed*. The 1970s were an important moment of the women's movement in the sense that women obtained significant gains despite many challenges. The decade was also a period in Turkey when the Marxist left was on the rise. Despite all the anti-feminist discourses, it was in this period that urban and educated women of the middle class became aware of their subordinate position and the oppression to which they were subject as members of a sex.

After the 1980s, particularly at the end of the 1980s, socialist feminists in Turkey searched for ways to bypass this dilemma and came up with certain solutions. However, the scope of this study does not allow this period for an analysis here.

²⁴ Marx, Engels, Lenin Stalin, Komintern & Clara Zetkin, *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine*, trans. İsmail Yarkın (İstanbul: İnter yayınları, September 1996), pp.274-275.

Presentation of the Research Topic

Between 1975-80 socialist women "ran together" in Turkey. They also struggled to catch up with the growing leftist movement led by men. They had to run faster than men in order not to lag behind. They had to fulfill their domestic tasks, take care of their children and do their jobs besides pursue their political activities. Nevertheless, these "superwomen" were not aware of their own power and success. There has never been a history which witnesses and reminds people of their experience. The passing time further obscures this already shadowy past.

The aim of this study is to look over the organization efforts of socialist women in Turkey between 1975-1980 and to shed some light on a period which has been left obscure for many years. The period is extended until 1985 in order to be able to discuss the women's movement on a wider scale by taking into account the developments after the coup of 1980.

The reason why the years 1975-1980 are chosen in this study is that before that period we do not witness

such a massive left movement or such a pervasive socialist women's organization in Turkey. Furthermore, whether the women's movement that developed in this period provided the basis for the post-1980 feminist movement is a question examined in this study.

The study is based on the women's organizational units of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSİP) and the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP). The relation of the İKD, which represents itself as an independent "democratic mass organization," with the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) and the Democratic Women's Association (DKB) with the TSİP will be examined; the organizational efforts of the İKD, the DKB and the Women's Section of the TİP during the years 1975-1980, their approaches towards the women's question, and their common features and differences will be discussed through the interviews and publications and programs of the associations and parties which function as firsthand sources.

When discussing Turkey between 1975-1980, the examples in Europe, England and Germany in particular are taken into account and the activities, demands and women's politics of the developing second wave feminist movement are examined in order to be able to compare them

with the women's movement in Turkey. What were the basic demands of the socialist feminist movement in the 1970s in Europe? How were they similar to the demands of the socialist women's movement in Turkey? Answers to these questions are sought with the help of the examples of England and Germany in particular. This research may provide some clues as to why the feminist movement in Turkey was able to develop only after 1980. It is once more confirmed that the similarities as well as the differences can only be diagnosed accordingly in terms of the political and economic histories of each country. In countries under dictatorships during the 1970s (Spain, Portugal and Greece), feminist movement were not able to develop; feminists could only gain some space after the dictatorships were overthrown. In Turkey, too, the political restrictions brought about with the coups of 1960, 1971 and 1980 allowed for the development of a feminist movement only after 1980. On what sources did the feminist movement feed? Did Kemalism have any effect in this respect? These questions are dealt with in Chapter Seven. I believe the experiences of the women who lived through the years 1975-1980 are very important precisely in this respect.

Accordingly, in Chapter Two, the development of the socialist feminist movement in Europe in the 1970s is studied and an answer to the question as to what extent this movement reflected in Turkey is sought. The fact that Europe did not constitute a homogenous field is a point not to be neglected. Sound conclusions can only be reached by taking into account the different experiences in various European countries. These evaluations may provide clues as to why a feminist movement failed to flourish in Turkey in the 1970s.

Chapter Three opens with an assessment of the economic, political and social developments in Turkey in the 1970s. With this brief overview of the political developments of that period which has been thought will never be experienced again and thereby mythicized, a deeper understanding of the circumstances that led to those experiences is provided.

The second section of that chapter deals with the question of how the women's question was discussed in Turkey in the 1970s. There are only a few works on the women's question written and cited in this period. These works are examined and certain conclusions are derived on this topic. Another section deals with the approach of the leftist movement towards the "women's question" and

"women's liberation." This part does not examine the discourses of the TKP, the TİP or the TSİP; the ideological approaches of these three parties are examined in chapters Four, Five and Six. These chapters are formed completely with firsthand sources and interviews.

In Chapter Four, the establishment processes, programs, organizational models, guidelines and publications of the İKD, the DKB and the Women's Section, which were the women's organization units of the TKP, TİP and TSİP, respectively, are examined. In this chapter, the life and work of Bakiye Beria Onger, who was the president of the İKD from the day it was established until it was closed, even after the coup of 1980 when it was abolished by the TKP, and how she was viewed by the İKD members are examined in detail. In the book *We Ran Together* edited by the İKD members, Onger is cited only in two sentences and the information provided is incorrect. Therefore, I tried to pass on all the information I derived in detail.

In Chapter Five, the approaches of the TKP, the TİP and the TSİP towards the women's question are examined one by one under certain subtitles: "The Women's Question," "The Women's Movement," "Women's

Emancipation," "A Separate Women's Organization," "Feminism," "Housewives" and "Working Women." This chapter, which comprises the publications of each party, party programs and interviews, aims at revealing under distinct subtitles the approach of the leftist movement of the 1970s towards the women's question.

Chapter Six comprises the conclusions derived from the field researches and interviews. Data obtained from the interviews are assessed and common points are identified. Another section discusses the position of socialist women in Turkey at the point of the intersection of Marxism and modernism.

In Chapter Seven, the dynamics of the feminist movement developed after 1980 are briefly explained. The conditions of the existence of the post-1980 feminist movement are surveyed in order to situate accordingly the events of 1975-1980. This part was added since I believe that the answers to questions as to how and in what terms this movement was born can raise the veil from the 1975-1980 period.

Generally 1970s was a period rich in political movements throughout the world. Specifically in Turkey, it was a period marked by coups at the beginning and at the end of the decade, when the Marxist left, workers'

and students' movements recruited the masses and thousands of women got organized. With the coup of 1971 political parties and associations were closed and many people were arrested and executed. The elections of 14 October 1973 and the general pardon of 1974 marked a new period during which the leftist movement reconstituted in Turkey. The movement entered into a process of profound self-criticism. Added to these were the criticisms of the socialist currents which had not engaged in or rejected armed struggle before the coup of 12 March 1971. The defeated leftist movement engaged in an expansive debate process on the main problems of Marxism-Leninism and this process led to the dissolution and disintegration of the left. Factions and transitions appeared in the party lines of the two poles of the socialist world, the USSR and the Chinese Communist Party.

However, after that period a kind of revival was observed. After the elections of 1973 a period of multi-dimensional disintegration was experienced socially and in terms of class. The workers who had acquired the power of determining their wages thanks to their widespread organization constituted an example to other groups. Large number of civil servants tended to the left and these formed the basis of the RPP (Republican People's

Party; *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*). The flourishing democratic setting allowed for the left to organize separately from the RPP and, organizing the student youth who constituted the most radical elements of the "revolutionary" movement, gained particular weight.

The Turkish Left engaged in process of organization and diversified this process by forming democratic mass organizations.

The illegal Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) also gave weight to the issue of organization and paved the way for the establishment of ostensibly independent associations which were in fact led by the party itself.

The İKD (Progressive Women's Organization) was one of those associations. However, it had a distinct place among the other "democratic mass organizations" for the reason that even its process of establishment aroused debates. The Turkish Left of the 1970s did not welcome the separate organization of women and claimed that this would divide the class struggle. Many women with different political views came together in the founding of the İKD, but when it was understood that the association would be established under the auspices of the TKP, the debates both shifted and expanded.

On the international level, with the proposal of the International Democratic Women's Federation²⁵, the UN General Council declared the year 1975 Women's Year, and 1975-1985, the Women's Decade. Many socialist and communist parties in Europe began to support separate women's organization. However, the leftist movement in Turkey was not aware of these developments and it did not engage in the debates on the women's question. After 1975, following the establishment process of the İKD, socialist women's associations were established on a wider scale and the discourse that separate women's organization would divide class struggle was put to rest. Or rather, ways for involving women in the class struggle were sought by focusing on the specific problems of women.

The first example of this effort in the period was the İKD. Even though the İKD was ostensibly an independent association, it was defined as a subsidiary of the TKP. Since there are no studies which take into

²⁵ The International Democratic Women's Federation was founded at the First International Women's Congress, which was held on September 1, 1945, immediately after the Second World War. At this congress, held in Paris in 1945, with the participation of the women's organizations of 41 different countries, the following decisions were made: to protect women's economic, political, marital and social rights; to provide a happy future for next generations; not to give up fighting against fascism; take action to take all necessary measures in order to create a genuine democracy and a lasting peace in the world.

account the approaches of the three parties towards the women's question and which try to examine the period more thoroughly, some comparisons will be made by discussing the views of the Women's Section (*Kadın Seksiyonu*) established under the TİP, DKB established under the TSİP and the İKD on the solution of the women's question. The reason why only these three parties are chosen is that they were ideologically close in certain respects, and they all viewed the USSR as the vanguard of the world socialist system. However, it might be assumed that the TKP, because it was an illegal party, gave special weight to women's organization since it did not have the chance to form a widespread organization legally. Their effort allows us to distinguish the specific conditions of operating by means of an illegal party.

There is no doubt that women organized not only within these three parties. Thousands of women participated in the leftist movement. And those women established many women's associations. Chapter Three examines these and comprises interviews made with their members.

It is a commonplace fact that the 1970s was a period when the left gained strength and became massive, and women constituted a great part of this mass. However,

as is the case with the history of women in all periods, the history of socialist women was not recorded either. Women lie at the center of this study. After 1975 women made many efforts for political, economic and social transformation and accomplished many things; but even they themselves are not aware of their success.

The feminist movement that developed after 1980 tended to reject the pre-1980 developments in the women's movement. The left experienced a great defeat with the coup of 1980 and this air of defeatism could not be overcome and led to the disintegration of the left. The general concerns of feminism led to a total rejection of the women's movement of the 1970s. The period of self-criticism of the left lasted too long (in fact, it is not over yet) and during this period too much emphasis was put on mistakes while the achievements were neglected. It should be noted once more, however, that this was not particular to Turkey. In Chapter Two, where the European socialist movement is examined, we see that the second wave feminist movement in Germany rediscovered Clara Zetkin, accepted that the women's movement formed a continuum since the Weimar Republic, and German feminists came to claim their past and legacy.

The leaders and cadres of the leftist movement of the post-12 September period criticized the tradition of organization severely; achievements were in great part neglected. The movement was very timid about training young cadres. Appealing to the masses, the themes and means of the left were all discredited.

As an outcome of this process, terms such as "former left" and "former leftist" were coined. A strong nostalgia, to the point of myth, was produced. Since past experiences were viewed to be long gone, as if never to be experienced again, there was no will to derive lessons from them, or to reflect on the achievements and faults.

Looking at the post-1980 feminist movement within this framework, "former leftist" women come to the fore. The fact that the motor of the movement were intellectual women added to the criticism of the past an ideological confrontation; in fact, this confrontation gained more weight. We know that there were many women who participated in the establishment of the İKD who became members or volunteers and whose names are recognized as part of the feminist movement, but the period before 1980 was condemned so severely that none of them claims the legacy of the İKD.

Women from leftist backgrounds constituted the ideologues and leaders of the post-1980 feminist movement. The founders and the directors of the journal *Pazartesi* (Monday) are also members of the same tradition. The only exception to this is maybe Amargi.

So, what was the shadow cast upon the experiences of 1975-80?

Why are the İKD and the other women's associations which proved to be the most successful examples of women's organization in that period left to oblivion? There is no doubt that studies on that period will make these experiences visible again.

By looking at this issue, particularly at the case of the İKD, we can derive certain conclusions. The other leftist groups labeled the İKD "progressive," "statist" and "elite." These labels implied a criticism. The İKD was also criticized for its affinity with the Kemalists and the RPP. The label and criticism of Kemalism was used against the İKD. However, a close look will reveal that these criticisms had no valid ground. The label "progressive" was associated with Kemalism and the İKD was unable to break free from this perception.

Furthermore, the idea that the İKD was a subsidiary of the TKP led to the understanding that it was a women's

organization "controlled by remote". The left parties, movements and groups which were active during 1975-80 were for the most part misinformed about each other and their approaches to one another were fused with prejudices and misinformation.

For instance, it has been quite a surprise for many to hear that the İKD carried out its major organizational works in the slum areas (*gecekondu*). The idea that an organization considered to be "elitist" would work in the slums sounds out of place to many. However, it is again the misinformation about the İKD that has led to such approaches.

It should also be noted that, as a women's organization, the İKD's publication, *Women's Voice*, (*Kadınların Sesi*) reached a 30,000 print run in four years. This fact bears witness to the women's success and it was accomplished partly thanks to their autonomy. However, the role of autonomous organization in this success has never been an object of reflection either.

In the book *Searching for Freedom* published by Amargi, the point that a member of the İKD makes about the İKD is noteworthy. She defines the İKD as a subsidiary of an ordinary party and says: "Today most members of the İKD contend that a women's organization

should not be like the İKD. We hold that its deficiencies are clear."²⁶ In the same discussion, another interviewee says she holds "the İKD, thereby the TKP, responsible for Turkey's lagging behind in terms of a feminist movement."²⁷ These statements reveal that the left still searches for a scapegoat within itself, or rather within structures to which it did not fully belong.

The accusation that there was only one element responsible for the underdevelopment of the feminist movement, the İKD, shows the significant role of the İKD within the women's movement. The fact that "former leftist" women define themselves as feminists today also reveals the serious steps taken in the feminist movement; however, it is also this group of women who criticize the women's organizations of the 1970s most severely, to the point of rejection. The need to explore this rejection by means of in-depth studies once more posits itself for the sake of the past and future of the feminist movement. Another point to be noted is that no such harsh criticisms are directed overtly against other women's organizations. A movement which both transferred cadres

²⁶ Saadet Özkal, "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği," *Özgürlüğü Ararken Kadın Hareketinde Mücadele Deneyimleri* (İstanbul: Amargi Kadın Bilimsel ve Kültürel Araştırmalar Yayıncılık, 2005), p.32.

²⁷ Ibid., p.32.

to the feminist movement and registered 15,000 women members deserves deeper study.

When we look at the other two women's organizations in this study, (the DKB and the Women's Section) we see that they had methods of operating different from those of the İKD. Most of the İKD members realized the organizational work in the streets and neighborhoods; most were not actually party members and did not receive party training. It was easier and more proper for the women members of the TSİP and the TİP to define themselves as socialist (even Marxist). The founding cadres of the İKD did not comprise party members except a few women from the TKP. Most of them did not know about Marxism and women who defined themselves as Marxists were rare. The İKD was also prudent during their organizational work so that the movement would not be defined as Marxist. After all, in order for 15,000 official members to be defined as Marxists, they would have to receive serious training. There are indeed notes implying that Marxism was an educational topic in "cadre training," but they were only of introductory nature. The İKD did not aim to produce Marxist women. Compared to the TİP and the TSİP, the TKP had more limited sources for training its cadres.

Women members of the TSİP organized under the İKD for years. This was the case despite the fact that a legal party would have provided further opportunities for women. Women members of the TSİP kept on organizing under the İKD unless they were interfered. With the escalation of political upheavals, the divisions became sharper and the members of the TSİP were in a way expelled from the İKD. Women from the TSİP founded the DKB only after these developments; mutual accusations persisted.

The TİP was always opposed to the idea of a separate women's organization. So the Women's Section could only be established in 1979 and was forced to decommission within a year. The process of establishment was led, even directed by, men from the party. It is obvious that such a structure would be incapable of contributing to the women's movement. In any case, with the political events of the period, the Women's Section of the TİP did not last long.

In this study, the method of oral history used to portray the five year period provided valuable material which otherwise could not have been derived from the archives. The most striking point is that all of the women interviewees were working in an organization (a party, an association, an NGO) at the time of the

interviews. Despite the fact that they are critical about the hierarchical structures of the 1975-1980, which hindered individual development and contribution, they continue to work in women's associations, NGOs or parties. This bears witness to their surviving spirit of activism. This alone calls for a serious and closer historical look at the history that the socialist women of the period "wrote" and the legacy they left.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE

In the middle of the nineteenth century women's movements emerged in many countries. Across Europe, groups of middle class women began campaigning for access to higher education and professions, for married women's property rights, and for the vote. In the USA women's rights activity started around 1848, in Germany the General German Women's Association was formed in 1865, and in France the Society for demand for Women's Rights was established in 1866. In 1867 the first women's suffrage groups started in Britain and in Sweden, The association for Married Women's Property was formed in 1873. There were also women's rights groups in Russia from the 1860s and in Italy from the 1890s. First Wave feminism was not limited to USA and Europe; also women's movements, for example, in India, Persia, China, Argentina and Turkey had contact between organizations in different countries.²⁸

²⁸ Gisela Bock, *Avrupa Tarihinde Kadınlar*, trans. Zehra Aksu Yılmaz (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2004), pp.117-147.

The term "feminism" was not used broadly until the 1890s. Before then, feminism was called a collective action by women to improve women's position/condition. Many feminist historians call women's rights activity from the mid-1800s to the 1920s "First Wave Feminism" and the contemporary women's movement as "Second Wave Feminism". First Wave Feminism refers to the first movement working for the reform of women's social and legal inequalities in the nineteenth century.

"Mary Wollstonecraft argued in the eighteenth century against the injustices suffered by women, but there was organized feminist movement until 1850 in Britain. Their main concerns were education, employment, and marriage laws. They were not concerned primarily with the problems of working-class women. They did not see themselves as feminists, but responded to specific injustices they had themselves experienced. They had some achievements; for example, the opening of higher education for women; the reform of the girls secondary-school system, the widening of access to professions, especially medicine; and married women's property

rights; but they failed to secure the women's right to vote until the First World War."²⁹

Women in New Zealand obtained the right to vote in 1893 and those in Australia in 1902.³⁰ Women in many European countries won the right to vote after the First World War. But during this period especially in Germany many socialist men objected to the women's right to vote, citing the "inferior" consciousness of women.

Feminists had a close relationship with the socialists during this period. Feminism and socialism involved a radical rejection of the central traditions of European culture. Socialism rejected private ownership of the means of production; feminism rejected male "ownership" of and dominance over women. After the mid-nineteenth century "socialist feminists"³¹ argued that the transformation of the capitalist economy to socialism would liberate women. In 1885, French socialist Louise

²⁹ Barbara Caine, *English Feminism 1780-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.23-42.

³⁰ Joni Seager, *The State of Women in the World Atlas* (London: Penguin Books, first published 1997), pp.96-103.

³¹ The concept "socialist feminist" was preferred rather than "feminist socialist." Because for these socialist women the main aim (first goal) was achieving socialism and a socialist system, not feminism.

Michel declared: "When the Revolution comes, you and I and all humanity will be transformed."³²

Socialist feminists insisted that only socialism could improve the lives of women. "Bourgeois" equal rights movements can not improve the lives of the majority of women. For the socialist feminists, improving women's working conditions was more important, because they argued that the equal rights movement ignored the economic reality. Socialist feminists especially tried to improve the participation of women in socialist parties and trade unions.

They worked to improve women's lives, but at the same time they believed in socialism rather than feminism. There was a conflict between feminism and socialism; only socialism would do more to transform the world. German socialist Clara Zetkin argued that, "the proletarian women cannot attain her highest ideals through a movement for equality of the female sex, she attains salvation only through the fight for the emancipation of labor."³³

³² Bonnie S. Anderson, Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own, Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*, volume II (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), p.371.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.372.

But socialist feminists complained about the lack of equality between the socialist men and the socialist party. Clara Zetkin said, "In theory comrades have equal rights, but in practice the male comrades have the same philistine pigtail hanging down back of their necks as do the best-wigged petty bourgeois."³⁴

Socialist feminists fought against governments and also socialist men. They did not have equal participation in the socialist movements until the end of nineteenth century.

The First International was assembled in 1864. Some members of the organization were opposed to the idea that women could work outside the home (especially in factories) and become members of the union. This group demanded that women be banned from work. Women's right to vote was rejected too at the First International.

Especially towards the end of nineteenth century the conditions of socialist women began to change. In this period, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels gave a new form to socialist theory. For example, in Germany women had participated more in the socialist movement. In 1879 August Bebel published *Women under Socialism*. Bebel

³⁴ Ibid., p.372.

preferred women to be “supporters” rather than equals.³⁵ Although his book gave impulse to the socialist women in order to participate in the socialist movement: “Among all other parties, the Social Democratic Party is the only one that has women’s total equality, their freedom from all dependency and oppression in its party program out of necessity. Humanity can not be free without the social liberty and equality of the sexes.”³⁶

In 1889, the Second International congress was held in Paris. Clara Zetkin, one of the leading members of the SPD, gave an important speech on the question of women at the opening session. It was a significant incident that the “women’s question” was brought up by a female social democrat, straight away at the opening session. Every congress following this had now to deal with women’s demands, and decisions were in fact taken on these issues. Zetkin pointed out the need for a special organization to carry out political activities within the socialist movement. In 1907 women’s suffrage was approved and in 1910, March 8 was declared International Proletarian Women’s Day.

³⁵ Ibid., p.374.

³⁶ August Bebel, *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*, trans. S.N Kaya (İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, 1991), p.41.

In 1919, the establishment of The Third International, also known as the Communist International/Comintern, was declared and in the second congress of the Comintern, some principles concerning women's organizational activities were laid down:

First, female members of any communist party in a country should not be united as special groups. On the contrary, they should be made members of local party organizations, given equal rights and commitments with men and they should be encouraged to participate in the common efforts of all party branch offices and their institutions.

Second, there was a women's agitation committee in every local party organization in which male comrades could also participate.³⁷

Socialists accepted women's participation more in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially in Germany. Women did not participate in socialist organizations because of male prejudice and "misinterpretation" of Marx and Engel's writings. Many socialist men did not want their wives to earn money

³⁷ Marks, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Comintern and Clara Zetkin, *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine*, trans. İsmail Yarkın, 4th edition (İstanbul: Inter Yayınları, September 1996), pp. 274-275.

outside the home. In criticizing capitalism, Marx and Engels had disapproved the disappearance of women's traditional roles: Marx called the dissolution of the "old family ties" "terrible and disgusting"; Engels early in his career declared that a wife earning wages outside the home "deprives the husband of his manhood and wife of all womanly qualities."³⁸ These sentences created a base, and both French and German male socialists argued that women should remain in their traditional roles. Above, it was noted that the socialists admitted women's participation nearly at the end of nineteenth century. Also at the end of the nineteenth century the word "feminist" appeared for the first time, at the Athenaeum of 27 April 1895 and was first used in *The Westminster Review* in 1898.³⁹

During these years, especially in Germany, socialist feminists created the largest working class women's movement in Europe. Women achieved much within the growing realm of European socialist politics and

³⁸Cited in Bonnie S. Anderson, Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own*, volume II, p.373; K.Marx, F.Engels, V.I. Lenin, *Kadın ve Marksizm* (İstanbul: Sorun Yayınları, 1996), p.139, p.148.

³⁹ Caine, p.xv.

unionism, but success came gradually. Socialist parties and unions were small.⁴⁰

“While they articulated and developed their position from 1870s to 1925, many of their demands for women remained unfulfilled.” World War I split feminist organizations along pacifist and nationalist lines. Both equal rights and socialist women’s movements put aside their feminist demands for a period and supported the war.⁴¹ Women worked for the war industry and they earned high wages. After the war they returned to their homes, but had become familiar with working outside home. In France, women became bankers. But women certainly did not have political equality with men.

After 1925, the conditions were changed. Women acted as socialist revolutionaries as well as union organizers. During these years, socialist women fought on two fronts: against governments who wanted to crush their movement and against socialist men who did not want women in party positions of any authority.⁴²

Many feminists changed their philosophy in the 1930s, when the rise of fascism seemed to many to call

⁴⁰ A History of Their Own, volume II, p.373.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.401.

⁴² Ibid., p.383.

for military action rather than a peaceful solution.⁴³ For feminists generally, and Jewish, communist, socialist and feminist in particular, the accession of fascists to power meant exile, imprisonment and death. In the 1930s and 1940s, the worldwide depression, World War II, and the recovery from the war consumed the energies of all.⁴⁴

After the Second World War the popular expressions were repeated imperatively: domesticity, family life and an acceptance of their "natural" femininity for women, not only for their own happiness, but also for the well-being of children and society as a whole. Quite large numbers of women gained new experiences, including higher incomes than they had earned previously, a range of new social experiences and some new knowledge. The first measure of equal pay was introduced in the early 1950s. The dominant impact of the Soviet Socialist Republic brought some rethinking of the emphasis placed on traditional values, including family ones.⁴⁵

By the late 1950s and increasingly throughout the 1960s the traditional family values were contested and

⁴³ Ibid., p.402.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.405.

⁴⁵ Bock, pp.282-294.; Caine, p.223.

this brought about a widespread discussion of the "women question."

The expression "Second Wave Feminism" refers to the increase in feminist activity which occurred in the United States, Britain, and Europe from the late sixties. "In the US, second wave feminism rose out of the civil rights and anti-war movements, in which women began to unite against discrimination. Their actions varied from highly-publicized activism, such as the protest against the Miss America beauty contest in 1968, to the establishment of small consciousness-raising groups."⁴⁶ But the movement was not unified, with differences emerging from black feminism, lesbian feminism, liberal feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism.

During the early 1970s, women from all parts of society joined together especially against the abortion law in many countries with significant historical and socio-economic differences. These women claimed that the right to use their bodies was theirs alone. This struggle was mainly linked with fundamental social problems such as the division of labor, ownership, exploitation and domination. However, leftist politics, as overseen by

⁴⁶ *A History of Their Own*, volume II, p.410.

men, were geared towards having this domination accepted as normal and ordinary. The new women's movement was radical in character not only because of having given up the demand for equality, but since it had combined its demands mainly with the day-to-day aspects of the oppression of women. Their theory and action were centered on body policy. In the course of the subsequent development of the women's movements in Europe, the women in traditional socialist movements insisted on their demands for equal pay and social balance. On the other hand, the groups formed around the body problem grew rapidly within the rest of the women's movement. This resulted in the breaking up of the existing linkage and the shattering of the women's groups into various branches. Another effect was the loss of the mass aspect of the movement, along with the socialist character.

The women's movements across different European countries engaged in similar forms of activity. The activities and campaigns were directed at the economic, legal and sexual repression to which the women were subjected. The role of women in reproduction was questioned while demands for child care and education system were emphasized. Most of the demands were equalitarian, e.g. equal pay, equal professional

opportunity, etc. Demands against sexual oppression were centered on free abortion and birth control. Some campaigns aimed at protesting the treating of women as sexual objects. "My body belongs to me!," "It's women who decide," "My womb is my own" were slogans coined against the commoditization of the body.⁴⁷

In Europe, women participating in the anti-establishment and anti-government movements of the late 1960s realized that they still were not equal. They noticed the disparity between the lofty ideals of their movements and the reality of their own lives, and the gap between women's and men's role in left-wing and progressive groups. "I was struck by the great words: liberation of peoples, liberation of women," wrote a French woman in a socialist journal in 1969.⁴⁸ There was one slogan during the 1970s in Europe which was the same in Turkey: "There will be no women's liberation without revolution- There will be no revolution without women's liberation."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.419.

⁴⁸ Bock, p.406.

⁴⁹ *Socialist Women, A Journal of the International Marxist Group* (Summer 1975, London), p.24.

One striking point needs to be underlined here: it was stated that women's equality in terms of social production did not mean asking women to do the heavy jobs that men had been doing, and that women should continue "their social duties as mothers" and "maintain their womanhood as before."⁵⁰

In the early 1970s, large numbers of women from many different countries with different historical and socio-economic backgrounds came together to stand against the abortion laws. They claimed the right to have control over their own bodies. This struggle was mainly an extension of the struggles for basic social problems such as the division of labor, property ownership, exploitation and male dominance. Nevertheless, the leftist politics led by men continued to impose male dominance as normal and expected. During 1970's leftist politics began to change; a new political approach was born: "New Left." This important change effected also women's movement.

The main difference of feminism between the 1950s and 1970s is that feminism ceased to be defined in terms of women's political and legal "emancipation" and became

⁵⁰ *Marksizm-Leninizmin İlkeleri 4*, trans. Nadiye R. Çobanoğlu, 6th Edition (İstanbul: Yar Yayınları, 1989), pp.305-306.

concerned with their personal "liberation," and that this was a point of very significant change.⁵¹

Western European feminists argued that only economic and political revolution did not suspend the repression of private life. For example, Simone de Beauvoir did not define herself as feminist until the 1970s. In 1972, she stated, "Today I've changed my mind. I have become truly a feminist."⁵²

Becoming a feminist in Europe in 1970 meant first identifying with other women and then accepting that "socialism was not enough." They believed that not only they must change the ownership of the means of production, but they must also change the family structure. "The personal is political" was their slogan and they stated that women's personal experiences were important and had important consequences for society and culture. Abortion became one of the important topics. During the 1970s "consciousness-raising" programs aimed at making women "conscious" of their class. In the United States, consciousness raising groups focused on psychology, in Europe, discussions were more political.⁵³

⁵¹ Caine, p.225.

⁵² Cited in *A History of their own*, volume II, p.408.

⁵³ *A History of Their Own*, volume II, p.410.

In more democratic and liberal societies, feminists had more success. "During these years in England, in Germany, and Low Countries, in Scandinavia, in Italy, women's movement formed in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Especially during 1970s, for many feminists, solidarity with women meant hostility toward men."⁵⁴ By the 1970s, demonstrations attracted many to the cause of feminism. In 1975 women's movements became mass actions in Western European countries. Ergas writes that "The feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s reflected the political contexts in which they were forged. In many instances such contexts were marked by a high degree of political mobilization and by the emergence of multiple movements demanding radical social change."⁵⁵

There are some differences between these countries. It is generally agreed that the Second Wave movements in Western Europe began in France and in West Germany around 1968. The first "international" women's movements had begun around 1920. But each country is considered individually. For example, Scandinavian countries never

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 412-413.

⁵⁵ Yasmine Ergas, "Feminism of the 1970s," in *History of Women in the West Towards a Cultural Identity in the 20th century*, editor Françoise Thebaud, volume 5 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), p.531.

really experienced a Second Wave, but by the 1920s slowly but fairly steady reforms were made by left-wing and socialist governments. Italy usually distinguishes three or even four waves of women's movements. In countries like Portugal and Greece, which emerged from military dictatorships only in 1970s, Second Wave feminism developed much later. For example, in Portugal, the feminists who called themselves "the three Marias" were arrested by Salazar's government in 1972. In these countries the women's movements of the 1970s and 1980s were more or less first-wave movements, although even here more and more remarkable predecessors have been discovered.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Gisela Kaplan, *Contemporary Western European Feminism* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), p.7.

The Women's Movement in Britain

Women's movements were not active after the Second World War. The women's liberation movement could only make a huge leap during the 1970s. The Second Wave emerged as the outcome of the experiences gained through conflicts with the leftist and student movements of the 1960s. Representatives of the Second Wave described it as distinct from the former women's movement. In the research and interviews made after the 1980s it has started to be recognized that the feminist movement had continuity; it is understood that the women's movement did not totally disappear during the post-war period, but this remains as a period in which the movement had many problems.

A significant problem in Britain was that after each gain the campaigns and activities came to a halt. According to marriage bar women who were working in public and civil services had to resign when they got married. The struggle against marriage bar during the Second World War was won in 1946. The demand for equal wages for equal work came to be taken up seriously by the government. As was the case with many struggles, organized feminist movement's campaigns ended when a case

was won. After the government accepted the policy of equal wages for equal work the Committee for Equal Wage Campaign was dismissed.⁵⁷

During the war, women in England worked in nontraditional jobs as was the case throughout the world. Many branches formerly dominated by gender discrimination were open for women. By the end of the war, women had had many new social experiences. Part-time work enabled women both to participate in the labor force and fulfill their domestic "duties." Eighty percent of the single women or women without children were employed during this period.⁵⁸ But they were all sent back home when the war ended.

After the Second World War women gained a great deal of experiences. The British Second Wave women's movement was born towards the end of 1967, under the influence of student and labor movements, the emerging women's movement in the US and various political groups who were trying to create a psychological foundation for their theories. The first organizations of women were women's factions within the traditional leftist groups

⁵⁷ Caine, p.223.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.228.

and organizations. These were followed by the autonomous women's groups. Similar to the US, the basic form of organization was small groups. A national conference of women's groups from all over Britain was held in March 1970. The conference ended in the creation of a National Coordinating Committee (NCC) to which each group would send two representatives. The NCC was in no way entitled to represent the movement and did not have a program. Its only task was to carry out the joint activities of the participating groups. Its most important function was to prepare and organize three or four national conferences each year.⁵⁹

The women who attended the conference in 1970 identified four demands. First, free access of every woman to means of birth control and free abortion; second, free and equally accessible child care; third, equal opportunity in education and professional life; and last, equal pay.⁶⁰

Ensuring the legal and financial independence of women and non-discrimination against lesbians were two more demands added in 1974. The last conference organized

⁵⁹ Anna Coote and Beatrix Campbell, *Sweet Freedom: The Struggle For Women's Liberation* (London: Pan books, 1982), p23-24.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.24.

by the NCC was held in 1978. Some decisions made at this conference (in addition to another demand for the prevention of rape and violence against women) led to fierce arguments between various groups and hence no other national conference followed this one.⁶¹

In Britain, Second Wave feminism created itself from the conflicts experienced by women within the left-wing political and youth movements of the 1960s. But the main question is what the differences or continuities and changes were between the 1950s and 1970s. The difference was that feminism was not defined in terms of women's political and legal "emancipation" in the 1970s and became concerned with their personal "liberation" and that this was a point of significant change.

By the early 1970s in Europe, women had come together especially against the abortion law. They had different histories and different socio-economic conditions, but they claimed that the right to use their bodies was theirs alone. This struggle was linked mainly with fundamental social problems such as the division of labor, ownership, exploitation and domination.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.24-26.; Caine, p.256.

Second Wave Feminism in Britain was based more strongly on working-class socialism, as demonstrated by the strike of women workers at the Ford car plant for equal pay in 1968.⁶²

In England, feminist activities were changed by the Women's Liberation movement in the 1970s. This movement was known for demonstration against the Miss World beauty competition held in Britain in 1970. After this demonstration feminist activities had a more extended place on the public and media stages. These demonstrations were very different from the careful and mild feminism of the 1950s and the 1960s.⁶³ There was a link between Women's Liberation and the student movements, postcolonial liberation movements and the sexual liberation movement of the 1960s. But the Women's Liberation movement brought a new discussion about women's oppression. "The name of the journal of this movement was *Red Rag*. The program of the Women's Liberation movement was articulated in terms of four demands: equal pay, equal education and opportunity, free contraception and abortion on demand and 24-hour

⁶² Caine, p.253.

⁶³ Ibid., pp.255-256.

nurseries. All of these were agreed to at the first international Women's Conference at Ruskin College in February 1970."⁶⁴ Only the demand for 24-hour nurseries was completely new; the others had been accepted by earlier feminist groups. These demands were shouted in the streets during mass demonstrations. This movement never mentioned that women's most important and primary duty was to their family.

Later they had three more demands: legal and financial independence, the right to a self-defined sexuality and an end to the oppression of lesbians (a woman's right to define her own sexuality).⁶⁵ Very important changes were realized within the movement during these years. They asked new questions about individual and family life and cultural practices.

The earliest days of the Women's Liberation movement had a close link to the previous ideologies, ideas and beliefs. The past literature did not mention questions about sexual and family relations or class oppression over sexual hierarchy." Especially, the works of E. P. Thompson and Raymond Williams created a legacy,

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.256.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.256.

but this was a difficult one because these works (as Sheila Rowbotham too was to do in her early works) created a line which offering a polemical history focused specifically on England and seeing both capitalism and sexual puritanism as central to women's oppression."⁶⁶

Juliet Mitchell and Shulamith Firestone in the USA tried to settle women's liberation within the large context of European socialism. Mitchell argued "economist" analyses which related the oppression of women to the institutions of private property, failed to understand the ways in which the organization of production and reproduction, and of sexuality and socialization, all combined to determine the status and situation of women.⁶⁷ But the emancipation of women remained as a second target within socialism; it was not a main part of socialist theory.

The third and last National Women's Liberation Conference (1978) was dominated by a split between two schools: Radical feminism and socialist feminism. The gap between the two was wide. The radical feminists argued that women were an "oppressed class" and that they had

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.258.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.258.

formulated a "pro-woman line." The sex-class analysis was expressed in more detail by Shulamith Firestone in *Dialectic of Sex* in 1971⁶⁸. To identify the first cause of conflict between women and men, she locates it in the relations of reproduction. In 1972 at the National Women's Liberation Conference British radical feminists pointed out that a change in the political system would not necessarily change the men's behavior, as she put it, "in pubs, in the home, in the bedroom, in the office or on the a darkened street at night." They said also "we are not anti-man but pro-woman."⁶⁹

The socialist feminist movement developed in order to respond to the challenge of radical feminism. Socialist feminists belonged to the Labor Party, the Communist Party, the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group and the majority were non-aligned feminists. One characteristic which distinguishes the British from the American women's movement was the strength of the organized left.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Shulamith Firestone, *Cinselliğin Diyalektiği*. Second edition, İstanbul: Payel Yayınları, 1993.

⁶⁹ Coote - Campbell, p.26-29.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.31.

In the socialist feminists' view, men oppress women not by virtue of their biological maleness, but by virtue of their social and economic relations with women. It is these relations which need to be transformed. According to them, capitalism itself is based not only on patriarchy, but has changed the shape of it. They insist on the centrality of ideological struggle. The gap between radical feminism (the non-biological determinist form) and socialism is at its narrowest. The main distinction is the necessity to fight both in and against male-dominated relations. Socialist feminists want to transform the struggle for socialism, not supersede it.⁷¹

The main differences between socialist and different groups, between socialist and radical feminists, of the 1970s occurred within a movement that assumed that sexual difference was more significant than ethnicity. In the late 1970s black women began to demand recognition of their place within the women's movement and to point to the racism of the movement. Hazel Carby pointed that where white women saw the family as the main site of women's oppression, black women saw it often as the site of resistance; where white women demanded access

⁷¹ Ibid., p.33.

to employment, black women were brought into Britain as laborers; where white women demanded abortion on demand, black women sought freedom to have and keep families.⁷²

After the 1980s, the idea of a unified feminism was rejected and there was an increasing tendency to recognize diversity through the use of the plural feminism rather than of any singular feminism. Different groups of women defined their own sense of oppression and their own needs.⁷³ During the 1970s Marx and Engels had dominated the theoretical discussion, but by the 1980s it was the poststructuralists, Lacan, Foucault and Derrida, who were more influential. The discussion was centered on psychoanalysis and on the importance of language in constructing. "It is not surprising that this new accommodation occurred mainly in the 1980s- after the peak period of women's liberation was over and when, in the eyes of many, it was on defensive."⁷⁴

In the early 1980s activism still continued, but by the end of 1980s, changes in government policy and the apparent decline in feminist activism brought much

⁷² Caine, p.268.

⁷³ Ibid., p.269.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.270.

discussion as to whether or not one could talk about a "women's movement" any longer.⁷⁵

Rowbotham analyzed Britain's 1970 and 1980 period and claimed:

During the 1970s small groups appeared in most large towns, loosely connected by national conferences. The Movement was sufficiently connected to back national campaigns, for example on abortion. The range of political disagreement was considerable but the situation was fluid and differences did not lead to large schisms until the late 1970s. Though tendencies appeared - anarchist feminist, radical feminist, revolutionary feminist, socialist feminist- attempt to characterize the development of ideas exclusively within these frameworks oversimplifies, and marginalizes women who identified with none labels. Now, in the 1980s, there is no longer a single women's liberation movement. The context in which ideas have developed is more diffuse. I do not see this as a cause for nostalgia, movements after all move. So, while any sense of a collective checking back is now more fragmented, the influences are much wider⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.271.

⁷⁶ Sheila Rowbotham, *The Past Is before Us Feminism in Action since the 1960s* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp.xii-xiii.

The Women's Movement in the Federal Republic of
Germany from the 1970s to the 1980s

Germany lived through the 1950s under the ominous shadow of the Second World War. The women's movement gained momentum with the economic development of the 1960s and the following establishment of democracy. Abortion was the central issue on the agenda throughout the 1970s. It came to be understood as feminism at times, but the main concern of feminism was to ensure that women had a freedom of choice in terms of abortion. The campaign continued even in the 1990s since the union of East Germany, where abortion was totally free, and the Federal Republic, where it was restricted, created problems. The Communist Party of the Federal Republic had used the motto "your belly belongs to you" when propagating for the freedom of abortion in the 1930s, and in the 1990s this developed into a more significant and sophisticated expression: "My belly belongs to me."⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Bock, p.274.

Political Events

In order to understand the women's movement in the Federal Republic, we need to take up briefly the political events from the late 1960s to the 1985s. Violent political activities overshadowed feminism throughout this period. The main common feature of both "extreme right" and "extreme left" groups was that they recruited their members mostly from the youth. Kaplan writes that,

72 percent of the extreme right groups are composed of members under 30, 40 percent under 20, and remaining 28 percent are under 40 and active supporters of the Nazis. Whereas extreme left groups are dominated by members under 30 by a percentage of 86. Members over 40 are very few, if there are any. And 9 percent of the members of these groups are under 20.⁷⁸

This demographic composition belongs to the period of the post-war "economic miracle."

The most widely known leftist groups of this period was the Red Army Faction (RAF), led by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof. The 1970s were marked by the leftist groups whereas in the 1980s rightists were active. Violent acts of these rightist groups were mainly aimed at Turks, Yugoslavians or people from other nationalities. The 1970s were marked by the restriction

⁷⁸ Kaplan, p.119.

of freedom of speech and expression in the Federal Republic.⁷⁹ It was a time when students who wanted to become teachers feared that their left or Marxist inclinations would be revealed. Police forces used extremely violent means and methods in the oppression of demonstrations. Extreme groups such as the RAF were crushed and debilitated by 1984. Most of the leaders of the leftist groups were killed whereas none were killed among the leaders of the rightist groups. Feminist groups never appealed to violence; there appeared a small group under the name of Red Zora which supported armed resistance, but it was not effective.⁸⁰

In the 1970s and throughout the 1980s women's participation in active politics in the Federal Republic was very weak; it was low in regard to the average in Europe. A Women's Party was established in 1979, but remained at five percent in the elections.⁸¹ The Green Party marked a new period for women in Germany. It was not that it was a platform oriented towards women, but women struggled their way through it and achieved success.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.119-120.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.118-123.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.127.

Table 1 - Percentage of Women in West German Parliament in 1983, by Political Party⁸²

Party	Political Position	Women Representatives in Parliament (in %)
CDU/CSU	Right to extreme right	7.1
FDP	Center to right	9.4
SPD	Center and left of center	11.6
Greens	Left	55.6

Women as Labor Force

As for women's participation in labor, after the post-war growth in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1980s did not witness notable growth. Women in part-time jobs had been 3.9 percent in 1960, whereas in 1983 this rose to a percentage of 24.⁸³ Most women preferred to establish their own firm and be their own bosses. The congress which was held in Berlin on November 1988 regarding women and economic power revealed that women holding high positions in private firms were below 1 percent. However, becoming their own bosses allows women to be free from the disadvantages and the obvious discrimination in the workplace.⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid., p.127.

⁸³ Ibid., p.124.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.124-125.

Table 2 - Percentage of Women and Men in Part-time Work in 1983 in Select Western European Countries⁸⁵

Country	Women	Men
Sweden	46	7
Denmark	43	2
England	38	1
West Germany	24	1
France	15	2
Italy	6	1

The New Women's Movement

The late 1960s witnessed the birth of a new women's movement in Germany by women who had participated in the '68 student movement and started to feel that men had relegated them to a secondary position. In the early stages, the women's movement did not have an independent organization separate from the student movement. These women, affiliated with various leftist political groups, created women unions and at the outset were mainly interested in theoretical work. These women defined themselves as socialists and most of them aimed at conducting extensive research in all aspects of social life and reviving the relationship between Marxism and

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.125.

feminism. ⁸⁶Just as in France, what made the movement popular and attracted women of various segments of the society was the struggle for the legalization of abortion. A similar declaration of German women followed the 1971 declarations of French women that stated that they had had abortions. After the publication of the names of well-known women, hundreds of thousands of women testified to have had abortions. Having been started against the ban on abortion in Article 218 of the penal code, this campaign initiated a new discussion in the women's movement. The discussion started around the issue of organization and the necessity of the creation of a women's organization independent of men and this ended up in a split between feminists who defended an autonomous movement and women who still defined themselves as socialists.⁸⁷

The autonomous women's movement grew rapidly in the years following the campaign against the ban on abortion. Women groups were formed all over the country, from large cities to small dwelling units. Women's bookstores and women's cafeterias were started and collective life

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.121.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.114.

communities, made up of only women, began to emerge. The first shelter for women who needed refuge from the violence of their husbands or partners was created in 1975. A widespread feminist press activity emerged and along with feminist periodicals, various publishers set up different sections for the women question. Feminist medical centers were created. The women question succeeded in infiltrating various aspects of social life and left its traces there. The influence of the autonomous movement was also reflected in the traditional parties and other organizations such as trade unions with the formation and strengthening of women's committees, working groups, etc., in these organizations.⁸⁸

As was the case with the other European countries where women's movement became popular in 1970s with the campaigns for abortion, the movement in the Federal Republic of Germany began to lose its militancy during the 1980s.

The women's movement in West Germany followed a different path after 1971. 374 prominent women, declaring in the journal *Der Stern* that they had had abortions, attracted public attention to the reality of abortion,

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.214.

which was illegal at that time. And 329 doctors declared in *Der Spiegel* that they had performed the illegal act of abortion.⁸⁹ These declarations aroused wide media and public interest and provoked protests against Article 218 of the penal code. Feminists were already struggling against this article in the Weimar Republic.

The Phases of Women Movements

The focus of the first phase of the women's movement in West Germany during 1972-1975 was abortion.

The years 1975-79 are considered to be the second phase of the women's movement in West Germany.⁹⁰ The oil crisis of 1973 had engendered serious economic problems and affected all of Europe, including Turkey. This did not lead to the Social Democratic Party of Germany falling from power, but changed the political atmosphere. In 1975 the change of Article 218 of the penal code was discussed and rejected in federal court. As a result of this defeat in a cause for which women struggled for many years, the movement lost power and shifted its trajectory.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.114.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.115.

While dealing with such problems during the 1975s, the women's movement started to give weight to psychological consciousness-raising groups under the influence of US feminism. Political activity turned into cultural feminism.⁹¹

Efforts were made to establish a separate women's culture. In 1976 the Summer University for Women⁹² was formed and attracted great interest along with therapy and health centers for women. Many democratic women's organizations were established and rapidly grew in this period, but their relations with feminist groups were not very close. This seems to have been a feature of the women's movement in West Germany. Feminists defined themselves as "autonomous" and were unwilling to associate with other formations. They preferred to remain "autonomous" because of their distrust of central structures and hierarchy, but this led to the fact that the movement remained devoid of official representatives. Feminists described liberal socialists in terms of

⁹¹ Ibid., p.115.

⁹² *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*, ed. Edith Hoshino Altbach, Jeanette Clausen, Dagmar Schultz, Naomi Stephan, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), p.368.; Kaplan, p.115.

distrust and enmity, and each woman belonging to the left was "suspected of harboring a male comrade."⁹³

After 1975 West Germany was marked by a period of depolitization. Unlike the movement in the US, the women's movement in Germany was unable to recruit millions of immigrant women workers because of the bias attitude towards other cultures.

The marriage law enforced in 1976 started an important period. According to the law, the division of labor in and outside the home would be left to the decision of the married couples and they would be free to choose their family names from the both sides.⁹⁴

The third phase of the movement was the period 1979-1982.⁹⁵ In this period political activities led by women declined. It is argued that since women's politicization was not very welcome in West Germany the politicization process followed a slow progression.⁹⁶

In 1979 there were two main issues for the women's movement. In 1977 abortion had been accepted to be legal despite certain restrictions, but in 1979 the

⁹³ Kaplan, p.116.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.116.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.116.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.117.

conservative CDU brought Article 218 onto the agenda again.⁹⁷ Under these circumstances women from many factions joined together in order to resist losing their acquired rights.

The second important development was that the army declared it cared for women's liberation and proposed that women would be subject to compulsory military service for 18 months. This proposal was protested in a series of demonstrations in May 1979. It was argued that it constituted in a wrong way women's fight for equality and militarized West German society. Particularly in Hamburg and Cologne, anti-militarist and anti-nuclear congresses were organized by women. Women argued that funds for nuclear expenses should be allocated for activities supporting women's equality.⁹⁸

The fourth phase of the women's movement was between the years 1982-1985.⁹⁹ The experiences in this period can hardly be qualified as a movement. The oscillations from right to left intensified this situation. After 13 years, as the CDU came to power once again, women were expelled from labor and sent back home

⁹⁷ Bock, p.274.

⁹⁸ Kaplan., pp.117-118.

⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.117-118.

again.¹⁰⁰ The CDU argued for child support, and some feminists demanded domestic work to be subject to wage. The CDU lamented the low birth rates, whereas feminists celebrated motherhood. Women created a new mythology of motherhood. The rapid rise in the number of child care and nursing books was an indicator of that myth. At the same time the number of movements protesting the ecological fate of the planet rose considerably. For the first time in the history of West Germany, protests gave way to effective political results. For the first time in 30 years, a new party, the Green Party, made its way to the parliament in 1983. In 1984 and 1985 the directive cadres of the party were held by women, mostly feminists.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Kaplan, p.118; *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*, p.369.

¹⁰¹ Kaplan., p.127.

Dynamics of the Women's Movements in 1970s in
Europe and in Turkey

In this section the discourses, demands and achievements of the women's movement between the years 1975-1985 in Europe, particularly in Britain and Germany, will be discussed and the parallels and differences in regard to the women's movement in Turkey will be explored. The question in this discussion is how and to what extent the women's movement in Europe, particularly second wave feminism, reflected to Turkey.

The reason why Britain is chosen as the object of this discussion is that the power of the labor movement reflects positively on the women's movement, even to the extent of nourishing it. The Second Wave was very effective in Britain on a large scale and served to achieve many significant gains for women. The fact that a historically powerful and organized labor movement existed in Britain paved the way for the women's movement, especially the socialist feminist movement, to flourish and gain strength.

That the women's movement in Britain is more political, the socialist feminist movement has a

significant place within the women's movement and that a politics based on activism is adopted are the other reasons why Britain is chosen as the object.

Germany, on the other hand, has a distinct place within the Continent. Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, the leading theorists of socialism and communism, were raised in this country. Widely known for his contribution in regard to the practice of socialism, August Bebel's *Women under Socialism* has deeply inspired the socialist women's movement.

One of the prominent figures of the German socialist movement, Clara Zetkin, made great contributions to the development of socialist feminism and her works were discovered again in the 1970s by second wave feminists.

One important development that affected the women's movement in Germany was the women policy of the National Socialist movement which developed in the 1930s. During these years married women who had little children were not compelled to work in the war industry, but almost all single women were employed. Women who were trapped within the so-called 3K (*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: child, kitchen, the church) had participated in labor during the war and were sent back to the "private" sphere once the war

ended. The private sphere was already affected most terribly by the war, shattered by dictatorship and the genocide. Under such circumstances relations between the sexes could hardly change. It was not until the "economic miracle" of the 1960s that radical and lasting changes after the long period of dictatorship would be realized. Naiman writes that, "women, as much as men, had participated in the crimes of war or had become victims of it; it was only after the memories of war came to be wiped out and democracy was established that the issue of sexual inequality could be raised."

It was the experience of 1968 which made the women's movement of the 1970s gain strength. Germany was affected too by the 1968 movement. As is the case with other Western countries, the early 1970s was a period when the women's movement rose. Established in 1968, the German Communist Party expressed demands concerning women.¹⁰² In 1960s women begin to play more active roles in production. This was an outcome of the economic boom which occurred after 1950 in the Federal Republic. But according to the German Communist Party, the women's

¹⁰² Joanne Naiman, *Marksizm ve Feminizm İki Ayrı Kuram*, trans. Saadet Özkal (İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, First publishing, Second Edition, 1988), p.48.

movement which grew in the 1970s neglected the fact that the "proletarian women's movement" worked continually under the worker's movement even after 1945.¹⁰³

Such an approach applies for Turkey as well. The feminist movement which developed after 1980 neglected the socialist movement of the 1970s. There are certainly different reasons for this between the two countries. But the common features might be listed as such: The main point of difference between feminism and socialism is whether class difference or gender is the essential conflict, the primary reason for women's oppression. Socialists and communists argue that for feminists it is gender which is behind the oppression, and that this approach is not scientific, that there are traditional efforts to revise Marxism within the socialist feminists, and they criticize feminists for shifting to "metaphysics" by giving so much weight to sisterhood and subjective experience, which they define as non-scientific.¹⁰⁴

When class conflict is taken as the primary conflict, women become differentiated as regards their

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.50.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.29.

subjection to oppression and discrimination. This difference is situated within the women's social position and it is argued that the injustices to which upper-class women are subject are compensated "more than enough" by their social privileges.¹⁰⁵ Or we might say, the injustices incurred on women belonging to high income groups are compensated by their "wealthy" husbands.

Classical Marxists (communists) believe that sexual inequality does not affect all people, i.e., all women, irrespective of their class, but only working class men and women are affected.

In fact, it is argued that the role of manhood is bothersome for the man.¹⁰⁶ According to this stance, working class men do not want to live in a male dominant system and are in fact oppressed by it. Power means force and the ones who possess it often times express how they are overwhelmed by this power, though at the same time they are unwilling to renounce it. It would be naive to expect that men would "willingly" share power with women and the sexual conflicts would thereby resolve. Participation in power calls for struggle and this

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.23.

struggle can only be initiated and carried out by women themselves, because it is women's situation and decisions on women that are first and foremost affected by the economic changes in each country. If there are economic problems, if there are problems in employment, women's domestic and motherhood roles are highlighted. If labor power is needed, women's participation in production is supported, but they are urged to return back home once that need is satisfied. Women have to build their future themselves; otherwise they cannot escape to be positioned in the advantage of power by men who are "bored to be in power."

It is known that after the 1917 the Soviet Revolution very advanced decisions on women were taken and enforced. But after the 1930s changes in government and the economic problems imposed by the approaching war resulted in an erosion of the acquired rights. When the primary objective was the survival and success of socialism, with the difficulties at hand, it was the women who were regarded as the first dispensable.

In Turkey, too, especially before 1980, feminism was considered to be a "deviant current" by the socialists and communists. The women's movement was regarded as the "little auxiliary" to the worker's or

youth movements. The left movements of the 1970s expressed that women's movement should be "taken into account but not exaggerated."

In Germany, too, women's participation in politics was always low. Until the 1980s, the ratio of German women making their way to the parliament was below the average in Europe. After the 1980s women were attracted to the Green Party and in 1983 more than half of the women members of the parliament belonged to this party. It is known that in the Federal Republic women stayed away from politics, but after 1980 this started to change.

There have been various events in the history of Europe that have directly affected the women's movement, but since historiography has been written for centuries by men, the experiences of women and the struggles they have made in order to improve and change their conditions are not registered. Thus, the written history of the women's movement dates back only a couple of centuries.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the epoch of revolution in Europe. There occurred changes not only in the political order, but also in the sexual regime in this period. The French Revolution and the revolutions of 1848 which spread to all of Europe changed

women's demands and expectations. Modernism was starting to flourish and women started to claim more social rights as education and a more active place in the public sphere. Although it was men who shaped the revolution process, women were essential and important for the revolution. The image of woman changed in Europe after the revolution. Women wanted to have seats in the parliament, to have equal rights of inheritance, to become "active citizens." This process of change continued until the First World War. When men were conscripted into the army, women filled their places in labor. As soon as the war ended, women had to return back to the "private sphere;" but it was impossible to erase the experience they had gained through working.

This situation occurred again in the Second World War. But with a significant difference: Before and during the Second World War, many countries in Europe were under dictatorships. In Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal women were organized on a wide scale by the dictatorships. Such a level of organization of women was first in the history of Europe. But they were mobilized not through autonomous women's associations, but under structures governed and determined by the men and the party. The dictatorships of the 1930s most probably

considered women as incapable of training other women and they were marked by the belief that women had to be kept under control.

Meanwhile, the 1917 Soviet Revolution changed the lives of women in Russia. And as the 600-year old Ottoman Empire, the closest neighbor of Russia, dissolved after the First World War and left its place to the Republic of Turkey, many significant and radical changes in the lives of women occurred as well as radical economic and political changes on a wide scale. It is impossible to explore one by one in the limited scope of this study the changing, improving or regressing positions of women living in the mentioned countries, but certain results can be obtained with a general survey.

Modernism changes not only the economic and political domains, but also the traditional networks and relations in micro structures. We can trace the changes in the "modern" period in terms of women's relations with each other, domestic relations, the positions of motherhood and fatherhood, and how the individual defines him/herself. With the triumph of the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy, the changing political and economic circumstances and the access of lower class men to rights such as voting which had been exclusive rights of the men

of aristocracy stimulated bourgeois women. Many women who owned businesses were bothered by the fact that they were politically more backward than their employees and they claimed the right to vote for women who had a certain amount of property and a certain educational background. Thus, women's initial claims to the right to vote were based on class positions. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century had changed the structure of and relations within the family, resulting in the inevitable access of women to the public sphere.

The "first wave" feminist movement was bourgeois in character and had liberal inclinations. The initiators of that movement were obviously bourgeois or upper-class women, belonging to the "elite" class with fine educational backgrounds. When we look at the developments in Turkey, in the nineteenth century when the women's movement emerged in the Ottoman Empire, demands for equality and access to public sphere were articulated by "elite" women, too. A significant difference was that the term "bourgeois" would not be proper to define those women since the bourgeoisie that had developed in the West had not yet flourished economically in the Ottoman Empire. It is a common fact that men who supported Westernization and modernization in the Empire expressed

the importance of "women's rights." This holds for Europe as well at the outset of the modernization period, since the project of modernization could not be achieved without the participation of women. In Turkey the right to vote was meaningful only if there was an existing parliament. The first parliament was established in the Ottoman Empire in 1876, only to be recessed in a year. It was only after 1908 that a more lasting, even a multi-party parliament was established. The demand for the right to vote had become meaningful for Ottoman women only in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Their demands were mostly about education and social life. And women could have the chance to follow more closely the events in the West. If it is impossible to speak about a women's movement simultaneous with the one in the West, women started to question their position and conditions as soon as the circumstances allowed them. Since the Ottoman women's movement is far beyond the scope of this study, it will be passed with this brief reminder.

Istanbul women felt the current of the "first wave" feminism which started to lose its momentum in the 1920s. The First World War was a period of change for women. We learn from Zafer Toprak's works that *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People Party) was established in June

1923. Toprak's work points that women had already made great efforts to participate in politics even before the establishment of the republic.¹⁰⁷ Apparently, women in the Ottoman period followed the developments in the West and the republican policy was towards involving women in politics, though at a "symbolic" level.

Nevertheless, "the Second Wave" feminism was not quite effective in Turkey. Although at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, when the Ottoman Empire was backwards in terms of technology and media, Ottoman women always tried to follow the Western women's movement. Why did the women of Turkey kept their distance from it in the 1970s?

We can start by questioning whether there were also other countries which were less influenced by the women's movement of the 1970s.

Dictatorships always tend to be anti-feministic. In the dictatorships in Europe in the 1970s, in fact in all dictatorships, the society and not the individual was placed in the center. The period in Spain under Franco's regime (which ended with his death in 1975), the

¹⁰⁷ Zafer Toprak, "Halk Fırkasından Önce Kurulan Parti Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," *Tarih ve Toplum* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, no. 51 March 1988), p.30.

dictatorship in Portugal, which ended in 1974 with the Carnation Revolution; the military junta of Greece, which was knocked over in 1974; and the military coups of 1960 and 1971 in Turkey took motherhood and the family as primary. The military coup of 12 September 1980 had different effects in regard to the women's movement. This issue is depicted in detail in the chapter on the 1980s. At times of military dictatorships, the belief that everyone, including women, men, youth and children should live for their country, their family, and social values and traditions is imposed. And this hinders the development of an autonomous women's movement. There is no doubt that the political and economic circumstances and the history of a country determines its political movements.

The development of the women's movement entails the improvement of democracy. The women's movement cannot be expected to grow under anti-democratic circumstances. This is why in the 1970s in countries under dictatorships the women's liberation movement did not develop.

The 1970s were also a period when Marxism was revised in many European countries. Even in the USSR the women's movement was revised. This situation certainly reflected on the socialist women's movement. "Second

Wave" feminism was distinguished from its predecessor by its prioritizing individual issues such as abortion in regard to the collective liberation of women. The demand for the right to abortion is an individual demand. The socialist movement, however, cannot give weight to individual demands, because social demands are prioritized; whereas the second wave feminism is rooted in the individual.

The Soviet Revolution of 1917, realizing a socialist revolution for the first time, provided many opportunities and openings for women. The Soviet Union as the centre of socialism, which made the liberation of women an indispensable part of social liberation, and the Soviet Communist Party which generated and realized the state policy, were followed closely by global structures loyal to that center and their practices and propositions in terms of "women's liberation" were applied by them. And in Turkey, too, Marxism under the influence of the USSR determined the women's movement in the 1970s.

Turkey in the 1970s underwent a second break in democracy with the coup of 1971 and a rise in the leftist movement with the worker's and student movements gaining more strength after 1973. The autonomous women's movement was not part of this picture. The leftist movement in

Turkey neglected the women's movement which was being debated even in the Soviet Union in the 1970s, although it followed closely the developments in the USSR. However, the Progressive Women's Association (*İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*) which was an auxiliary of the Communist Party of Turkey, achieved the adoption of a more autonomous position on women's organization. The following chapters of this study will focus on this issue.

CHAPTER III
ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF TURKEY
IN THE 1970S AND "THE WOMEN'S QUESTION"

Economic and Political Developments in the 1970s

In the 1970s, Turkey experienced an immigrant influx into large cities, the rapid shift of labor force from agriculture to the other industries, and the accelerated growth of *gecekondu* (slum) areas. The Turkish economy grew at a high rate until 1977, especially with the beginning of planning in the 1960s. An important growth occurred in the manufacturing and service sectors between 1962 and 1977, while the gross national product increased at a rapid pace.¹⁰⁸ Turkey followed an import substituting policy, aiming to improve its manufacturing industry and decrease dependence upon foreign economies. This policy, however, eventually led to a manufacturing

¹⁰⁸ Yakup Kepenek, *Gelişimi, Üretim Yapısı ve Sorunlarıyla Türkiye Ekonomisi*, Third Edition, First Printing (Ankara: Teori Yayınları, February 1987), p.368.

industry that produced by importing capital and intermediate goods, selling its products only to the domestic market, and unable to export them. In the second half of the 1970s, the Turkish economy lost the track of the plans and programs.¹⁰⁹ In 1977, Turkey found itself in the throes of foreign exchange crisis.

The end result of this type of development was a manufacturing industry that grew when there was a sufficient amount of foreign exchange, and came to a halt when a foreign exchange bottleneck arose. Thus, inflation began to reach very high levels. Since the import substitution policy was implemented for all the sectors of the economy between 1960 and 1979, large foreign companies existed side by side with small- and medium-scale businesses. This model, however, did not provide the conditions for maintaining the accumulation of capital in the long run. Due to the difficulty in importing goods, the black market boomed. The monopolies that had accumulated capital before the 1970s began to search for alternatives.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.367.

¹¹⁰ Korkut Boratav, *İktisat Politikaları ve Bölüşüm Sorunu* (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, June 1983), p.298.

The alternative they found was the model of export-led industrialization. The stabilization program of January 24, 1980 meant a shift in economic policy. The successful implementation of this program resulted in a boom in exports. Another effect of the policy change was to lower wages and agricultural support prices in order to sell cheap products to foreign markets; hence the rights of workers and trade unions were abolished. The domestic demand had to be curtailed so as to increase exports, thus, the state budgets were made for diminishing the domestic demand. The politics of the country had to be reshaped for the implementation of this economic policy.¹¹¹ The military coup on September 12, 1980 created the opportunity to implement this economic program.

I will cover the political developments in the 1970s from the general elections of October 14, 1973 onwards. This period witnessed the rise of a social democratic movement in Turkey. The Republican People's Party (RPP) entered the general elections of 1973 under the leadership of their new chairman, Bülent Ecevit, with the declaration "Towards the Bright Days" (*akgünlere*)

¹¹¹ Boratav, pp.289-295.

alongside with the program of "systemic change" presented under the title "We Want Authorization from People" (*halktan yetki istiyoruz*). The declaration put forward the demand for creating "the people's power," which would bring into existence a libertarian system in which social interests would be given priority over individual ones and no one would be a slave to the state or to capital. Thus, the RPP's policy would be to support small- and middle-scale industry, especially Anatolian industrialists by breaking the power of big capital while giving the leading role in large industry and basic goods to the public sector.¹¹²

This program of the RPP, in fact, was not incongruent with the reaction of the commercial capital, which suffered from inflationist policies, against monopolistic big industrial capital. The reaction of all the other factions of the bourgeoisie against monopolistic capital seems to have reinforced the rise of the RPP. Moreover, the RPP appeared to support the freedom of religion and faith in an unconditional way with this declaration.

¹¹² Kepenek, pp.136-141.

The election campaign of the RPP was a great success; large crowds greeted Bülent Ecevit with slogans presenting him as a leader of the common people ("*Halkçı Ecevit*" [populist Ecevit], "*Karaoğlan*," etc). The 1973 elections results made the RPP the leading party for the first time since 1961. The increase in the party's votes was particularly striking in the industrialized cities with large shantytown and worker populations.¹¹³ The new "leftist" and "populist" (*halkçı*) identity of the RPP was pivotal in drawing support from workers and those living in shantytowns, while the urban petit bourgeoisie, middle classes and some segments of the industrial bourgeoisie shifted their allegiance from the Justice Party to the "modernizing" messages of the RPP. Thus, the latter increased its vote 15.1 percent in İstanbul compared with the 1969 elections, reaching the level of 48.9 percent.

The votes of the RPP also made great headway in the provinces where national and ethnic conflicts and oppression were intense: Diyarbakır (30.4 percent with an increase of 23.1 percent), Tunceli (70.0 percent with an increase of 51.1 percent), Kahramanmaraş (32.9 percent

¹¹³ *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, volume 7 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988), p.2214.

with an increase of 15.3 percent), and Çorum (30.7 percent with an increase of 13.0 percent).¹¹⁴ The RPP also got the support of the voters who had supported the Turkish Workers' Party and the Turkish Union Party in the 1969 elections. On the other hand, the provinces where the RPP suffered loss of support in 1973 were those in which traditional relations maintained their hold on the relatively static rural society such as Ağrı, Bitlis, Gümüşhane, Siirt, Van, Erzurum, Ordu, Niğde, and Çankırı.

Despite its success in the 1973 general elections, the RPP was not able to obtain the necessary number of seats in the parliament to form a government on its own. As a result, a coalition government between the RPP and the NSP (National Salvation Party; *Milli Selamet Partisi*) was formed and took office on February 6, 1974. The government program included the following promises: decreasing the minimum age to vote to 18, granting the right to vote for the Turkish citizens living abroad, fair distribution of agricultural loan to peasants by doing away with the intermediaries, support for small- and middle-scale industrial organizations, the development of "the people's sector," stricter state

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.2214.

supervision in the mining industry and the socialization of some key mining facilities, compulsory ethics courses in primary and secondary education, and setting the principle of referendum for the choice of the trade union that would carry out collective bargaining process.¹¹⁵

Quite a few problems that caused discontent within the RPP arose in the coalition government: the NSP refused to support the arrangements to decrease the minimum age of voting to 18, began to restrict the consumption of alcohol and the sale of beer, and the NSP began to place its supporters within the bureaucracy. There was significant tension concerning the policy of education. The parliamentary group of the NSP complained about the lack of compulsory ethics courses with the Islamic content they much desired, about the fact that the construction of the vocational religious schools (*İmam Hatip Liseleri*) did not proceed at a pace they wished, and that the graduates of these schools were not granted the further rights; and about how the "exiles of nationalist teachers and the Ministry of Education had been handed over into hands of TÖB-DER (the Association

¹¹⁵ *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, volume 4, "Hükümetler ve Programları" (Governments and Their Programs) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984), pp.1022-1025.

of All Teachers Unity and Solidarity) a leftist organization. As a result, the parliamentary group of the National Salvation Party proposed a motion of no confidence against the Minister of Education Mustafa Üstündağ, on June 11, 1974.

The Turkish government made the decision to carry out a military operation on Cyprus, where a coup d'état had been stage by Greek military officers in favor of *enosis*¹¹⁶ on July 15, 1974. The operation, which was launched on July 20, 1974, increased the tension within the coalition government. Finally, the government had to resign on September 18, 1974. The right-wing parties did not want to have an early election, and tried to form a coalition.

On November 19, 1974, Sadi Irmak was commissioned by President Fahri Korutürk to form the government. The caretaker government under his leadership lasted until March 31, 1975. ¹¹⁷Meanwhile, Grey Wolves (*Ülkü Ocakları*; "Hearths of Ideal"), the youth organization of the NAP (Nationalist Action Party; *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*)

¹¹⁶ Enosis means union in Greek. It refers to the Greek-Cypriot population's movement for uniting the Cyprus with Greece.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.1025.

(although the NAP always claimed that it was independent from their party), was re-established in 1974. In the wake of the resignation of the RPP-NSP coalition government, the rate of violent conflicts accelerated on university campuses. Finally, the right-wing parties, the Justice Party (JP), the National Salvation Party, the Nationalist Action Party, and the Republican Trust Party (RTP) formed a coalition government with the name "Nationalist Front" (*Milliyetçi Cephe*, MC), leading to an accelerated polarization in each and every aspect of the social and political life in Turkey. This government, under the leadership Süleyman Demirel, the chairman of the JP, which was later called the "First Nationalist Front," received the vote of confidence on April 12, 1975.¹¹⁸

The NAP and the JP demanded the declaration of martial law in the face of the increasing "terrorist" events, but the NSP refused this demand. The RPP demanded that early elections be held. Eventually, the decision of early general elections was made on June 5, 1977.¹¹⁹ The

¹¹⁸ *Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye*, ed. Sina Akşin, vol.4 (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1990), p.240.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.243.

rightist parties of the Nationalist Front generally based their propaganda upon anti-communism, whereas the leftist wing of the RPP claimed that Gladio¹²⁰ operations were taking place in Turkey.

After the 1977 elections, President Fahri Korutürk appointed Bülent Ecevit prime minister, but the minority government formed by the RPP failed to obtain the vote of confidence in the Parliament. Thus, the Second National Front government (the coalition of the JP, the NSP, and the NAP) came to power under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel with the vote of confidence on July 21, 1977. The Nationalist Action Party put its supporters in various key positions in the state bureaucracy.¹²¹

Meanwhile, the Turkish economy was in bad shape, and an economic crisis was about to begin. The government started the practice of "deposits convertible into foreign currency" (*dövizle çevrilebilir mevduat hesabı*) in order to increase the GNP. In the famous saying of Süleyman Demirel, Turkey was in need of "70 cents." Demirel government was overthrown by a vote of no

¹²⁰ Gladio means sword in Italian. It is a code name used for defining the clandestine operation of the state in Italy.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp.243-246.

confidence after 11 deputies of the JP resigned from the party in December 1977. Then, a new RPP government under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit was formed, and obtained the vote of confidence on January 5, 1978.¹²²

This government tried to govern the country during dire economic conditions. While declining the proposals for implementing a stability program put forward by the IMF, the cabinet did give some concessions and devalued the Turkish currency. The RPP government, however, was unable to prevent the shortages of basic goods in the country. While the black market thrived, people had to wait in long lines in order to buy almost all basic goods such as oil and margarine. Real wages reached their peak in 1979, after which they began to decline.¹²³ In a period when inflation mounted, the working class made an effective struggle for higher wages, thanks to its organized power in the form of trade unions.

By 1974, there were four confederations of trade unions in Turkey: the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (*Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*, DİSK), the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (*Türkiye İşçi*

¹²² Ibid., p.245.

¹²³ Ibid., p.343.

Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, TÜRK-İŞ), the Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions (*Milliyetçi İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, MİSK*), and the Confederation of Idealist Trade Unions (*Ülkücü İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, TÜRKİYE-İŞ*). The prestige and power of DİSK steadily increased in these years. DİSK had supported the RPP in the 1973 general elections. In 1975, Kemal Türkler was elected as its chairman.

In 1975, the numbers of strikes and of the workers who took part in them increased dramatically as compared with the figures of 1974. General strikes and "warning resistances" became increasingly more common. On the initiative of DİSK, Labor Day was observed with massive participation in Taksim on May 1, 1976. One of the greatest actions of workers was the "Resistance against State Security Courts (*Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemeleri, DGM*)," which was organized by the DİSK.

The most important action of 1977 taken by workers was strikes organized by the General Mine Workers' Union affiliated with DİSK against the Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries (*Madeni Eşya İşverenleri Sendikası, MESS*). The most famous slogan of the year was "We crushed DGM, now the target is MESS" (*DGM'yi ezdik, sıra MESS'de*). On May 1, 1977, snipers opened fire on

mass protest rally, and 36 people were killed in the ensuing events. In 1978, workers' movement continued to be very active. In a general strike carried out in a large part of Turkey, electricity was gone, water did not run, traffic stopped, lessons were not held in schools, and lawyers did not attend courts in quite a few provinces. This action, organized by DİSK, was supported by a large number of democratic vocational and mass organizations, while the RPP government declared it illegal.¹²⁴

May 1, 1978 was again observed in Taksim Square, which was declared to be "May 1 Square." A "Democratic Platform," i.e. a united leftist front, led by DİSK made the decision to make an invitation for unified action. The organizations that accepted the invitation included AKD (Ankara Women's Organization) and İKD (Progressive Women's Organization) as well as a large number of leftist associations.¹²⁵ This "front," however, did not prove very fruitful.

¹²⁴ *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol.7, p.2297.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.2298.

Violence continued to mount during the second Ecevit government. For instance, in the spring of 1978, the mayor of Malatya and his family were killed by a package bomb. The single most serious incident erupted in Kahramanmaraş in December 1978, when Grey Wolves perpetrated a massacre, leaving hundreds of people dead. Since such violence very often occurred all over Turkey, many political groups tried to maintain security in the neighborhoods and city quarters where they were well-organized, declaring them "saved regions," and did not trust the official security forces. Following the Kahramanmaraş massacres, martial law was declared in 13 provinces.¹²⁶

The Ecevit government did not allow workers to observe May Day in Taksim in 1979. Nevertheless, some groups did hold demonstrations in various parts of İstanbul that day. Behice Boran, the leader of the Turkish Workers' Party, celebrated May Day before the DİSK headquarters in Merter. Some trade unions affiliated with DİSK and some other organizations held a "legal" demonstration in Izmir on May 1, 1979.

¹²⁶ *Türkiye Tarihi*, vol.4, pp.245-247.

On July 22, 1980, Kemal Türkler, the president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions, was assassinated in front of his house in Merter. The last great workers' demonstration before September 12, 1980, was held at his funeral.

In the second half of the 1970s, when the Turkish socialist movement became strong, a number of socialist parties were formed. After March 12, the first socialist party founded (June 1974) was the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi*, TSİP)¹²⁷. As it was claimed that the struggle for the establishment of a "democratic government" of the people would comprise all the parts of the society in Turkey which had benefits in independence, democracy and liberty, the TSİP suggested that a people's front (*halk cephesi*) be founded. The main classes which would constitute this front were workers and peasants.

After the foundation of the TSİP, the Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*, TİP) was founded again (April 1975).¹²⁸ The TİP defined their main working area as the workers' class and they claimed that they

¹²⁷ *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol.8, p.2017.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.2017.

would lead the independence and democracy struggle in conjunction with the struggle for socialism.

The Turkish Laborers' Party (*Türkiye Emekçi Partisi*, TEP) which was also founded in 1975,¹²⁹ argued that in order to achieve socialism, Turkey should gain its national independence in political, economic and other fields; should remove feudal leftovers and should establish democracy. For this, the National Democratic Revolution (*Milli Demokratik Devrim*, MDD) should be realized.

Another legal socialist party founded in 1975 was the Socialist Revolution Party (*Sosyalist Devrim Partisi*, SDP).¹³⁰ They declared that they were the real inheritors of the previous TIP. The Fatherland Party (*Vatan Partisi*) was founded as the continuation of the party of the same name and whose activity had been ended in 1957. But later, a group which separated themselves from the party because of disagreement on armed struggle and the

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.2018.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.2018.

leadership of the Soviet Union had founded the Socialist Fatherland Party (*Sosyalist Vatan Partisi*).¹³¹

The youth movement after the military coup on March 12, 1971 was very different, with sharp differentiation. The reflections of this differentiation were seen in every mass organization, labor union, and professional union; but in the 1970s the majority of the leftist movements carried out their activities and organizations through university students. For that reason, the effects of this breaking up were mainly observed among the university students. University students, instead of insisting on concrete demands regarding their university life, tended to abstract slogans that reflected the identity of the various leftist groups. The main reason for the break up of the leftist movement in Turkey was the break up of the world socialist system and the polarization between the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party. In 1976, the united action trend within the students' movement completely disappeared; they began to see each other as enemies, using terms like

¹³¹ *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, vol.7, pp.2234-2236.

"social fascist" (*sosyal faşist*) and "Maoist grey wolf" (*Maocu bozkurt*).

In addition, in the 1970s, all of the social classes joined the struggle, and all the employees founded their own "democratic mass organizations." As part of this intense organizing trend, women also participated actively in the socialist movement.

The Women's Question in the 1970s

As to the effects of the above-mentioned economic and political developments on Turkish women, the shift of the female workforce from rural to urban areas should be pointed out first. The percentage of the women who worked in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry in the overall female workforce was 89.95 percent in 1970, the same figure fell to 85.21 percent in 1975. The percentage of women in the overall non-agricultural workforce was only 0.46 percent in 1970, whereas the same figure was 8.52 percent in 1975. Although this figure declined to 5.69 percent in 1980, it rose again to 7.42 percent in

1985 -evidently below the percentage in 1975.¹³² These figures indicate that the growth rate of manufacturing industry diminished towards 1970, while it increased until 1977. It, however, declined heavily after 1977 due to the foreign currency crisis. In fact, the crisis began in the mid-1970s, but its impact in the production and consumption patterns manifested itself only after 1977.

These figures also indicate the rate of migration as well as the growth in the manufacturing industry. It is clear that a large percentage of the female workforce shifted from agriculture to the non-agricultural industries between 1970 and 1975. Since industrialization basically took place in large cities, it is quite natural that the number of women who migrated from rural to urban areas and began to work in the non-agricultural jobs increased dramatically. The economic crisis that began to set in after 1975 reversed this trend.

The data on the literacy rate among the female population are important. Since this dissertation focuses upon urban women, especially those who lived in İstanbul, it will be useful to compare the rates of literacy

¹³² Emel Dođramacı, *Türkiye’de Kadının Dünyü ve Bugünü* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1992), p.110.

between rural and urban women all over the country as well as between those who lived in İstanbul and those who did not.

The rates amongst the female population of Turkey are the following: 25.52 percent in 1955; 24.83 percent in 1965; 41.80 percent in 1970; 50.47 percent in 1975, 54.69 percent in 1980; and 68.02 percent in 1985.¹³³

While looking into the rates of literacy among the women who lived in İstanbul, we should take into account the fact that many immigrant women who moved from Anatolia to İstanbul were not literate. Even though this group did decrease the rate of literacy in İstanbul, the figure for İstanbul in 1975 was 82.9 percent while it was 77.5 percent for Ankara, and 71 percent for the entire country the same year. That is to say, the rate of literacy in İstanbul was 21 percent higher than the national average. This difference had been much greater in 1935 (41 percent). In addition, the 18 percent difference between the rate of literate men and women in İstanbul was much closer to the national average in 1935, whereas 40 years later the same difference rose to 27 percent in Turkey, while the figure was 17 percent in

¹³³ Ibid., p.94.

İstanbul. Even though many illiterate people migrated to İstanbul, nine out of ten men, and seven out of ten women were literate in İstanbul in 1975.¹³⁴

In 1980, the population of İstanbul was six times higher than it was in 1927, and four times higher than in 1950, whereas the population of the entire country increased 2-3 times in the same period. After 1970, however, the relative increase of migration slowed down. İstanbul had always been a center of in-migration. The percentage of those who were born in another province, but who lived in İstanbul was 35 percent in 1950, whereas it was 45 percent in 1966, and 55 percent in 1975.¹³⁵ In other words, those who were born in İstanbul became a minority in 1975. Although industrialization also made other large cities centers of attraction, thus decreasing the significance of İstanbul to a certain extent, the province maintained its status.

Between 1955 and 1960, when the migration to İstanbul was at a peak, the percentage of men in the population became much higher than the national average.

¹³⁴ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1983), volume 6, p.4039.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4039.

This was due to the fact many heads of household had moved to the city on their own. After 1960, however, the migration to İstanbul included children and women.

Migration to İstanbul also affected settlement patterns too. New shantytowns came into being. Avcılar, Esenler, Bağcılar, Güngören, Şirinevler, and Bahçelievler within Bakırköy; Alibeyköy, Bayrampaşa (Sağmalcılar), and Küçükköy in Eyüp; Hisarüstü and Baltalimanı in Sarıyer; and Dudullu in Üsküdar; and Fikirtepe, Mustafa Kemal, and Yeni Sahra in Kadıköy became integrated urban areas over time. Gaziosmanpaşa, which became an administrative district after 1960, acquired an urban character.¹³⁶ One of the main reasons for the creation of shantytown areas in the rural part of the province was the settlement of immigrants near the industrial plants there.

Most of the women who migrated to large cities, especially İstanbul, had been engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. When they moved to urban areas, they were unemployed since they were not skilled workers. Women were unemployed for longer periods of time compared with men. Karpat writes that, "While 46 percent of the men who migrated to İstanbul found a job in the first 15

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.3993-3999.

days, 42 percent of the women remained unemployed for more than a year. Moreover, 42 percent of these men found their jobs on their own initiative, 48 percent of the women became employed through their friends."¹³⁷

While the main reason for migration was to find better job opportunities in İstanbul and other large cities, the increasing slums was due to have their own homes on the part of migrants. In the large cities, where rents were very high, a series of building amnesty regulations (*imar affı*) provided *gecekondu* dwellers with title deeds, thus building *gecekondus* became more attractive. The migrants who could afford to buy or rent a dwelling thus became owners of their own houses. Female labor was very important in the building of *gecekondus*. But we do not have any data on how many women held title deeds for these *gecekondus* to which they contributed in their construction. Most probably it was a very low percentage of the women - those who did have the title deeds were possibly only the widows.

The rate of literacy amongst the women who lived in the slum areas was very low compared with that of the men

¹³⁷ For further information see Kemal Karpat, *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Dönüşüm* (İstanbul: İmge Yayıncılık, 2003), p.149.

due to gender discrimination and the constraints against women participating in the public life.¹³⁸ For this reason, socialist women's associations arranged large literacy courses in the slum areas where they chose to get organized after 1975.

When we look at the employment conditions in the slum areas, we see that the percentage of unemployed women was very high. Those who worked outside their homes were domestic servants. It is a well-known fact women were largely employed in the service industries.

The statistical data indicate that women's participation in non-agricultural economic activities increased 8 percent between 1975 and 1980.¹³⁹ Undoubtedly this was due to the expanding economy and industrial investments, and women's willingness to take part in the work life. Nevertheless, the participation of the women, who were less educated in general, in the working life, was limited. Furthermore, the traditional idea that women's main responsibility was to take care of children and to do housework was still dominant.

¹³⁸ Kemal Karpat, *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Dönüşüm* (İstanbul: İmge Yayıncılık, 2003), p.159.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.169.

In the twentieth century, due to the increasing value attributed to children and their care and education, women's domestic "tasks" became more important, and the concept of "good mothers" became prominent. Thus, almost solely women came to be held responsible for the cleanliness and hygiene of homes, the raising of children, and the good nourishment of members of the household.

Working women in the middle-high income groups could share this "responsibility" with other women, i.e. they tried to alleviate their burden by employing domestic servants, most of whom had moved from rural areas to large cities, because they could be employed as unskilled and uneducated workforce in domestic service. The Turkish socialist women's journals published in the second half of the 1970s took up the problems of domestic daily servants as much as those of female industrial and agricultural workers. They especially demanded that the female domestic workers should be taken under the umbrella of the social security system, thereby enjoying rights and benefits.

Most women worked as housewives at home until the 1970s and did not take part in the labor market, but the economic difficulties forced them to look for employment

outside their homes, because male members of households could not afford to meet the costs of the maintenance of their families. Women's jobs, however, were those with the lowest-paid wages.¹⁴⁰

Even today women's participation in the labor market is regarded as meaningful when the economic difficulties of their households cannot be overcome by their male members. As women's level of education increases, their demand to work outside the home comes to be accepted. Nevertheless, when they have children, "returning home" seems to be viewed as the "normal" course of things. Well-educated women seem to have internalized the view that motherly care for children is essential and that it cannot be provided by other caretakers such as babysitters or grandmothers. Thus the sentence "I want to take care of my own child" appears to be voiced as a point of pride.

As Şirin Tekeli points out, the bourgeoisie do not want to grant the right to the women of their own class to work outside the home. The man who wishes to be the sole authority at home does not want to share his

¹⁴⁰ Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Ritterberger-Tılıç, *Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınlar* (İstanbul: Su yayınları, February 2001), p.42.

economic power with his wife. Moreover, participating in work life makes women more self-confident, increasing their contact with the outside world and giving them a space outside the home, even though it does not make them entirely independent from their families or husbands.

In this struggle to create a space of their own in the outside world, women seem to have little logistic support. Moreover, it is a question for further research whether women do want to engage in this struggle or not, and what factors shape their decision. But the fact remains that women are always employed as cheap labor.

The statistical data indicate that the rate of participation in the labor market in İstanbul in the 1970s was 74.5 percent for men, whereas it was only 16 percent for women.¹⁴¹ In the earlier phase of the migration, men found non-agricultural jobs and acquired the skills necessary for better employment, while female immigrants could not take part in this process, and thus were unable to develop their skills. The low rate of participation in the working life by women does not indicate that households had high levels of income. Both

¹⁴¹ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vol.6 (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1983), p.3995.

males and females in the age group of 15 to 19 had to work. The rate of participation in the working life for men in the age group 20-24 was 71.8 percent. This possibly indicates that some of them had the opportunity to obtain higher education. Women's participation in the workforce between the ages 20 and 24 decreased as compared with those between 15 and 19. This was probably due to the fact that women did not carry on working outside the home after getting married.¹⁴²

Even though Turkey went through a rapid a capitalist development, the number of women who worked outside the home was low. It is argued that wage differentials between men women stemmed from women's lack of skills, their higher rate of absenteeism, and their demand to make use of more welfare benefits. That the rate of becoming members of trade unions among female workers was always low, it was a factor that has contributed to the maintenance of wage differentials.

The rate of participation in trade unions and collective struggles was low among women perpetuated the

¹⁴² Ibid., p.3995.

wage differentials against them.¹⁴³ According to the results of Şirin Tekeli's research, in the branches of business (such as the textile industry) in which female labor was dominant, strikes took less time, and there was little resistance.

In fact, most women's wages were viewed as additional income to the household budget. The general conception held that when a woman worked outside her home, it was due to necessity. Performing professional jobs or liking work was generally thought to be only applicable to those women with higher education. For many women, when they got married, the economic necessity of working outside the home became irrelevant. Moreover, a large number of women could not find any suitable solution for taking care of their children, thus remained outside of working life. Since the elderly people stayed behind in the rural areas while the younger members of households moved to large cities, most migrant women lacked the traditional support base, that is to say, their mothers or mother-in-laws, for taking care of children. Moreover, that the elderly lived on in villages

¹⁴³Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal-Toplumsal Hayat*, First Printing (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, March 1982), p.224.

was a guarantee for migrants to return to their villages in case need arose. Furthermore, traditional durable foods were transferred from villages to urban migrant households in order to alleviate their economic difficulties.

It is to be expected that women with low rates of literacy and limited participation in the labor market did not participate much in political life. According to statistical data of January 1999, the world's average percent of female members in parliaments was 12.7. This figure was only 2.4 percent in Turkey in January 1999. It rose only to 4.3 percent after the general elections held on April 18, 1999.¹⁴⁴

There are two forms of political participation, individual and collective. In Turkey, individual women have been encouraged to participate in the political process as individual voters, because this does not alter women's life or complicate the social context with any further demands. It is certainly necessary to have the right of political representation in order to be able make widespread effective politics, a right that has been

¹⁴⁴ Ayşegül Yaraman, *Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Temsili* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1999), p.9.

enjoyed by Turkish women since 1934. I shall not reiterate the figures related to women's representation in the political life. Nermin Abadan-Unat argues that political rights were granted to Turkish women as part of state reform policies, thus she agrees with Şirin Tekeli in claiming their political participation had little point apart from its symbolic value.¹⁴⁵

The class aspect of women's struggle for their rights became crystallized only in the 1960s. The close relationship between class struggle and women's struggle for their rights was prominent in Western countries, whereas in the Turkish case modernization and Westernization efforts played the dominant roles in the process women had their rights. As a matter of fact, Westernization was tinged with a certain class character; the efforts of Turkish modernizers were mainly shaped by the outcome of the historical process of class struggles in the West.¹⁴⁶

In Turkey, when the issue of women's place in political life is raised, what comes to most people's

¹⁴⁵ *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979), pp.27-28.

¹⁴⁶ Şirin Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Kadının Siyasal Hayattaki Yeri," in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979), p.394.

minds is the number of women MPs and women's voting behavior. Women have acted as MPs since 1935, but the percentage of female MPs has been less than two percent since 1950.¹⁴⁷ The transition to the multi-party system affected women's position in the political life adversely. The more conservative politics maintained by the Democratic Party and increasing competition in the political arena greatly reduced women's chances of being to be elected as MPs in the 1950s. After the military coup in 1960 the Republican People's Party began to nominate fewer female candidates in the elections. Small parties at times nominated a large number of female candidates, but most of these women did not get elected. For instance, there were many women candidates of the Republican Trust Party in the 1977 elections, but since this party was unsuccessful in the elections they could not held MPs. This supports Şirin Tekeli's argument that women have largely been viewed as a symbolic value in the Turkish political life.¹⁴⁸ It is clear that women's participation in politics, their membership in political

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.400.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.403.

parties or election to the parliament could not alter their value as "symbolic."

The analysis of the voting behavior of female voters in the 1977 elections makes clear that the rate of participation of single women in the elections was lower than that of married women. Moreover, the rate of participation of the latter in the elections was close to that of their husbands. All these seem point to the fact that husbands have a dominant role in determining their wives' voting behavior. As to the class differences among female voters, the rate of participation among single bourgeois women in the elections was very low, whereas the rate of participation among the petit bourgeois and working class single women was close to that of single men of the same classes. The difference is also marked between single male and female voters in rural areas.¹⁴⁹

While dealing with the issue of women's participation in political life, what is usually taken into account is women's voting behavior and their representation in the Parliament, thus we get only a general understanding of women's role in politics. The

¹⁴⁹ For further information, see Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*.

crucial question, however, revolves around to what extent they are represented in the positions of decision-making. Moreover, what is more significant is not whether women try to "improve" their status within the society, but whether there are sufficient number of women who strive to alter the gender system to create equality between men and women.

When a woman, Behice Boran, was the chairman of the Turkish Workers' Party, the percentage of female members of the party until its first convention was only 4.5 percent. The number of female candidate members rose a little more, reaching 9 percent.¹⁵⁰

It is usually claimed that women have tended to support conservative parties in Turkey more than men. In the 1969 elections, when the socialist left was on the rise, the support for the Turkish Workers Party amongst female workers increased (reaching 7.1 percent), even more than that of male workers. In Turkey, the tendency to support large parties like the RPP and the JP was higher amongst women compared with men, but this was not

¹⁵⁰ Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*, p.272.

the case with the TİP. Female workers constituted a large group of the women who cast their ballots for the TİP.¹⁵¹

On the other hand, housewives, even those living in urban areas, seem to be uninterested in politics. It is usually assumed that these women, largely isolated from the world, maintaining relationships with solely their relatives and neighbors, have been reluctant to take part in any kind of novelty and change, thus being more conservative in their political preferences. These political preferences of women have similar reasons in European countries as well. This argument is open to debate, since there is no conclusive in-depth research to confirm the prevalence of this attitude in Turkey. Moreover, various studies indicate that results change according to the period.

I shall analyze the attitudes of Turkish socialist parties and associations with regard to women's participation in politics in decision-making positions in the following chapters.

Some studies conducted at the beginning of the 1980s demonstrate that the voting behavior of Turkish women had become independent from men's influence and

¹⁵¹ For further information, see Ibid.

suggestions. Ayata points out that the differences between male and female voters disappeared to a large degree from the 1970s to the 1980s. Women's voting behavior was not very much different from that of young people, the sole difference being that the former tended to vote less for ultranationalist and religious parties than the latter. It was also observed that women were more sympathetic to have female prime ministers, ministers or mayor than men.¹⁵² Nevertheless, there were few women who took part in active politics. Their participation has always been under men's control. Those women in political parties have been obliged to compete with men, but the conditions of this competition were set by men, most fulfilling their needs. Most women joining political parties have been viewed as support for the male member of their families, and they have had to make use of women networks in order to further this aim. The number of the women who could carry on their political life independently from men has always been limited, but even these women mostly remained aloof from women's issues. For example, female politicians did not lend open

¹⁵² *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yaşam*, ed. Necla Arat (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği Yayınları, Cem Yayınevi), p.121.

support to the demands for doing away with the practice of the control of virginity. Similarly, when extra-parliamentary women and women's associations tried hard for the abolition of the legal regulation stipulating husbands' written approval for any married women who want to work, female politicians were totally silent.

Article 438 of the Turkish Penal Code (which had provided for a reduced sentence for a rapist if the injured woman was proven to be a prostitute) was repealed only in 1990. In the same year, Article 159 of the Turkish Civil Code (which stipulated the husband's approval when a married woman wanted to work) was annulled, too. Female MPs did not take part in the campaigns for the abolition of these articles.

The argument put forward by Şirin Tekeli that female MPs were from the elite groups and had little in common with the other women of society¹⁵³ was contested by Fatmagül Berktaş, claiming these women, albeit elites, were very much similar to the other Turkish women, since

¹⁵³ Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*, p.297.

they had internalized dominant gender roles without much questioning.¹⁵⁴

In the 1980s women's movements were effective in the changes made in quite a few legal regulations, and stronger ties were established between women and politics in the 1980s and the 1990s, but female MPs were far from supporting these movements. Whereas gender awareness developed in the post-1980 period, it is clear that this was lacking in the particular conditions of the late 1970s when political polarization was at its peak.

Despite the fact women were supposed to be in the midst of the political struggle in the 1970s, no demands for their political or social representation were voiced then. Moreover, in the 1970s Turkey was alien to the terminology of European feminist movements. For example, the term "patriarchal" was thought to be equivalent to "evil outmoded traditions," as if the latter were the sole obstacle before the solution of the "women's problem." Or, perhaps even worse, the concept of patriarchy was held to be limited to the family. Sometimes, patriarchy was thought to be a family type

¹⁵⁴ Fatmagül Berktaş, *Tarihin Cinsiyeti* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003), pp.196-197.

belonging to rural areas. Furthermore, we even come across the arguments that women were the only authority at home.¹⁵⁵ It was further argued that women's authority at home would and did decrease as they entered working life.¹⁵⁶

It would be appropriate to deal with what was then called "women's question" in two periods: one from the 1960s to the mid-1970s and the other from the mid-1970s to 1980. In the early 1960s, the dominant discourse tended to focus upon women's vested rights, gratitude to Atatürk and indebtedness to the Republic for granting these rights, while the only oppressed women were held to be those living in rural areas. That women were oppressed was attributed to traditions, conservative religious factors and certain underdeveloped regions. In fact, this discourse continued to dominate the scene well until the 1980s. The main difference between the discourse of the 1960s and the early 1970s and that of the late 1970s, however, was that the "oppressed women" were pictured as

¹⁵⁵ Necla Arat, *Kadın Sorunu* (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 1986), p.169.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.170.

those belonging to the working class in the latter period.

One of the central features of this discourse was that women's emancipation was closely associated with men's emancipation. It was often argued that the "women's question is a problem of the entire humanity, a universal problem that transcends the female sex and encompasses men too."¹⁵⁷

This argument is very similar to the solution to the women's question proposed by the Marxist theory, with the main difference being, of course, the latter held that the final solution would be in the form of a socialist society. In Turkey, the common approach to the women's question maintained that increasing educational and working opportunities for women would draw society closer to the ultimate solution of the problem.

Some researchers and academics tried to limit the "women's question" to the scope of women's legal and political rights. Suna Kili gave a lecture as the chairman the Association for Research and Investigation of Women's Social Life (*Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Araştırma*

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.153.

ve *İnceleme Derneği*) and assessed the socialist women's movement in the 1970s in the following words:

The women who took part in the ideological actions within the highly politicized atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s advocated not women's rights, but the supremacy of the ideology they believed. Those who remained outside these actions and who were interested in women's rights continued to view women's rights within the framework provided by Atatürk's reforms.¹⁵⁸

Here Kili makes her stance clear that the Atatürk reforms were adequate guides for everyone -both for men and women- as well as her criticism of the women's associations affiliated with the socialist movement of the period.

Şirin Tekeli analyzes the Turkish women's movement in three phases: The first was in the Second Constitutional era, when women became organized by founding a large number of associations, questioning gender roles and voicing their demands for education, working and social life. The second was the so-called "State feminism" era in the early Republican years, when women were granted civil rights equal to men, but the grassroots or independent women's movement dissolved. The

¹⁵⁸ Quoted by Birten Gökyay, "60'lardan 90'lara Kadın Derneklerine Bakış" *20. Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek* (Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1998), p.468.

Union of Turkish Women (*Kadınlar Birliği*), which was founded in 1924, was disbanded in 1935, while women turned their backs to feminism. The third was the post-1980 period.¹⁵⁹

While analyzing the women's associations founded between the 1950s and the mid-1970s, Tekeli states the following:

Many of the association founded between the 1950s and the mid-1970s gave priority to the defense of the vested interests, especially of the guarantees provided by the secular state against the return to an Islamic order, as they do today, and expressed their loyalty to Atatürk, and their indebtedness to him for the rights he granted in the special ceremonies of the Republic every year.¹⁶⁰

She made the following argument concerning the women's associations in the late 1970s in a talk she gave at a seminar: "Over time (this is my personal opinion) they became unable to produce demands regarding women's issues (by the end of the 1970s). I think it was in the post-1980 period when the movement became vitalized."¹⁶¹ Here we see a critical view of the women's association founded before the 1980 coup.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.468.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.468.

¹⁶¹ Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*, p.127.

Nermin Abadan Unat carried out important academic studies on the "women's question." She points out that there are three dimensions of women's social status: the social organization of power, the ideological approach that controls the female body, and the gender division of labor and roles in the society.¹⁶² In the above-mentioned article, with reference to Ferhunde Özbay, Unat analyzes women's studies in Turkey in five periods. The first period is the one of the Kemalist reforms, i.e. the 1920s and 1930s; while the second period covers the 1940s and 1950s, when the patriarchal family and division of labor analyzed despite the fact that the conditions of the women in the rural areas were not scrutinized. This point will be taken up later on in this study. Mübeccel Kıray and Ferhunde Özbay focused on power relations within the family.

In the third period, i.e., from the 1960s to the mid-1970s, social scientists usually dealt with family planning and fertility. These studies concentrate upon status differences between rural and urban women, family size and women's level of education within the framework

¹⁶² Nermin Abadan Unat, "İdeoloji Açısından Kadın Araştırmaları" in *20. Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek* (Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1998), pp. 3-4.

of modernization theories. In the fourth period, i.e. in the 1970s, that the United Nations' declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year gave rise to increased public attention to the women's issue.

In Turkey, each group focused upon a particular section of women. The advocates of the Kemalist ideology put the question in terms of Westernization and defined the problem as one of those women who were unable to exercise their legal rights. The Islamists, on the other hand, concentrated solely upon religiously-oriented women, while Marxists were interested in "working women," presuming that the problem was that of the women of lower-income groups. The idea that women had common problems was entirely lacking. The point common to all these groups, however, was that they were against feminism. The Marxist movement explicitly opposed feminism.

In the fifth period, that is, the post-1980 period, women's studies began to embrace the ideas of feminism. Tekeli particularly emphasizes that the women's movement in Turkey gained momentum after 1980, stating that feminism, which had become an effective force in Europe in the aftermath of 1968, had had no resonance in Turkey until then. She points out that the Turkish women's

movement was launched with the "İstanbul Circle" (*İstanbul Çevresi*) in Yazko Publishing, which was formed in 1982; the magazine *Somut*, and the book club *Kadın Çevresi*" (Women Circle) was set up in 1984.¹⁶³

One of the most significant works on the women's question published in the 1970s was a volume of collected essays edited by Nermin Abadan Unat: *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* (Women in Turkish Society). This book, far from the ideological obsessions of the decade, stands out as a good scholarly work published in 1979. The introduction of the book begins with a quotation from Nâzım Hikmet's Epic of War of Independence (*Kuvayı Milliye Destanı*), which also points to the political atmosphere of the decade. Unat notes that the Republican reforms were not able to do away with the great differences throughout the nation.¹⁶⁴ She also argues that Article 438 of the Turkish Penal Code (which provided reduced penalties for men convicted of rape when the victim proved to be prostitute), meant the protection of institutionalized prostitution by the state, demanding that it must be

¹⁶³ Cited in Unat, *20. Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek*, p.10.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15.

repealed, an objective which was achieved in the 1990s when women's associations launched a campaign against this article. Unat calls prostitution a social problem, involving a number of socio-economic factors. Moreover, she argues that women's subordination is not solely due to outmoded traditions, but also due to their socio-economic conditions.

It is more significant that Unat makes the following observation: "Turkish women did not struggle for the rights they now enjoy; these rights were bestowed upon them."¹⁶⁵ This is one of the elements of the discourse of the leftist movement. This statement implies both a criticism of the way the women's question was resolved by the Kemalist reforms and a belief that rights should be gained through struggle.

Furthermore, Unat states that women in the Ottoman Empire as a group were not simply passive or subordinate, and that their opportunities for education increased beginning in Abdülaziz's reign. She adds that only a small fragment of the "bourgeoisie" benefited from these

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p.34.

remarkable modernizing attempts, and that all the liberating movements had a class character.¹⁶⁶

Unat also deals with women's legal rights in the Ottoman Empire, pointing out that even Halide Edib, who is known as the "feminist" of the Second Constitutional period, objected to the 1917 Family Law Ordinance on the grounds that it would hinder "a harmonious marriage life." According to Unat, this was due to a renewed emphasis upon such virtues as "good mother, good wife and good housewife" while it was believed that women would not be employed outside home in the aftermath of the war.

While analyzing the unequal aspects in women's legal status, Unat lists the demands put forward by a congress held in Ankara between December 5 and December 8 1975 by 27 women's associations:

1. The head of household is only the husband.
2. Women should take their husband's surnames.
3. The legal stipulation that women should receive their husbands' approval when they wanted to work and perform their profession should be abolished.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.19.

4. The necessary legal, administrative, and educational measures should be taken to do away with the practice of bride price.

5. The ban on having a religious marriage before the secular marriage should be enforced more strictly.

6. Husbands and wives should make individual tax declarations so as to bring equality to all taxpayers.

7. Women should be allowed to participate in the military.

8. Female workers and officials should be given a year-long leave after the birth of a child.

9. The Law of Agriculture and Social Security should be passed immediately in order to take rural women under the coverage of the social security system.

10. The life conditions of prostitutes should be improved and the trade in women should be stopped.

11. A special law should be made in order to stop the exploitation of female children who were adopted legally, but who were nothing but domestic servants (*besleme*).¹⁶⁷

These demands were predominantly about changes in the legal system. The list does not include much about

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.25.

the shortcomings of the social and economic systems. Some demands (Articles 1, 2, 3, 6, and 7) were met with the legal regulations made in the 1990s. From the perspective of the socialist movement of the 1970s, these demands would be regarded most probably as incomplete and misleading. The socialists (also feminists) of the period might have pointed out that legal regulations would not bring about the desired changes and that the most important demands (equal pay for equal work, day-care centers in workplaces) were not included in the program.

In fact, Article 10 appears to be most interesting since it leads to the question how the improvement in the life conditions of prostitutes would possibly prevent prostitution. Those who prepared this list chose not to demand the impossible, i.e., it would be impossible to do away with prostitution, formulated their demand in this way.

Unat's approach for this issue is much clearer. By stating that "the institutionalized prostitution in a sense benefits from the protection of the state in Turkey,"¹⁶⁸ she points out the political dimension of the problem.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.26.

The other articles in the volume edited by Unat under deal with the issue of the women's question mostly from a class perspective. In her article titled "Turkish Women in the Professions" (*Uzman Mesleklerde Türk Kadını*) Ayşe Öncü tries to answer the question of why the percentage of women in high-prestige jobs requiring a university degree (medical doctors, lawyers, architects, chemists, etc.) was so high in the 1970s. According to her, the most important factor explaining this lies in the fact that women from the upper classes of the society were encouraged to take part in these professions; that is to say, class biases were stronger than gender biases, thus women of upper classes were included in the "club of elites" rather than men of lower classes. This high percentage, which was close to that of Western countries, even higher than some of them, was valid only for the women in large cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. "High percentage" is, of course, a relative term, since the number of men in these professions was higher than that of women. This was, in fact, in conformity with the broader trends in developing countries. Thus, all these point to a probable path of development in which

some taboos and stereotypes were abolished as women came to have high-prestige professions.¹⁶⁹

Tansı Şenyapılı begins her article entitled "A New Element in Metropolitan Areas: Shantytown Women" (*Metropol Bölgelerinin Yeni Bir Ögesi Gecekondu Kadını*)¹⁷⁰ with a piece of Marxist analysis: Workforce in the periphery performs the function of constraining the wage increases in the core areas. Thus, she analyzes shantytown women within this framework, in her own words "within their own class structure." Like Ayşe Öncü, Şenyapılı observes that the accelerated investments in the urban areas provided employment opportunities for bourgeois women. Under these circumstances, shantytown women, who had migrated from rural areas to cities, moved into working women's homes, it is emphasized, however, that the research conducted in 1976-1977 indicated that the number of the shantytown women working as domestic helpers was very low. This might be explained by the fact that shantytown women chose not to participate in work

¹⁶⁹ Ayşe Öncü, "Uzman Mesleklerde Türk Kadını," in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979), pp.271-286.

¹⁷⁰ Tansı Şenyapılı, "Metropol Bölgelerinin Yeni Bir Ögesi Gecekondu Kadını," in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979), pp.287-309.

life. Decreasing wages due to foreign exchange crisis in 1977 forced women to work outside. The emphasis upon traditional roles made women perceive working life as a problem hard to tackle with. Observing the lifestyle of upper class women also led to be keen on consumption. It was thought that the women living in shantytowns followed fashion much more closely than the women in the middle-income group. In the interviews with the socialist women, they stated that the women who worked in the factory were more elegant and well-dressed than they. The desire to belong to the city and higher classes apparently affected women in this way.

According to Şenyapılı's research, 72 percent of the women who worked outside home were factory workers in the case of İstanbul. The percentage of illiterate women was 48.7 percent in İstanbul in the years 1976-1977, when the research was conducted. Most of the literate women had only primary education. While all girls finished primary schools, few of them attended high school. As mentioned above, while shantytown families were nuclear, they had higher number of members on the average.

In short, the results of this research show that shantytown women were exploited by bourgeois women, that their rate of participation in the urban workforce was

low, that they were "educated" by TV and photo-novels, which were very popular then, and that they were aware of their class position, considering consumption the only way to rise in the scale of social stratification.

Another characteristic worthy of mention in these articles is the relative ease in the use of terms that put the national identity such as "Turkish woman" (*Türk kadını*), "Turkish metropolises" (*Türk metropolleri*) and "Turkish economy" (*Türk ekonomisi*). The language of the 1970s reflects how ethnic identity was not prominent. We know that the use of language in this respect has been a political issue since the 1990s, i.e., the term "*Türk*" (Turkish) has been replaced by "*Türkiyeli*" (from Turkey) or "*Türkiye'de*" (in Turkey), thus "*Türkiye'de kadın*" (women in Turkey), or "*Türkiyeli kadın*" (women from Turkey), "*Türkiye ekonomisi*" (Turkey's economy), and "*Türkiye halkı*" (people of Turkey) or "*Türkiye halkları*" (peoples of Turkey). This new trend indicates the recognition of all ethnic groups living in Turkey. In fact, the use of the term "*Türk*" rather than "*Türkiyeli*" is considered an ethnical approach now. This change within twenty years is certainly remarkable.

The Stance of the Turkish Left vis-à-vis the Women's Question in the 1970s

The decade of the 1970s was the heyday of the Turkish Left and labor movement. Women also took part in this movement and succeeded in enlarging their place. In fact, the developments in the 1960s paved the way for the movement in the late 1970s. In the 1960s, the Turkish Workers' Party and the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions were founded, signaling for the further enhancement of the labor movement. The events in 1968 were largely a students' movement. The labor movement, or rather the leftist movement, put its imprint on the aftermath of the 1973 elections.

1968 was the year when the students' movement reached its peak in Turkey as well as in many other countries in the world. The women's movement occupied a significant place in the political movements in a large number of countries then. This political wave provided a momentum for the women's movement too. Its impact varied in accordance with the economic, historical, and cultural conditions of different countries.

The political movement that took off in 1968 came to an end with the military coup on March 12, 1971. The

leftist movement was able to recover from the devastating impact of the military after the general elections were held in 1973, the government (the coalition between the Republican People's Party and the National Salvation Party) was formed, and those leaders who were in prison were released with the general amnesty in 1974.

While trying to recover from the impact of the coup, the Turkish socialists debated Marxism-Leninism and divided into many groups. The main axis of division was the two main poles of the socialist world: the Soviet Union and China. There were various factions in between. Many people shifted their allegiance, and this led to significant changes. Thus, the Turkish Left became organized in a quite a large number of group on a massive scale.

The first socialist party that was formed after March 12, 1971, was the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi*, TSİP) (June 1974). This party proposed to establish a "Popular Front" to create the people's democratic power on the basis of unification of all the social segments whose interests lay in independence, democracy, and freedom. In their opinion, the basic groups that would form this front were workers and peasants.

Then the Turkish Workers' Party was re-established in April 1975. This party identified the working class as the main focus of activity, and declared that the struggle for independence and democracy would be carried on as part of the struggle for socialism.

The Turkish Labor Party was also founded in 1975. This party maintained that Turkey must do away with the feudal remnants and gain its independence in the economic and political realms in order to enter the stage of socialism; thus, it was necessary to achieve a National Democratic Revolution.

Another socialist party, the Socialist Revolution Party (*Sosyalist Devrim Partisi*), argued that it was the heir of the former the Turkish Workers' Party. The Fatherland Party was the rebirth of the party of the same name which had been banned in 1957. A faction left the party and founded the Socialist Fatherland Party due to diverging ideas on armed struggle and the leadership of the Soviet Union.

There was great diversity among the youth movements. This diversity was reflected in all the democratic mass organizations, trade unions, and professional associations, while most of the leftist organizations became organized among the youth. For this

reason, the diversity within the leftist movement manifested itself most clearly among university students. The students' movement left aside the slogans with particular demands on the university life, and began to embrace those that reflected the identities of various factions. The main reason for the division within the Turkish Left was the division within the world's socialism and the deepening polarization between the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The unity among university students was completely gone by 1976 when they declared each other enemies, using insults such as "social fascists" and "Maoist grey wolves."

Moreover, all the social classes were involved in political struggles, thus quite a few professional organization, the so-called "democratic mass organizations," came into being. Becoming organized led to the formation of political camps that were inimical to one another. Thus, women were also involved in the socialist political organizations. The relationship between women and politics, however, was very weak.

In the aftermath of the 1977 general elections, political cleavage into various camps became tremendously pronounced, while the relation of women to politics was

virtually excluded. By looking at the newspapers and magazines published prior to the elections held on June 5, 1977, we can see more clearly how this relationship was envisaged.

For instance, the daily *Politika* published an article entitled "We've Grown Much Larger from 1973 to 1977" (*1973'ten 1977'ye Çoğaldık*) stating that:

Exploiters, fascists, and those who hope that fascism will help you! The working class women will give you the necessary lesson in 1977. Their loud voices will overcome the escalating fascism with their just demands in public squares on Mayday, and in the elections in June.¹⁷¹

As we discussed earlier, the seemingly progressive discourse that appealed to the women as mothers, as in the demonstration entitled "We Don't Want to Mourn for Our Children Anymore" (*Evlat Acısına Son*) betrayed a patriarchal conception; nor could the article cited above be viewed as an exception. Let us look at another example from the *Politika* again, this time the article "Let Us Go to the Polls on June 5" (*5 Haziran'da Sandık Başına*) published on May 31, 1977: "If we want milk and food for our babies, jobs and security for our spouses, and

¹⁷¹ Ayşegül Yaraman, *Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Temsili* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, November 1999), p.107.

freedom and equality for ourselves (...), then we must be within, in fact, in the very midst of the political struggle." What we see again is the approach of mobilizing women by appealing to their domestic roles.¹⁷²

In the latter half of the 1970s, the Turkish democracy movement worked to gain strength, large masses tended to support the left, and massive movements took place. The "women's question," however, was not on the agenda. The women question had been discussed within the framework of "women's rights" in the 1960s. The phrase "women's liberation" (*kadınların kurtuluşu*) was articulated mainly by leftist and Marxist individuals and groups, while the "women's emancipation" was not used at all.

Moreover, the leftist movement of the 1970s looked upon quite a few associations founded during the Republican era with suspicion and viewed them as free-time organizations for bourgeois women. They were also critical of Kemalist policy regarding the women's issue, thus arguing that the women's branches of political parties were organizations without any functions. They

¹⁷² Ibid., p.108.

simply claimed that the sole way for salvation was socialism without formulating any ideas for solutions.

When one of the most favored books of the period, the four-volume *Principles of Marxism-Leninism*, which was published in 1975, is analyzed, it is seen that only a few pages in the fourth volume are about women. As is evident in the book, reaching the goal of socialism would not solve the problem of "equality;" the stage of communism had to be awaited for the solution of this problem. After the transition to communism,

women will again remain as women with their great social task of being a mother and with all their characteristics. There is no regime like socialism that will sublimate women as much; women will be provided with great affection and care, and all the opportunities will be put before them.¹⁷³

How can we interpret the phrase "women remain women will again remain as women with all their characteristics"? Perhaps "first a mother with personality, then a wife with personality"? Since socialism "will distribute awards and medals to those mothers with a lot of children," priority should be placed upon being a mother. These principles make clear

¹⁷³ *Marksizm Leninizmin İlkeleri*, vol.4, trans. Nadiye Y. Çobanoğlu (İstanbul: Yar Yayınları, Ağustos 1975), p.307.

that women's emancipation would not be immediately complete by the transition to communism, because communism is supposed to protect "mothers with affection and care by bestowing upon respect and honor."¹⁷⁴ Women were always "protected" by their fathers, husbands, and the state. The phrase "they will never be burdened with heavy tasks" is also noteworthy. Since the stage of the transition to communism is supposed to provide complete equality, how can one possibly explain the need to protect women?

According to Marxism, there will be "no difference between manual and mental labor," yet it appears that gender roles will not alter and that the difference between men and women will be maintained in order to "protect" women.

Today feminists in Turkey discuss the consequences of such decisions as the lengthening of the duration of maternal leave and disallowing women to work night shifts. From the male supremacist perspective, the "protection of women" means to exclude them from certain realms of social life. For this reason, it is necessary to be cautious of the practices developed so as to

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.187.

protect women. In Marxist theory, "working women" are lumped into a single category, while the individual liberation of women is entirely ignored. No problem that directly interests women as individuals is dealt with in an elaborate way within the Turkish Left.

Perhaps one of the most important reasons for this was the "written sources" that set the ideological agenda of the Turkish Left in the 1970s. This issue will be taken up in more detail in the following chapters. But here let us briefly look at some examples. The magazine *Ürün* published an article entitled "Women and Socialism" (*Kadın ve Sosyalizm*) in 1975, which stated: "the main problem in the women's question, i.e., harmonizing the socially beneficial labor with the task of motherhood." According to the article, "Marxist-Leninist theory does not separate the women's question from the general question. That is to say, this question depends upon the proletariat's class struggle against capital for its emancipation."

The interesting aspect of the article is the criticism leveled against A. Bebel:

The idea A. Bebel could not analyze from a Marxist viewpoint was the following: The emancipation of women from home is possible even under capitalism. Bebel argues that thanks to the mechanization of housework and

scientific and technical innovations, women could be liberated from domestic slavery. Based on these data, he claims that revolutionary novelties took place even within bourgeois society. (...) These novelties, however, cannot be put into practice under class society conditions. Thus, Bebel misinterprets Marxism and falls prey to social-democratic, opportunistic views. He maintains, as Lenin wrote, the transformation of the state based on class domination into a national state.¹⁷⁵

Bebel wrote the following in his book *Women and*

Socialism:

Today the old conditions still exist, but only as an exception. Housework was deemed natural formerly, but since industry performed these tasks better, more practically, and more cheaply than housewives, most women quit them. For this reason, there is not home equipment to perform them at least in urban areas. Thus, a great revolution took place in our family life within a few decades - a revolution, which we do not consider important since we take it for granted. (...) This revolution, which has occurred in our domestic life and which still proceeds, has significantly altered women's status within the family.¹⁷⁶

In the chapter entitled "The Struggle for Political Equality," the author discusses and expresses support for the women's struggle for rights in American and European countries. Lenin later criticized Bebel's views on the state in his book *State and Revolution*. Lenin's works

¹⁷⁵ Elmas Tatarova, "Kadın ve Sosyalizm," *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, no. 10 (April 1975), pp.62-63.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.62-63.

were considered to be the fundamental source on women's questions from the socialist perspective. Simply put, the women's question was not deemed as a separate problem apart from class struggle.

In fact, the Turkish Left did not deem it necessary to view the women's question as an independent question between 1975 and 1980. In many publications of the period, the women's question was discussed alongside with a large number of other political and social problems under the general heading "democratic rights." Moreover, it is also noteworthy that Marxist theory, in general, deals with the women's question from a class perspective, giving priority to the problems of working women both in urban and rural areas, and regarding women's participation in production as the main goal.

While the Turkish Left tried to maintain a strictly class-based approach, its views on the women's question were extremely biased. Gender-blind research only served to perpetuate this approach. In the 1970s, especially in the second half of the decade, ideological concerns seem to dominate most writings, disregarding the gender issue. These writings also deal with women's status in the pre-Republican era. Some research that was based on ideological preconceptions described the conditions under

which the Ottoman elite women had lived and depicted the palace women in the following words: "they used to think solely of getting dressed up all day from morning to evening and of entertaining men in the evenings."¹⁷⁷ This publication argues that peasant women had to endure double exploitation by working at home and in the field, and criticizes slavery, while presenting the women who had no choice but to live in the palace as leading lives of pleasure. This is a typical example of reading history through the leftist ideological lens. Here we come across an attempt to project anachronistically the contemporary division between bourgeois women and working women into an earlier period. Apparently, this view ignores the fact that the women in the imperial harem had no choice but to live there, thus under the condition of virtual slavery, even though not all of them had the legal status of slaves.

Kemalist authors viewed the pre-Republican Ottoman era in a more critical way, concentrating upon some demands for the improvement of the Ottoman women and for their having status similar to that of the women in the

¹⁷⁷ *Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu* (Ankara: Türk İktisatçılar Birliği Yayınları, 1975), pp.8-9.

West. They also emphasized the fact that the women in the imperial harem had not chosen their lives by their own free will. Thus, the Kemalist assessments regarding this issue seem to be based upon a more realistic ground than Marxist claims.

On the other hand, Şirin Tekeli, a pioneering figure with her studies in women's political and social conditions, depicts the conditions of the women living in the imperial harem in a clear way: "The women living in the harem were slaves socially, if not legally. Harem as an institution is a typical example of the condition defined as 'domestic slavery' by Engels." Tekeli's description is also based upon a class perspective, but she does not hesitate to describe the condition of the women in the harem as a form of social slavery.

But in general, the class-based approach of the left movement of the period simply amounted to ignoring the women's question entirely. Since feminism was deemed to be a deviant, bourgeois movement, the term "feminist" was used as a word of denigration and insult. When we look into the publications of the socialist women's organizations between 1975 and 1980, we observe that there is very little information on Kollontai's life and

works, whereas we do come across with quite a few articles about Rosa Luxemburg and Krupskaya.

Aytunç Altındal published the first edition of his book entitled *Türkiye’de Kadın (Marksist Bir Yaklaşım)* in 1975. This book, which was based on the claim that the women’s question had to be viewed from a class perspective, was taken as a reference point in the debates of the period. In the second enlarged edition of the book, published in 1977, Altındal replied to the criticisms leveled against him. He claims that the UN’s international women’s decade declaration was a scheme of Western capitalism, trying to prove that it was not a “democratic advantage.” He argues that a democratic advantage can only occur when “rights have been acquired forcefully within the struggle in the leadership or laboring classes, workers and peasants.”¹⁷⁸ Another criticism leveled against his book was that he did not mention the demand for equal pay for equal work. Altındal argues that this slogan is not revolutionary because:

First, “equal pay” cannot be translated as “Eşit Ücret” into Turkish, since “ücret” is “wage” in English, whereas “pay” means “maaş.”
Second, “this slogan implied a principle so

¹⁷⁸ Aytunç Altındal, *Türkiye’de Kadın (Marksist Bir Yaklaşım)* (İstanbul: Havass Yayınları, 1975), p.17.

favorable to the dominant class/classes that even the Shah of Iran was proud of applying this principle. In short, it is meaningless to express this demand in the countries where capitalism prevails. The first organization that accepted this principle in Turkey was Türk-İş (The Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions). Türk-İş is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is the strongest labor organization of the capitalist-imperialist system." Last, "In Turkey, the principle of equal pay to equal work is applied in government offices. This shows how inconsistent the slogan is.¹⁷⁹

It is startling to see such an economist and overcautious approach. All the developments in women's rights are viewed as schemes of the bourgeoisie. This viewpoint, albeit extreme, cannot be regarded too much apart from the general trend of the period.

Later in the book, we come across the fear that March 8 celebrations might become one of the schemes of bourgeoisie. According to the author, March 8 celebrations might turn into "a buffoonery like Mother's Day."¹⁸⁰ This fear was illustrated by a news story published in the daily *Milliyet* on March 28, 1977, which shows "progressive" women who made a celebration by dancing "*çiftetelli*" and eating shish kebab.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.20.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.20.

In the 1990s, March 8 came to be celebrated by "bourgeois women." Even women's programs on TV celebrated March 8. These programs did not explain why March 8 had become women's day, which appeared to be similar to Mother's Day. Political parties hang placards celebrating women's day, but they make little effort when the question of women's political representation arises. We also know that products such as special gift packages or chocolates are offered for sale on March 8 in Europe. In the developed capitalist countries, every event is seized upon as an opportunity for promoting sales. Just as Mother's Day, March 8 has been turned into an opportunity for increasing consumption. In Turkey, however, March 8 has not yet become a day when gifts are presented to women. In Turkey, women celebrate March 8 with mass demonstrations expressing their demands, and the media cover these events. Thus, March 8 is still a day of political significance; thus there is no need for such conspiracy theories.

In Turkey, where the feminist movement is still not very strong, the effects of the consumerism on March 8 have yet to be seen. Moreover, it is regarded as appropriate for workers to dance on May 1, but when women dancing for celebration give rise to fear in some

circles. In a social setting where women are not trusted, it appears easier to make such fears more prevalent.

The author of the above-mentioned book levels one of his harshest criticisms against cinema. In the chapter with the comprehensive title of "Cinema and Women" (*Sinema ve Kadın*), he puts forward his belief that cinema morally corrupts women. "Cinema is one of the factors that lead some Turkish women into the corrupt way of life,"¹⁸¹ he declares. According to him, "some ignorant women" run away from home to Yeşilçam¹⁸², finally finding themselves in unlicensed brothels.¹⁸³

Altındal reiterates the popular prejudices against cinema, which were very common in the 1960s and 1970s. Since there was only a limited number of TV sets in homes even in the 1970s, cinema occupied an important place in daily life and in the popular imagination. Moreover, there was a trend of sex films, the audience for which was all male. By describing the negative influence of cinema on women only, the author appears to reflect the popular ideology that depicts women as easily falling

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p.186.

¹⁸² It is the name of a street in Beyoğlu. It refers to the movie industry in Turkey.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.186.

prey to any corrupting influence due to their weak nature. Apparently, women could be the victims of the corrupt way of life at any time!

Altindal's definition of feminism fits into the general outlook of the period as a movement that would only benefit capitalism/imperialism.¹⁸⁴ According to him, "free women" would bring about nothing but "making some men pleased." This phrase raises a number of questions. Why should men be happy with this? What benefits do capitalists and imperialists gain from women who advocate sexual freedom? How can we think that capitalism, i.e., a system that tries to oppress women in every sphere, would benefit from women's liberation in the field of sexuality, a field where women's oppression is most prominent? I think Altindal does take into account Alexandra Kollontai when he argues that socialist women have nothing to do with this issue.¹⁸⁵

In fact, Kollontai's works had been banned in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist era. Women's demand for sexual freedom was not approved under socialism or capitalism, while the freedoms that had been acquired

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p.192.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.193.

could be taken back very rapidly. In short, there is no evidence showing that sexual freedom is a trap created by capitalism. Altındal puts Kate Millet into the group of women who fell prey to this trap, while criticizing feminist women's demonstrations without bras.¹⁸⁶ We come across the same type of criticism in *Kadınların Sesi*, the periodical of the Progressive Women's Association, where it is claimed that feminism means that women wear no bras.

Altındal assesses the problem of prostitution from a "class" perspective, claiming that it can be explained by economic difficulties.¹⁸⁷ The author, however, does not mention that prostitution has been made official, and in a sense supported by the state. While ignoring the fact that the problem cannot be done away solely by improving women's education, he does not deal with possible state policies regarding this issue.

Other examples can be cited about the approach of the Turkish male-dominated leftist organizations in the 1970s to the women's questions, thus gaining some clues as to the place the socialist women's movement occupied

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.179.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p.186.

in that decade. For example, a study published by the Association for All Economists (*Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği*) in 1975 does not appear to be much different from the general trends of the decade in its approach to the women's question and its solution. This work also deals with the question from a class perspective, arguing that,

the main tasks of women are bearing children, doing housework, and being the means for men's sexual satisfaction ... She works in the fields, and even when she does the same job with men in the industry, she receives a lower wage, that is to say, she is exploited more intensely. She cannot decide by herself where to spend the money she earns ... she is denigrated in the society, and she is oppressed by a large number of institutions, laws, and judgment values. Since she is denied the opportunities for education, she has to be unconditionally dependent upon men.¹⁸⁸

It is stated in this work that legal regulations will not be able solve the women's question, that the demands such as women getting help in household chores, equal payment to women, doing the same jobs as men do, women's earlier retirement, or the abolition of women's sexual oppression and easier access to birth control methods will only provide solutions to superficial aspects of the problem. Here the first criticism is leveled against the solutions put forward by liberal

¹⁸⁸ *Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*, pp.8-9.

feminism, while the second one against radical feminism is noteworthy. The common ground is that both feminist groups mix up causes and effects in women's exploitation, and that they miss the close relationship between the capitalist system and exploitation. It is also argued that the feminist movement did make the women's question more visible in the 1960s, but the declaration of the international women's decade in 1975 did not bring about a fundamental solution to the problem. The basis of the women's question is put in the following terms:

The fundamental reason for women's oppression and subjugation by the other sex in bourgeois society is that they are not able to participate in the production more commonly, and they are not allowed to have a say in the social development, which affects them as well. The bourgeoisie looks upon the women of their class as decorative figures, while the women of the working masses are subject to the greatest oppression and exploitation because of the superstructure of the society even though they do commonly participate in production.¹⁸⁹

It was pointed out above that the class perspective on the women's question was observed in the evaluations on the Ottoman society. We see more clearly in some examples in this research. It is argued that women had no control over their body under feudalism, but it is

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.10-11.

emphasized that this was solely the problem of working (serf) women. Apparently, it is concluded that palace women did not suffer from the lives they led; only working women had to endure oppression. It is interesting to note that the status of the upper class women, especially palace women, is easily discarded again in this "class" perspective.

The criticism of the Republican era is based upon the argument that it only changed the form of the women's double oppression both by the patriarchal family and capitalist relations of production. Moreover, it is claimed that it was for women to come to power and enact laws in favor of themselves under capitalism. It is also pointed out that the literacy rate amongst women in the 1970s was still 29 percent.

This research also refers to the "laws that made the second sex," especially the articles in the Civil Code. Today all these articles have been repealed or amended. In Articles 152, 153, and 154 of the former Civil Code, the husband was the head of the household, he was to provide for the expenses of the wife and their children, he would choose the house in which they would live, and he would represent the marriage. Article 190, which was much debated and amended in the 1990s,

stipulated that the husband might want the wife to contribute to the family budget at a suitable rate. According to Article 159, the woman who decided to work outside had to get the written permission of her husband, thus making her dependent upon him. Even when she did work at a paid job, according to Article 190, she had to give her earnings to her husband. Article 200 stipulated that she could disclaim an inheritance only upon her husband's permission. While a woman who was found in the same room alone with a man was regarded to have committed adultery, a man who was found having sex with another woman was not considered to have committed this crime. In the above-mentioned publication, these constraints on women were attributed to the transition from collective property to private property, i.e., the emergence of a class society.

In this publication, it is also argued that women's liberation is impossible under the present system even when they work and take part in production. Participation in production is a prerequisite for liberation, but this problem cannot be solved unless the main contradiction of the class society is resolved. It is emphasized that legal equality is not sufficient for women's liberation, while the conclusion is the following: "Women's true

liberation will be achieved under the conditions created by the socialist society." In order to reach this goal, it is necessary to have "the consciousness that women and men should struggle side by side."

Even though it is admitted that the feminist movement contributed to the recognition of the women's question in this publication, feminism is criticized as a movement that leads to deviations.¹⁹⁰ This approach remained dominant until well into the 1980s when feminism began to acquire legitimacy.

When this work was published in December 1975, none of the socialist associations that would mobilize large masses had been formed yet. The women's question was only on the agenda of the associations formed by bourgeois women. Since there was no feminist movement in Turkey then, the criticism leveled against feminism was against the discourse of Western feminists. Since the actions and discourse of Second Wave feminism were not known sufficiently well and socialist feminism was not discussed at all, feminism was conceived as a danger to socialism. This perception was prevalent amongst the socialist leftists in the 1970s, and it persisted well

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p.9.

after the 1980s. The only way to "women's liberation" was held to be the abolition of capitalism and the transition to socialism. This point of view was invariably present in all the leftist publications in the 1970s.

In the following chapters, the approach of the socialist women's associations will be analyzed in detail.

It appears that the Marxist movement in the 1970s did not go beyond the discussions of the "women's question" in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. After the 1930s, because of the concern about the infallibility, truth, and realization of socialism, all the discussions on the "women's question" were shelved. "Since the Soviet Union was the ideological leader of the Communist movement, the Marxist theory made no headway in any countries which belonged to the Comintern."¹⁹¹

Despite the fact that a number of significant steps were taken in terms of women's rights in the socialist countries, no important theoretical contribution was made until the 1970s.

¹⁹¹ Hilda Scott, *Does Socialism Liberate Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1974), p.69.

In fact, the legal regulations to emancipate women made in Russia in 1918 were labeled "bourgeois democratic" later on. These rights were revoked in the later years. In the 1930s, when the birth rate decreased, a campaign was waged against abortion. In 1936, during the First Five-Year Plan period, abortion in the first pregnancy was outlawed. In 1944 abortion was made illegal, and those aiding the women who wanted to have an abortion were threatened with two-year imprisonment. In the law enacted in 1935, the family was declared responsible for the care, maintenance, and education of children.¹⁹² When sexuality, family, and reproduction were taken as a whole, the end result came to accord a special place to the father in the family. When the State devolved its authority to the family, this authority came to be represented by the father within it.

When it is taken into account that the women's section of the Communist Party was banned in the Stalinist era and the important theoretical works of Kollantai in this field were heavily criticized, it

¹⁹² Kate Millet, *Cinsel Politika*, trans. Seçkin Selvi, 2nd edition (İstanbul: Payel Yayınları, 1987), p.280.

becomes evident why no theoretical contribution was made to the women's question in the socialist world.¹⁹³

This trend began to change in the Soviet Union in the 1970s, but the Marxist movement in Turkey did become aware of this change then, and continued to advocate the socialism of the 1930s. While different versions of Marxism were discussed in Western Europe, almost all of the Turkish Marxists shared the aversion of orthodox Marxists, while condemning all the new interpretations as deviations.

I shall briefly analyze the women's movements in European history and try to show that some European communist parties maintained a very critical stance against feminism even in the 1980s. Therefore, we cannot conclude that the entire Marxist movement in Europe supported feminism, while the Turkish left remained critical of it. The main problem revolved around the definition of the "women's question," and the orthodox Marxists had difficulty in deciding how to accommodate the political, economic, and social changes within its theoretical framework. Thus, they either ignored entirely all the new developments, or they declared the new

¹⁹³ Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*, p.30.

political movements as deviant. It is not surprising that most of the Turkish Marxists condemned Euro communism in this way.

The leftist movement had focused upon the people participation in production, while it tended to ignore those who were considered to be outside it. The following captures this point quite well: "The leftist movement, which got stuck to the contradiction between capital and wage labor, left out everything out of it in its analyses."¹⁹⁴

Some socialist women who were politically active in the 1970s strongly criticized in the 1980s that March 8 was celebrated by the name "International Women's Day" instead of "International Proletarian Women's Day". For example, Sibel Özbudun wrote the following in the periodical *Varlık* in 1985:

... this year again the International Proletarian Women's Day faces two threats. On the one hand, there are efforts to make it forgotten because of its "alien nature" and "disruptive implications" it involves (as a matter of fact, some initiative has already been taken to replace a national day on December 5); on the other hand, there are domestication attempts by official-feminist

¹⁹⁴ Anja Meulenbelt, *Feminizm ve Sosyalizm* (İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 2. printing, 1987), p.82.

circles to reduce it to an ordinary "Women's Rights" day and empty its contents.¹⁹⁵

The leftist movement seems to have assumed to have the authority to divide women into two groups (working women and bourgeois women) and decide who has the right to celebrate March 8.

The fact that many socialist women often complained that March 8 celebrations had been "usurped" by some groups in the 1980s indicates their approach to the early beginnings of the feminist movement in Turkey. This anxiety is understandable because the leftist movement had lost all of its positions after 1980. Thus, the movement focused on who would "seize" these positions. Moreover, it was argued that the bourgeoisie had made official other historical days that were significant for the working classes, calling them different things and placing them within different frameworks. The clearest example of this was that May 1 had been officially renamed Spring Festival rather than Labor Day. That Nevruz was celebrated by the participation of the leading statesmen could be thought of in this way. The point here is that socialists felt angry when feminists began to

¹⁹⁵ Sibel Özbudun, *8 Mart'tan 8 Mart'a mı?* (İstanbul: Diyalektik Yayınları, March 1995), p.175.

celebrate March 8. The feminist movement in the 1980s, however, did not celebrate March 8 solely in terms of "women's rights". As it was pointed out above, that feminism was viewed as a bourgeois movement underlay the reaction. However, many socialist women who criticized feminism heavily in the 1970s declare themselves feminists today.

In the 1970s feminism was a very strong movement with a mass following, so much so that it was divided into two orientations, socialist feminism and radical feminism. Moreover, the feminist discourse was individualized and internalized. This individualization was directly linked with Westernization and modernization. In communitarian societies, individuals cannot define themselves apart from the community to which they belong. They account for their actions in terms of their network of relationships and their position within them rather than their own personality. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the aversion to feminism in communitarian Turkish society of the 1970s.

While feminism was viewed as a basis for social change in Europe in the 1970s, in Turkey it was usually condemned as a bourgeois ideology that might be an obstacle to the revolution. Since feminism was considered

to be a "bourgeois ideology," it was the socialist women who were perhaps the most vocal opponents of the feminist movement that developed in Turkey in the aftermath of 1980.

The interviews I held with the members of the socialist women's associations formed in the second of the 1970s make clear that most of their leaders come from "petit bourgeois" families. The problem of "bourgeois" women has occupied the minds of socialist feminists in many parts of the world. Since there were no groups that defined themselves as socialist feminists, it is no surprise to see the examples of critical arguments against "bourgeois" women put forward by socialist women in the socialist periodicals. The socialists argue that "bourgeois" women "are 1) not oppressed, 2) they are our enemies, because 3) they unite with their men."¹⁹⁶ Delphy points out the contradiction in the fact that the women who make these accusations define themselves as middle class and oppressed and part of the women's liberation movement. Typical examples of these accusations can be found in the periodicals of the socialist women's

¹⁹⁶ Christine Delphy, *Baş Düşman Patriyarkanın Ekonomi Politiği* (İstanbul: Saf Yayıncılık, 1999), p.123.

associations founded in the second half of the 1970s and in the interviews conducted with them, which will be analyzed in detail later on.

In fact, the socialist approach to the women's question was similar in a large number of European countries. Being taken seriously by the socialist groups has always been a problem for women.¹⁹⁷ When socialist women took part in, or even supported, the women's movement, these women were often slighted.

Since the women's movement was deemed to be a support or reserve force to recruit the masses for the revolutionary struggle, everything considered to be "women's job" had to be shouldered by women. Women who were supposed to carry out reproductive tasks rather than productive ones were held responsible for preparing meals for those workers who were on strike, and to do the laundry of their male comrades who were single and lived alone. Socialist women performed these tasks without questioning them.

In Clara Zetkin's memoirs, we learn that Lenin once said to her:

¹⁹⁷ Meulenbelt, p.81.

There are not few points in common between the women's movement and the youth movement. Our female comrades should work with the youth in planned way everywhere. This is the extension of motherhood from the individual to the social, thus its expansion and sublimation.

This expression makes clear that women were confined to the role of motherhood and were not allowed to go beyond this "motherhood consciousness" at the individual or social level.¹⁹⁸

When viewed from the constructed epistemology of women, it is clearly seen that "motherhood consciousness" had been dominant in the socialist organizations, which restricted women's freedom in the movement.

The socialist women could find relative freedom only in their own associations where they held the leadership positions, too. There were quite a few other socialist women's associations apart from the Progressive Women's Association, the Democratic Women's Union, and the Women's Section of the Turkish Workers' Party.

The analysis of the Ankara Women's Association, the Revolutionary Eastern Women's Association, about which we have access to only a limited number of documents, will

¹⁹⁸ Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Komintern ve Clara Zetkin, *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine*, 4th printing (İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, 1996), p.311.

undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of the socialist women's movement in the 1970s.

The Ankara Women's Association (AKD), which was founded in Ankara in 1975, was initially composed of university students and mothers. Their activities and members were limited at first. Later on, a political organization (the Revolutionary Path, *Devrimci Yol*) launched a campaign to take over this association. Some female members of this organization joined the organization and took over its leadership. As far as is known, they opened branches in Adana, İstanbul, Antep, İzmit and Ankara.

Ayşegül Devecioğlu, who tells about the activities of the association, discussed the tangible problems of the slum neighborhoods.

We launched the campaigns for water and garbage collection, and understood that we could mobilize women by these activities. In fact, these were intuitive activities, indulged in by the methods of trial and error. (...) We opened classes for literacy and cutting and sewing clothes. We took doctors there. We distributed medicine. We set up research groups for women's problems, such as day care centers. We launched campaigns thereby. We published newsletters and monthly bulletins

that made public the association's activities.¹⁹⁹

Devecioğlu's statements make clear that AKD had little autonomy:

"Since we imputed to the women's activities only the task of gaining more members for our political movement, we did perceive these (women gaining more self-confidence), but could not utilize it."²⁰⁰

The periodical of the AKD, *Ankara Kadınlar Derneği Aylık Bülten* (Monthly Bulletin) was first published in March 1976. The president of the association, Nevin İnanç, was also the owner of the bulletin. Its editor-in-chief was Güler Rakap. I had the opportunity to read the three issues of the bulletin found in the Women's Library.

The Ankara Women's Association later became unified with the Adana Revolutionary Women's Association (DEV-KAD - *Adana Devrimci Kadınlar Derneği*) to found the Federation of the Revolutionary Women's Associations (DKDF - *Devrimci Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu*). The periodical *Devrimci Yol* gives the news of this

¹⁹⁹ "Bir AKD'li ile Görüşme, Söyleşi (Ayşegül Devecioğlu)," *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no. 3 (September 1988), pp.26-27.

²⁰⁰ *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no. 3 (September 1988), p.26.

unification on its issue of March 20, 1978, and explains its purpose as follows:

As we pointed above, we, the AKD and the DEV-KAD, came into existence in order to implement the practical revolutionary policy, having the consciousness that the women's question can only be resolved by the accomplishment of the class struggle, and advocate that this "practical revolutionary policy" had to be implemented when it became necessary to organize tens of thousands of women who do not take part in the struggle for the reasons cited above.²⁰¹

As this quotation makes clear, a separate women's organization was still being debated as a "problem" within the Revolutionary Path movement then. In order to resolve this debate, a kind of persuasion method was put forward, by quoting Lenin's words and arguing that the conditions required an urgent "practical" policy:

"A separate organization makes it possible to draw women into active struggle by organizing them around necessary interests and demands."²⁰²

Another women's organization with some of whose members I held interviews for this study is the Revolutionary Eastern Women's Association (DDKD), i.e.,

²⁰¹ "Ankara Kadınlar Derneği," *Devrimci Yol*, no. 13 (January 15, 1978), p.11.

²⁰² "Devrimci Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu Kuruldu," *Devrimci Yol*, no. 16 (March 20, 1978), p.13.

the women's organization of the Kurdistan Vanguard Workers Party (PPKK). Since this party had been illegal from its formation onwards, their members came together in their legal youth and women's associations, i.e., the Revolutionary Eastern Culture Association (DDKD) and the Revolutionary Eastern Women's Association (DDKAD). This women's association was founded in Diyarbakır in 1978 and carried on its activities in this branch only until September 12, 1980. The DDKAD did not have a periodical. One of the members of the association with whom I held an interview said the following:

At first, it was a man who directed our meetings. As we grew mature, he withdrew. Most of the leaders were students; there was a working woman. A high school unit and a university unit were formed within the association. Married women were not very active in their participation. In fact, their husbands were within the organization. Single women were more active. There were some ladylike figures; they used to come to the meetings rarely. But those women who had (male) relatives were respected more.²⁰³

She said the following on the activities of the

DDKAD:

Sewing, literacy, and art classes opened in Diyarbakır. Seminars on women were held in the association. Women's position at home was

²⁰³ A member of DDKAD, interview by author, tape recording Istanbul, Turkey, 13 May 2000.

questioned. 300-400 women used to take part in these seminars. Only those in the executive body were trained in the political cadre activities. Moreover, we organized a "night" on March 8. We prepared posters and handouts.²⁰⁴

We are told that the DDKAD had close ties especially with the Progressive Women's Association. They pointed out that they acted together with the women of the Progressive Women's Association in demonstrations. They also said that the number of the participants was "equal to the women of the Progressive Women's Association." Their memories about the Progressive Women's Association might be designated as a kind of admiration. They expressed that they envied the women from İstanbul, who went to Diyarbakır for the organization activities on their own since they were by no means able to go out of the city on their own.

She gave the following answer to the question about gender relations in their organization:

After I participated in the DDKAD, I shifted from the traditional morality to the "leftist morality." We used to meet secretly with my boyfriend, who was also from the organization. He had more fears than I. They were more ambitious, since they were part of the executive body. There was no discussion of equality in the association. When we asked the

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

men there why their women had not come, they used to tell us they were ignorant. There was no discussion of feminism. We used to read Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin on this issue."²⁰⁵

She gave the information that the president of the DDKAD was Sevinç İşcanlı, the head of the branch was Leyla Kahraman, the accountant was Halide Hanım, and the secretary was Bircan Tanrıkulu.

The third association about which we have access to some information is the Democratic Working Women's Union (*Demokrat Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği*). This association was founded in early 1979, and was banned on September 12, 1980. We have no information on the leaders of this association. We only have their program, which define women's liberation within the framework of Marxist theory. The sole significant difference is that it mentions the "fragmentation of the left," which might be attributed to the fact it had been established at the very end of the 1970s.

The program of the association read as follows:

"The doors of this organization, which has been founded with the aim of unification and making it a mass movement, will be open to everybody of any political persuasion who understands fundamental concepts such as

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

imperialism and fascism in their broader contours in the same way, and who is determined to take part in the struggle for independence and democracy. (...) Today the fragmentation of the left is a fact in Turkey. Maximum care will be taken so that this fact will not affect the activities of the organization adversely. Narrow-minded faction attitudes will be avoided and will not be allowed. (...) The functioning of the organization will be most appropriate to the principle of democratic centralism.²⁰⁶

These expressions should be evaluated in terms of the characteristics of the period. The left in Turkey had split into a vast number of factions then. They viewed the others not as socialist, leftist, and revolutionary, etc., while accusing them of being revisionist, opportunist, gauchist, social fascist, and Maoist fascist, etc. This group that seemed to be concerned about it tried to suggest a way out of this impasse.

Another interesting point is that one principle appears to be used only in the program of this association. The sentence in the program reads as follows: "The principles of the Democratic Working Women's Union are those that satisfy the minimum requirements of being a democrat and will embrace the largest masses of women: anti-imperialism, anti-fascism,

²⁰⁶ *Demokrat Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği Programı*, n.p., p.5.

and anti-chauvinism." The principle of "anti-chauvinism" is not seen in the programs of any other association.

Apart from these, there were other socialist women's organizations, such as the Working Women's Association (*Emekçi Kadınlar Derneği* - EKD), which was later renamed the Black Sea Women's Association (*Karadeniz Kadınlar Derneği* - KKD), supported by the movement of Liberation (*Kurtuluş*), and the Samsun Women's Association (*Samsun Kadınlar Derneği*). Apparently, they did little else than function as women's branches of a political faction.

It is clearly worth considering that despite vast differences in their understanding of socialism, the approaches and solution proposals to the women's question by the leftist movements converge to the utmost degree.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION UNITS OF THE THREE PARTIES

TKP: The Progressive Women's Organization (*İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*)

In the introduction, it was noted that socialist women's organizations were established more widely after 1975. It was also noted that the discourse on the potential "divisionary" effects of separate women's organizations on the class struggle was gradually being abandoned. After 1975, there was a search to find ways of getting women involved in the "class struggle" by focusing on problems that were peculiar to women. The İKD was one of the first examples of the effort made for this purpose. First, it was the *Türkiye Komünist Partisi*, TKP (Turkish Communist Party) that tried to establish a seemingly independent women's organization in 1974, aimed at gathering women from different camps (the TİP; the TSİP and other left wing camps) under one roof. This coincided with the time when the TKP itself was increasing its

organizational activities in Turkey. "This, in fact, reflected the TKP's efforts to enter the year 1975 with an affiliated "partisan "women's organization, like other communist parties did, as an extension of its organizational activities, rather than beginning to pay more attention to the women's question."²⁰⁷

In the more democratic atmosphere of the post-March 12 coup d'état period, it was not difficult for the TKP members to find women willing to work for a women's organization, a concept with which the Turkish socialist movement was unfamiliar. "Among the participants of the first meeting which was held to establish a progressive and democratic women's organization were Bilge Gömüç, Şeyda Talu, Zülal Kılıç, and Gönül Dinçer, who later became founders of the organization, as well as some women working who were affiliated with unions. The majority of these women were intellectuals, originally from the TİP."²⁰⁸

The participants of the first meeting decided to prepare a communiqué entitled "Why a Women's

²⁰⁷ ...ve hep birlikte koştuk (İstanbul: Açı Yayıncılık, 1996), p.15.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p.16.

Organization?" (*Neden Kadınlar Örgütü*) and they considered naming the organization "*Demokratik Kadın Derneği*" (The Democratic Women's Association). This communiqué revived a former conflict and thus women from the TSİP objected to the idea of a women's organization, arguing that it would "cause fragmentation among the laborers." However, as will be explained in the following pages, they too established a women's organization later, named *Demokratik Kadın Birliği* (the Democratic Women's Association). All these conflicts hindered the plan to start the organization on March 8, 1975. The organization decided to organize the 8 March Women's Day celebrations, open to the public for the first time, at the Dostlar Theatre in İstanbul.²⁰⁹

8 March celebrations were held in Ankara and during the celebrations, as well as on the TKP's radio channel, an announcement "women are becoming organized under the leadership of communist women" was made.²¹⁰ At the meeting held in Ankara, to finalize the organizational policy guidelines, women from the TİP announced that they were about to leave the party, because of the announcements that had been made on March 8th. In fact, women from the

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p.18.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p.18.

TKP were unaware of the announcement, and when they found out about it at the meeting, they showed their reactions, too.

At the time, the TKP and the TİP had started re-organizational activities and they were in fierce competition. However, the women decided once again to meet in İstanbul. In addition, women from the TKP considered an old TİP member as leader. And yet, at the end of a meeting held in İstanbul, members of the TİP left the organization saying they did not want to "follow the tail of the TKP" and "be provoked" and thus left the organization.²¹¹

Following this event, other members decided to continue their activities despite the absence of those who had left. Members looked for candidates for leadership and brought an offer to Bakiye Beria Onger for this. Upon her acceptance, members finalized the policy guidelines. In the final issue of *Atılım*, the TKP's publication, it was stated that a Democratic Women's Association was in the process of establishment under the leadership of communist women, and communists were called for support.²¹² In order to avoid any possible problems regarding a permit for

²¹¹ Ibid., p.19.

²¹² Ibid., p.20.

establishment, the name of the organization was changed to *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, İKD (Progressive Women's Organization).

The members of the first (provisional) administrative board were as follows:

President: Bakiye Beria Onger
General Secretary: Şeyda Talu
Accountant: Zülal Kılıç
Treasurer: Nursel Üstün (Şolt)
Members: Vahide Yılmaz, Hamiyet Akkaya, Saadet Sözal, Fatma Günel, Güner Dilsizoğlu.²¹³

Four of the nine administrative board members were workers in the metal and textile sectors, and one had worked as a metal worker and was a union member. The TKP members were a minority on the administrative board.²¹⁴

Below are the names and professions of the founding members, whose names were in the policy guidelines:

1. Beria Onger: Lawyer
2. Nursel Üstün: Engineer
3. Vahide Yılmaz: Mechanic
4. Fatma Günel: Mechanic
5. Zuhale Meriç: Teacher
6. Şeyda Talu: Housewife

²¹³ *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Tüzüğü*, Chapter I, duplicate copy, n.d.

²¹⁴ ... *ve hep birlikte koştuk*, p.20.

7. Dora Küçükyalçın: Doctor
8. Zülal Kılıç: Government Clerk
9. Gönül Taylan: Engineer
10. Saadet Sözel: Overlock Operator
11. Hamiyet Akkaya: Office Clerk
12. Güner Dilsizoğlu: Mechanic

The first head office of the İKD, legally approved on June 3, 1975, with thirty other founders, including the ones whose names are given above, was opened in Çeliktepe, in İstanbul, on the ground floor of a single-room shanty house.²¹⁵ Four years after its establishment, in 1979, the number of members of the İKD, which had widened its organizational network in a short time, reached 15,000, its branch offices 33 and its representative offices to 35. The İKD's journal, *Kadınların Sesi* (Women's Voice) had a circulation of 30,000."²¹⁶ The İKD, being the first organization closed down by the İstanbul Martial Law Command Post on April 28, 1979, continued its activities until September 12, 1980, both by way of gathering around *Kadınların Sesi* or through other organizational models.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.20.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p.11.

İKD's Policy Guidelines and Organizational Structure

The İKD was the first women's organization of the leftist movement, formed after the 1973 elections in the wake of the March 12, 1971 coup. It is significant that women of various political views came together in the formation of the association. However, as pointed out above, when it became clear that the İKD was formed under the leadership of the TKP, the women of the TİP and the TSİP abandoned the association. It is noteworthy that the İKD was the only women's association that brought together women of various leftist political factions under its own roof in its formative period in the 1970s.

When we look into the purpose of the formation of the association,²¹⁷ its difference from that of other women's associations is clear immediately. Furthermore, significant differences were apparent in its model of organization. The organizational structure²¹⁸ as outlined in the statute consisted of a Central Executive Committee, a Supervisory Committee, and branches, while the Second

²¹⁷ Ibid., pp.25-28.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p.75.

General Assembly of the association made the decision to add new bodies such as representative offices and regional secretariats. These two bodies had not existed in the organizational structure of associations, and were close to the model of the organization of political parties.

The first branches opened were in İstanbul, with branches in Şişli, Fatih and Kartal. That the association opened a branch in Şişli became an object of criticism and disdain in the following years by the other leftist organizations. The criticisms put forward were such that the district, where upper-income groups lived, was far away from the working class, and that the İKD had an elitist tendency. However, the leftist organizations were ignorant of the activities of each other to such an extent that they did not become aware of the fact that the İKD was primarily organized in the gecekondu areas. Our research makes quite clear that the main area of organizational activity focused upon female workers. Moreover, the İKD was able to establish a wide network of organization and increased the number of its members 11-12 times within three years, while its organizational success was basically based upon female workers and women in gecekondu areas.

The following are the words of one of the executive administrators of the Şişli branch on the issue of organizational activity:

Deniz Türkali used to frequent our branch. She used to put forward a number of suggestions concerning performing theater plays. We listened to her suggestions, but while speaking amongst ourselves, we argued that her suggestions were unrealistic. We had more important tasks than interests in arts. Our stance made her fall apart from the association. Moreover, a ceramics artist whose name I don't remember now used to come to the association and wanted to do some things. We turned our backs against her so much so that she broke her ties with us.²¹⁹

When we look at the profile of membership, we see that the percentage of working women was very high. While the percentage of industrial workers was 30 percent in İstanbul, the same figure decreases to six percent outside of İstanbul. There were no peasant members in the association.

²¹⁹ An executive administrator of the İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 17 March 2001.

Table 3. The Distribution of Members by Occupation
in 1976 ²²⁰

OCCUPATION	IN İSTANBUL	OUTSIDE İSTANBUL
Industrial workers	30%	6%
Students	22%	25%
Office workers	20%	13%
Teachers	10%	25%
Housewives	10%	17%
Self-employed professionals	8%	14%

When we examine the membership profile of the İKD, which primarily focused upon organizing in the large cities, we find out that 60 percent of its members in İstanbul (according to the data cited above) were educated, even though not all of them had higher education. In the cities other than İstanbul, 77 percent of all its members were educated. We can argue that the İKD mainly organized amongst urban working women (especially those living in gecekondu areas). It is clear that the İKD was successful in recruiting giving the fact

²²⁰ İKD I. Olağan Genel Kurul Çalışma Raporu (İKD's First Regular General Assembly Meeting Report), duplicate copy, p.16.

that the number of its members increased 11-12 times within a three-year period (1975-1978).

The report of the First General Assembly of the İKD states that the number of the branches of the association was eight, and that the number of the representative offices was eight, while the number of members was 1250. In the report of the First General Assembly of the İKD, the number of branches rose to 22, that of the representative offices rose to 26, while the number of members was 14,500.²²¹

As the rate of expansion of the association increased, the İKD set up regional secretariats, "in order to ensure better supervision." Thus, minor changes were made in the policy guidelines, and this brought about some changes in the administration of the association.²²² Thus, these changes in the policy guideline that reflected the model of organization are noteworthy. The İKD's policy guidelines, which were legally active for four years, were amended twice. However, although there was not much

²²¹ ... ve hep birlikte koştuk., p.23.; *İKD I. Olağan Genel Kurul Çalışma Raporu* (İKD's First Regular General Assembly Meeting Report), duplicate copy, p.1 (In this meeting report the numbers of offices is different: 8 branch offices and 2 representative offices.)

²²² Emel Akal, *Kızıl Feministler Bir Sözlü Tarih Çalışması*, Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı, İstanbul, 8 March 2003, p.155-163. (Setting up of regional secretariats are explained in detail.)

difference in basic principles, because of the widespread organization, the need arose to have better "control" over the branch offices and representative offices. Therefore, a Regional Secretariat was added to the policy guideline, which had not existed in the administrative chart earlier, facilitating the process of expelling members. The policy guideline reveals a traditional, center-based and hierarchical organizational structure.

The first article of the policy guidelines reads: "An organization named *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği* is established in İstanbul. It is not a political organization. The organization can open branch offices anywhere in Turkey."

The second article explains objectives of the organization:

The purpose of the organization is to prevent that the social and economic rights and liberties of Turkish women remain only on paper. It strives to put them into practice in daily life and for their improvement. The organization puts into effect all means available under the pertinent laws.

The organization attributes particular significance to the following:

All women, particularly laborers, should restore their status in social life and family, as designated by the law.

Those articles in the existing laws that are detrimental to women's rights and liberties

in the existing laws should be amended in accordance with the equality principle of the constitution.

Women's labor in factories, in the fields and in the office should be protected in accordance with the equal pay for equal work principle.

Women should be educated in order to defend their own rights, be interested in national and international problems and start participating in the process of finding solutions to problems, and they should become active defenders of the ideal of peace at home and in the world and of our national interests.

Motherhood should be acknowledged as a social contribution.²²³

Along with the policy guideline, the declaration of the foundation was prepared. This declaration, titled "Why a Women's Organization?," tries to explain the reasons why a need for the establishment of a women's organization was felt. The comments, evaluations and proposals made in this declaration reveal the political framework of the organization. The quotation below from this declaration gives insight into the İKD's and even the TKP's approach to women's rights and problems all over the world:

However, even in rich capitalist countries, which already have legally approved equality

²²³ İKD, *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Tüzüğü*, Chapter I, p.1.

between the two sexes, there is no equality in effect. A real inequality that makes itself felt by all means exists in these countries, too. Although, some legal progress has been made in these countries by democrats, revolutionists and progressive women's movements after a long struggle, it has not been possible to reach the humanist objectives of women's equality until now. Today, in such production systems, women still work at the most degrading positions for the lowest wages and their exploitation is far beyond that of men. As if this is not enough, they also perform their secondary duties as mothers, carry the burden of exhausting housework and suffer from all pervasive discrimination in educational, family, social and political life.²²⁴

When we look at the proposals regarding the women's question and the ways in which it can be resolved, we can see that they were all based on a single criterion:

"class." The declaration that I referred to above reads:

Women's economic, political and social emancipation will be achieved after a long and enduring struggle and it essentially depends on the elimination of exploitation. On the other hand, without the active and conscious contribution of women, who make up half of the population, the real emancipation of society and the transformation of this system of exploitation can not be achieved.²²⁵

This statement makes clear to what purpose the İKD was organized. The İKD claimed that the "true liberation"

²²⁴ ... ve hep birlikte koştuk, p.25.

²²⁵ Ibid., p.27.

of women depended upon a systemic transformation, and it urged the women it organized to strive for such a transformation as the first and main goal. It is not evident that the statement of “not being a political association” that we see in its first policy guideline did not match with the facts.

Kadınların Sesi (Women' Voice)

Voix des femmes (Women's Voice) was the name of a daily published during the 1848 revolution by Jeanne Deroin and Suzanne Voilquin.²²⁶ However, when the leaders of the İKD chose this name for their magazine, they did not know that the French socialist feminists had published such a daily in the nineteenth century.²²⁷

The İKD was officially founded on June 3, 1975, and it began to publish *Kadınların Sesi* in August 1975. The first issue of the journal consisted of four pages with

²²⁶ *A History of Their Own*, p.375-376.

²²⁷ I put this question to the former members of the İKD, and they stated that they had not known the daily had been published under the same title.

the dimensions of 40x70cm. The owner of the journal was Beria Onger, and the editor-in-chief was Zuhâl Meriç. The first issue numbered 5000 copies.²²⁸ In 1976, in issue no. 12, the magazine was made up of six pages and 10,000 copies were printed. When we examine the magazine, we can understand its evolution within a year. In fact, this change partially reflects the change in Turkey; that is to say, to what extent politics became more polarized. The coverage of the problems of working women decreased, while politics came to the fore. In May 1977, *Kadınların Sesi* made the decision not to be the mouthpiece of the association, but to be independent. This was thought to be a safeguard against any kind repression. It was a safeguard in two senses: the association would not be prosecuted for articles that appeared in the magazine, and if the association was banned, the magazine could carry on its life as an independent body. The owner of the magazine was Beria Onger, and Berin Uyar became the editor-in-chief.

In March 1978, the magazine published 25,000 copies. However, after the sales decreased, *Kadınların Sesi* began

²²⁸ ... ve hep birlikte koştuk, p.123.

to appear as a monthly, with issue no. 40 onwards (November 1978) with 24 pages with dimensions of 20x35 cm. This was solely a change of form, but the contents of the magazine had also changed. Now, the magazine had sections entitled "Children's Voice" (*Çocukların Sesi*) with puzzles, humor, even TV criticism. It began to focus on women's problems. The agenda in Turkey, however, did not allow for this kind of publication to survive; *Kadınların Sesi* soon changed into a much more political magazine.²²⁹

The goal of the magazine was to increase the number of copies sold up to 50,000 before May 1979. When the İKD was banned on April 28, 1979, *Kadınların Sesi* assumed a more significant role. The magazine was used both as a propaganda and an organization venue. The last issue (no. 61) of the magazine, was dated July and August 1980, before the military coup of September 12, 1980.

The most striking aspect of *Kadınların Sesi* was that every stage of the magazine was materialized only by women. There are no signatures under the articles. This points to the argument that the magazine was the end result of a collective effort. Given the fact that

²²⁹ ... ve hep birlikte koştuk, p.127.

foregrounding individual identity was frowned upon within the leftist circles during this period, one can easily discern the meaning of this preference. It is noteworthy that the women of the IKD performed each and every step of preparing the magazine, from writing the articles to distribution, from selling them in the streets to putting up posters. According to their accounts, at first they had wanted men from the IGD to assist them for "security" reasons, but when they realized that they wanted to dominate the scene and hold control over sales in the streets they ended the practice, thus only women made the sales. They also stated that the same course of events took place in the case of posters. Eventually, the women of the IKD maintained their hold on the organizational and agitative activities, and never allowed men to have control over any part of the women's magazine.

The magazine, which was produced only by women, clearly aimed to reflect working women's problems. Every issue of the magazine invariably displays this perspective, and when "bourgeois" women are covered, it is emphasized that they are "good-for-nothing." Especially in comic strips, the class difference amongst women is always present.

Another important feature of the magazine is that it published a message or an article on April 23 (Day for the National Sovereignty and Children) and May 19 (Day for the Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports) for the related events. Apart from the magazine, the İKD news agency used to publish news on these days. For example, on May 19, 1977, news release no. 42 stated: "May 19, 1919, illuminates our War of Independence today, too... We, as mothers and sisters, are proud of our young people who care for the future of our country, and who strive for independence, democracy, and social progress."

May 19, the Day for the Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth, and Sports, obviously underlines the significance of the Kemalist movement as an official holiday for celebrating the beginning of the War of Independence. It is noteworthy that in the 1970s the success of the War of Independence was held to illuminate the road of the movement. We know that in those days the War of Independence was taken as a model for the leftist movement, which claimed to carry on a similar struggle.

Another striking feature of the paragraph on May 19 penned by Beria Onger is the fact that is implicitly assumed that "young people who care for the future of the

country" are male, while women are assigned to the roles of "mothers and sisters" who are proud of these young men. It seems to be forgotten that young women also carried out the struggle in those days. In fact, this is a masculinist language, which we come across in many publications of the İKD.

Like May 19, April 23 also occupies a significant place for the agenda of the İKD. Beria Onger's statement to the press and the public opinion on April 21, 1977, which was released by the İKD News Agency (no. 38), reads as follows: April 23 "was the day that symbolizes the organization of an [until then] unorganized, but determined resistance by a people who had decided to wage a unrelenting war against imperialism -a day when we declared our national independence to friend and foe alike." The statement continues thus: "... today, while we are celebrating the 57th anniversary, our country is again in the lap of imperialism. (...) For 57 years, children's festivals have been not the festivals of all the people's children, but rather those of the children with the opportunity to have elegant clothes and to attend schools with the capability of arranging nice performances."

April 23 celebrations by the İKD were held in 1976 among a narrow group, but it turned into a wider celebration in 1977. This shows that the İKD did not have a clear-cut anti-Kemalist stance. It is quite significant that the İKD released messages for these two important days for the formation of the Turkish Republic and held celebrations on April 23. Even though the association employed almost all the important days and events for the purposes of organization and propaganda, these celebrations of May 19 and April 23 implied a different meaning. The other leftist organizations attributed to the İKD a pro-Kemalist, "statist" stance, while commenting on these celebrations as reflections of this stance. In fact, none of the leftist organizations knew much the others, and condemned them with cursory assessments. This research reveals that the İKD seized every opportunity to criticize the system and to pave the way for its own action. In fact, the criticisms leveled against the system were really harsh, turning the accusation of "statism" irrelevant.

Another point not to be overlooked is, however, that the founders and executive administrators of the association were the children of a Republican generation,

thus they were quite familiar with Kemalism, perhaps more importantly, certainly not orthodox anti-Kemalists. In a text entitled "Women in Turkey before the Republic" (*Cumhuriyet Öncesi Türkiye'de Kadın*) which belonged to the training materials of the İKD, the Republican advantages provided to the women in Turkey were listed, then it was claimed that these advantages could not be made widespread, thus the system was fiercely criticized.

In a large number of studies in the 1990s, especially those on the women's issue, the criticisms of Kemalism were put forward in a satiric tone, in a sense slighting its serious reforms. As far as I can see, most leftist movements in the 1960s and even in the 1970s followed a policy that did not entirely exclude Kemalism. The impact of left-Kemalism on the leftist movements is an area that is worthy of study. Here I can only formulate a question: Was the policy not entirely hostile to Kemalism a factor pivotal in the creation of a mass women's movement?

In order to understand the impact of left-Kemalism on the women's movement, the differing and overlapping areas in their discourses, it is necessary to have a look at the literature that discussed women's issues in the

late 1960s. At this point, the works of Beria Onger, who was the president of the İKD and the owner of *Kadınların Sesi*, might be beneficial: *Atatürk Devrimleri ve Kadınlarımız* (Atatürk's Revolutions and Our Women) and *Kadınların Kurtuluşu* (Women's Emancipation). Her life and works will be analyzed in detail below.

The İKD's President Bakiye Beria Onger

Born in Çanakkale in 1921, Bakiye Beria Onger started her primary education in Iğdır and completed it in Kırıkkale. She graduated from *Ankara Kız Lisesi* (Ankara Girl's High School), in 1938 and finished *Ankara Hukuk Fakültesi* (Ankara School of Law) in 1941. Onger worked as an officer for the Ministry of Customs and Excise and in 1957 started to pursue a career as a self-employed attorney. In 1946, she married Fahir Onger, an arts and literature critic and they had two daughters, Fahir Onger died in 1971.²³⁰

Interested in women's problems, and having conducted research on the subject, Beria Onger founded *Türkiye İleri*

²³⁰ *Kadınların Sesi*, Special Issue (Brochure for October 14, 1979 elections), Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı.

Kadınlar Derneği (Turkish Progressed Women's Organization) in 1965, which was closed in 1970, due to lack of personnel.²³¹ Her articles regarding the difficulties women had to face in social life were published in several daily papers, such as *Cumhuriyet* and *Akşam*, as well as in several union papers. She collected her articles on women in two books; one published in 1965, *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız* (Atatürk's Revolutions and Our Women), and the other in 1967, titled *Kadınların Kurtuluşu* (Women's Emancipation). Later, she was asked to be the president of *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği* (Progressive Women's Organization), established on June 3, 1975.²³² However, immediately after the establishment of the party, she developed a serious back problem and had to stay home for a year. Activities of the organization, however, continued in her absence. She legally continued her presidency until the İKD was closed down by the Emergency Rule on April 20, 1979. She continued her duty as İKD's president, even after the organization was closed down. She participated

²³¹ Zülal Kılıç, "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Kadın Hareketine Genel Bakış," *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p.351.

²³² ... ve hep birlikte koştuk, p.20; see Emel Akal Aslan, "Aykırı bir örnek: İKD" (A different example: İKD), *Yerli Bir Feminizme Doğru*, p.461. This study declares the İKD's official establishment on June 1, 1975).

in the foundation activities of the *Bariş Derneđi* (Peace Organization) and participated in the elections of October 14, 1979, as candidate for the seat of independent senator from İstanbul. ²³³

Like many other political refugees of the time, she left the country in 1981 and immigrated to Denmark after a talk she gave on the arrests and death sentences in Turkey, she had lost her Turkish citizenship. On December 10, 1988,²³⁴ seven people, including Beria Onger, returned Turkey by plane; however Onger was sent back on the same plane.²³⁵ She was allowed in the country only after 1990. Having become a citizen of Denmark, however, Onger lived her life in a pension in Copenhagen provided to her by the Danish government. Although she visited her daughters in İstanbul occasionally, she always preferred to go back to Copenhagen, Denmark, where she lived alone until recently.

²³³ Birsen Talay, "1979 Seçimleri ve Bakiye Beria Onger," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.183 (March 1999), pp.55-60.

²³⁴ The date December 10, 1988 was deliberately chosen because this was the 40th anniversary of the European Human Rights Protocol. A letter was written and delivered to some institutions, by the Families of Immigrants Commission of the Human Rights Organization, regarding the return of political immigrants to the country.

²³⁵ In an article titled "The İKD's President Beria Onger was not allowed into Turkey," Onger's refusal, the president of the largest women's organization of the pre-coup d'état era was protested. *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no.5 (January 1989), p.71.

She has been living in Turkey recently, and is now 81 years old.

I tried to gather more detailed information from her on her life and especially on her years dedicated to the İKD, however, I was informed that she did not want to talk about the subject. Hence, unfortunately, the interview could not be realized. Instead, I decided to conduct interviews with women who were members of the administrative staff of the İKD in İstanbul. The reason I chose women from the administrative staff is because they were closer to their president, Onger.

I interviewed ten İKD members, for written documents on Onger's life are few. However, one point that needs to be emphasized here is that during the interviews, Beria Onger, the president of the İKD, was described as the "symbolic" or "representative" character of the organization. I will focus on some significant details of Beria Onger's life, a truly unique "personality" who struggled to reinforce women's social status beginning with the 1960s, rather than the "symbolic" image of her.

Onger and Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği

As noted earlier, *Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği* was founded to “defend the Turkish women’s rights of liberty and equality under the light of Atatürk’s principles, and to fight against reactionaryism and fundamentalism that stands in the way.” The party’s founding members were Hayrünnisa Candan (Cengiz Topel Primary School Headmaster), Türkân Çavuşoğlu (İstanbul Second Commercial Court of First Instance, clerk of the court), Güzin Güner (İstanbul Revenue Head Office, Officer), Mevhibe Demiray (İstanbul Documentary Office Chief) under the leadership of Beria Onger (lawyer).²³⁶ The policy guidelines of the organization were published in *Economy* on March 23, 1965. And on April 3, 1965, the organization communicated via the Press Survey Office that their work plan was submitted to Governor Niyazi Akı.

The organization will search for ways in which they can make mothers with familial responsibilities successful and happy and implicate them into society. It will also guide the Turkish woman in her social, cultural and professional activities. We will also advise

²³⁶ *Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Tüzüğü* (Policy Guidelines of the Turkish Progressive Women’s Organization) (İstanbul: 1965), Article 2A.

women on how to use social and political rights in accordance with the constitution.²³⁷

In the "guiding" text prepared for further explanation of organizational activities, the second article of the policy guidelines is re-visited and the following are the points that strike attention: Article C, "To contribute to the social, cultural and professional activity and progress of Turkish women"; Article D, "to help bring working women's know-how up-to-date and to the level of advanced sciences."

It is interesting that it was felt these issues needed further explanation. The additional elucidation was expressed with these words: "In order to help Turkish woman acquire the ability to provide family welfare and contribute to social development, we need to offer her a good education that would allow her obtain a job or a profession." Thus, the articles suggests, should the Turkish woman strive for progress, self-improvement and a profession, it would not be for her own benefit, but for the family welfare and contribution to social development!

As many researchers have already pointed out, women were expected to be first "good wives" and "good mothers"

²³⁷ Ibid.

and only then could enjoy being successful professionals. Obviously, this article was rephrased in order to correct a "mistake" believed to have been made earlier on the subject. Amendments like this sought to prevent women from dispensing with their "womanhood."

One point that needs to be underlined here is that the group whose attention the organization tried to attract was limited to "working women." Therefore, as Article E of the guidelines explains, the objective was to "perfect the working conditions of women with professions." A further explanation was added to this article:

To perfect the working conditions and to provide women better environments means that we ask that women be protected by special regulations, other than the equality rights granted to them by law with Article 43, which says 'No one can be forced to do jobs inappropriate to their age, ability and gender. Children, the young and women are under a special protection by the law, in terms of working conditions.'²³⁸

At this point, it can be said that the organization did not consider the conditions provided for women after the establishment of the Republic sufficient. Especially, demands for new conditions for working women were also

²³⁸ Ibid.

part of the İKD's primary demands. Among these there was a demand for longer maternity leave and day care centers at every workplace.

Another point that strikes attention in the article is the expression that the organization was "proud to be the first national organization established to focus on the problems of working Turkish women and to propose solutions."²³⁹ Many organizations had been established before 1965, but only a few had focused solely on "improving" the living conditions of working women. According to the claims of the *Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği* (The Turkish Progressed Women's Organization), the organization was the first "national" organization that worked up to this purpose. While the administrators pointed out that collaboration with other women's organizations in Turkey would "strengthen" the organization, there was no article in the policy guideline on international relations.

The final point to be stressed about the articles is the name of the organization. The word "progressed" in the

²³⁹ Ibid.

organization's name must have caused some arguments, as it is clear from the explanation that followed:

The purpose of naming the organization "Progressed Women's Organization" is not, as some suggested, to imply that we are more "progressed" than any other women. Such a suggestion cannot be made by any organization that sets social objectives for itself and aims at "defending the rights of working Turkish women."²⁴⁰

The overall of the above examples from the policy guidelines of the organization is quite different from that of the tone of the texts of the mid-1960s; there was a keen interest in picking up pure Turkish words, and particular attention was paid to grammar and spelling. This effort gives some clues about the structure of the organization.

The "Women's Question" and Politics in Onger's Books

Members of the İKD whom I interviewed stated that Fahir Onger had a major influence on Beria Onger's literary life. They had a wide circle of friends who were mostly intellectuals, and they often had friends come over to their place in Bakırköy. What strikes the reader here

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

is that the women interviewed said that it was Onger's husband, who encouraged, urged or even "pushed" her into writing. They also noted that Onger's circle of friends was made up of her husband's close friends. Onger's collected articles, previously published in newspapers, were also published by Fahir Onger Publications.

Being a lawyer, in her articles, Onger mainly focused on women's constitutional rights. Her books that were published in 1965 and 1967 reveal an intellectual who was close to socialism as well as Kemalism and who supported the May 27 and the 1961 constitutions. One of the subtitles in her first book, *Atatürk's Revolutions and Our Women* was "Turkish Women in the Light of May 27." In this article she says that "women's problems need to be re-visited in the new socialist state that May 27 made available." During this period, the declaration of the new constitution had revived organizational activities.

Nevertheless, this did not reflect so much on women's movement in Turkey. In the 1960s, a second wave of the feminist movement emerged in the West. Women in Turkey, however, were quiet. It was during this period that Onger established an organization and wrote articles having to do with the problems of working women. It is

possible to say that both the organization and her works were based on the 1961 constitution. Both of her books were published as part of a series forming the library of the Turkish Progressed Women's Organization.

For a study of Onger's political ideas within the context of the events of the 1970s in Turkey, her books are the best place to start. In her book, published in 1965, Onger expressed her approach to the women's question and to its solution as follows: "One of the main contentment that the Republic has brought to our society is women's civilization by way of acknowledging their social and political rights."²⁴¹ "However, conservative interferences that hinder women's activities and the oppression caused by the residues of the feudal system are preventing revolutions from functioning efficiently. The efficient functioning of revolutions depends on clearing off these residues with radical reforms."²⁴²

The statement clearly expresses that the difficulties women had to encounter were regarded as issues related to conservatism and to the residues of the

²⁴¹ Beria Onger, *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız*, Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Kitaplığı 1 (Library of The Turkish Progressed Women's Organization 1) (İstanbul: Fahir Onger Yayınları, 1965), p.7.

²⁴² Ibid., p.14.

feudal system; the current system, on the other hand, was not criticized at all. Onger's idea on the answers to women's question is expressed in these words: "the majority of the problems concerning women can be solved only when women attain political power."²⁴³ Onger believed that women had a better idea than men of their problems and of the significance and necessity of improvement. In her book, she neither points to the emancipation of any class, nor to a shoulder-to-shoulder struggle with men. She anticipates women's emancipation from women themselves, especially from intellectuals.

Beria Onger went on to say, "When she is single, a woman is subject to exploitation, and when she is married, she is a dependant, being with no liberty. She is like a prisoner, dominated by her husband, her rights and liberties in his hands."²⁴⁴ Having stated that the women's problem could only be solved when women attained political power, she noted that it was impossible to understand why women intellectuals were not interested in politics. She criticized the fact that the man was the head of the

²⁴³ Ibid., p.19.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.19-20.

family and drew attention to the fact that women did not have the right to work without their husband's permission.

Being a lawyer, she evaluated the constitution from a woman's perspective. As noted earlier, what is noteworthy here is that some demands that formed the grounds for the İKD's objectives had already been expressed by Onger in 1965: "such as protection of motherhood and children, providing equal pay for equal work and opening day care centers and nursing rooms..." These demands were the same as some of the main concerns of the feminist movement that was growing in the West.

Onger described the activities of women intellectuals as "collecting donations and helping some poor."²⁴⁵ She emphasized that women's efforts had to have an influence on the parliament and government and pointed to a topic that was never referred to in any of the İKD's publications or discourse before: "sexual freedom for women."²⁴⁶ For this, she faced criticism from many people from different circles.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p.47.

²⁴⁶ Beria Onger, *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*, Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Kitaplığı 2 (Library of The Turkish Progressed Women's Organization 2), 1st Edition (İstanbul: Fahir Onger Yayınları, 1967), pp.51-52.

There is an interesting section in Onger's book. In the last section, she included the criticisms she had received in response to her ideas. Onger got involved in a series of discussions with Ayperi Akalan, Branch Office Secretary of the İstanbul Socialist Culture Organization, on women's emancipation, in the columns of the daily *Akşam*. In response to Akalan, who said "to make a distinction between men and women is to create a conceptual, non-existing problem,"²⁴⁷ Beria Onger wrote, "It is our laws that assert such a distinction between men and women,"²⁴⁸ and continued: "today's social circumstances make it impossible to postpone women's becoming conscious until after the establishment of socialism."²⁴⁹ Akalan stated, "None of the problems can be resolved unless we achieve the transformation of the system ... to expect to overcome problems with education, as Beria Onger does, is an outdated dream²⁵⁰ ... we must clearly understand that we need to build an honorable, confident and nationalist socialist order that proudly represents the descendents of

²⁴⁷ Onger, *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız*, p.64.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.65.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.69.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.100.

Mustafa Kemal, without being enslaved by either the U.S. or Moscow."²⁵¹

Beria Onger, on the other hand, having stated that the laws acknowledged the male-female distinction noted that women's issues could not be ignored until the system was transformed. In contrast, Ayperi Akalan represented the common socialist discourse of the time, a discourse which was valid in the 1970s as well. Feminism was criticized crudely and drawing a male-female distinction was regarded as divisionism.

İffet Halim Oruz, owner of the paper *Kadın* (Woman), objected to Onger, in her 1965 article published in *Cumhuriyet*, saying "Attitudes that do not handicap men's freedom, in terms of equality and human rights, would not handicap women's freedom either. In all civilized societies, men fought the fight for women's rights in theory while women did so in practice; this is how they gained their rights."²⁵²

Ali Sezai Sarısoy, opposed to Onger's ideas, again in *Cumhuriyet*, wrote: "To say that all that a working woman needs to possess is know-how and skills, she (Onger)

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.102.

²⁵² Ibid., p.87.

is trying to blame the imbalance on men. Yet, the responsibility should be shared by both sides." As for Onger's idea that only women could understand and bring solutions to women's problems, Sarısoy's response was: "it would be very wrong to attribute women's problems to the fact that intellectual women are not ready to accept feminism." He added that Onger was "misleading women."

It is possible to give more examples of challenges to Onger's ideas, but now let us take a brief look at Onger's second work, *Women's Emancipation*. The following is what she had to say on prostitution, one of the main topics of the book:

A commission (an administrative commission formed to identify "prostitutes" in cities and towns), which does not include a single jurist is to identify a woman as a "prostitute" by way of suspicious confidential research and based on allegedly positive evidence drawn from this, with an authority that should only be the judge's right to exercise. It is evident that there can be no other attitude or behavior worse and more unlawful than this that restricts women's rights and liberties while humiliating them by destroying their "honorable" status and turning them into "prostitutes" in the eyes of the society. With unreliable convictions of administrators, police or municipal physicians, or in districts where even these do not exist, of ordinary

officers, women are gathered and sent to brothels in the city.²⁵³

For Onger, the authority that was assigned to the commission meant this: "these health regulations, which seek to take women's sexual liberty under a controllable administrative system, are in conflict with the constitutional principle which asserts that 'an individual's basic civic rights and liberties can not be touched even by laws.'²⁵⁴

It is possible to track the political and social developments of the time by reviewing Onger's articles in this book. As a response to the newly emerging discourse which asserted that after May 27 fundamentalism was on the rise and laicism was going astray, Onger re-evaluated women's social status and maintained her debates on laicism. Accordingly, she purports, in order to achieve "women's emancipation," the "remnants of the feudal system," "conservative interferences" and "ferocious traditions" that hinder women's progress need to be done away with, with the help of new and sound reforms.

²⁵³ Onger, *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*, pp.51-52.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.53.

In her discussions, we see a conjunction of the modernization theory with Marxist discourse. In her articles, the inequalities between the genders as they are experienced in the family and in society take their shape in accordance with the changing phases of modernization, civilization and even Westernization. At this level, gender relations are relegated, prioritized and "various forms of social inequalities, including those that are gender-based, are perceived as social diseases that can be overcome once societies reach the required level of development."²⁵⁵

President Onger through the Eyes of the İKD Members

Earlier, it was noted that after Onger became the president of the İKD, her life veered onto a quite adventurous path. The İKD's members were young, dynamic, and even, "militant," as they described themselves. Since the organization Onger had established earlier had been closed down for lack of personnel, to see so many women together willing to work must have made Onger happy.

²⁵⁵ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Çağdaş Feminist Çalışmalar ve Ortadoğu Araştırmaları," *Kadın Araştırmalarında Yöntem*, Serpil Çakır, Necla Akgökçe, eds. (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, n.d), p.130.

However, Onger was very different from the other members of the organization, in many aspects. She did not fit into the "socialist woman type" of the time. She paid attention to her appearance. With her bun or loose hair, her two piece suits and make-up, she was an elegant woman. A woman describing her said the following: "With her make-up, her neatness and with her good manners, she was a real nifty woman. She regarded her job as a mission. She agreed to play the leading role and this was an act of courage at the time." One particular point, however, strikes attention:

Beria Onger could not go beyond her role in the İKD. All those active women around her overshadowed her personality. And she always felt inept. Actually, she was more of a symbolic leader. She used to read the texts prepared by others, but she used to read them with an impressive diction. If she were part of a bourgeois women's organization, she could have been in a more equal position with others, but the İKD members were smart, militant and skilled. She had self-confidence yet she was "aloof." She had a shell around her, so to say. And we did not try to break through it, because of the milieu."²⁵⁶

Bakiye Beria Onger was the first and only leader of the İKD, an organization which functioned legally for four and illicitly for 5.5 years. Nevertheless, Onger's name

²⁵⁶ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 17 March 2001.

was cited only a few times in a 321-page book titled *...Ve hep birlikte koştuk* (...And we ran together). The book is about the history of the organization, and it was prepared by a group of former İKD members upon a common decision made in 1994. Onger's name was referred to in the section on the foundation:

There was a need to name a new candidate for presidency among the founding members- somebody who was not attached to any leftist movement and who was known within the liberal circles. Thus, lawyer Beria Onger -whose articles on the women's question had been published in the 1960s in the daily *Akşam* and who had led The Progressed Woman Organization, later closed down due to lack of personnel- was offered the position, which she accepted.²⁵⁷

Other than in two additional passages, ("The Speech made by Beria Onger, the İKD's president, on March 8," and "Beria Onger runs for the independent senator from İstanbul") Onger's name does not appear in the book. Even the name of the organization she had founded in 1965 was cited incorrectly. It needs to be noted however that while the book was being prepared for publication, Onger was living abroad, and, as I gathered from my interviews, she had not wished to participate in the writing of such a book.

²⁵⁷ ...ve *Hep Birlikte Koştuk*, p.19.

As noted earlier, the only way to gather information about Onger, under the given circumstances, was to interview those women with "a higher power of representation" (*temsil gücü yüksek*) who had worked under the İKD's roof with her and who had accompanied her abroad for several years. Other than the oral resources, there were no documents, except for a few propaganda brochures from the 1979 elections. Therefore, the six and a half page article she wrote about the asylum she sought from Denmark and her life there is among the most important documents we have at hand.²⁵⁸

Here is how an İKD member who had accompanied her for a long time described her:

She lived in a single-room pension in Copenhagen. Even though it was a one-bedroom, the place was very tidy, neat and stylish. She took good care of her plants. She read a lot. She regularly read daily papers. She was a charming and beautiful woman with blue eyes, and she was charismatic. She used to get along well with men; she had good relationships with them. Her Turkish was superior. She was an organized and self-disciplined woman. She had fixed hours to go to bed at night and to wake up in the morning. She liked to stroll in the streets of Copenhagen. Even for those walks, she would wear her best clothes. Even at home, she was always orderly and neat. She was a lively woman full of life. She was sensitive

²⁵⁸ Ahmet Abakay, ed., *Politik Göçmenler* (İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, 1988), pp.163-169.

about her privacy and she was happy being alone. However, we would never leave her alone. In Turkey and abroad, we always regarded her with high respect and protected her. We always made sure that she was paid due respect.²⁵⁹

The following is about March 8 festivities held in Denmark:

We were with Beria Onger during the 8 March meeting in Denmark. Socialist, communist and feminist women expressed their ideas during the meeting and after it, Ms. Beria said this: "feminists are expressing what I have already expressed in my writings. These are things I have already discussed."²⁶⁰

These words were most likely meant to be reminders of her pre-İKD activities as well as a critique of the İKD's politics and discourse.

Another executive administrator I interviewed in order to gather information on Onger had the following to say:

During a meeting abroad, we shared a room. I used to start my preparations ten minutes before the meeting. Ms Beria would do so an hour before. To help her make it on time to the last-minute meetings, we used to send her one of our young members for assistance."²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 5 May 2000.

²⁶⁰ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 17 March 2001.

²⁶¹ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 20 June 2000.

An İKD member who participated in the administrative team of a branch office in an İstanbul district said the following:

We did not really regard her as a real militant. But we always respected her. The İKD's central administration was a bit distant from us, so no one ever questioned Ms. Beria or her status. We thought it was probably the best, the way it was. Her looks did not really appeal to us yet we thought perhaps her wisdom was of a different sort. We could see her standing right by us at every meeting and every protest. She used to come to event locations, too. She was somewhat distant and aloof and would join the meetings at the last minute, but she was still always with us. Also, back then, women from international organizations were elderly to us, closer to Beria Onger's age, there were even some women who would come with their children. But since the İKD members were quite young people, for us, Ms. Beria was elderly.²⁶²

Beria Onger was the owner of the periodical *Kadınların Sesi* (Women's Voice), too. In fact, after 1978, the journal was no longer İKD's official publication, but had become an independent publication. The journal continued until September 12, 1980 and Beria Onger remained its owner until the very end. The decision behind continuing to publish the journal was to protect the organization. When the organization was closed down during

²⁶² A member of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 30 July 2000.

the emergency rule period, members gathered around the journal. During the emergency rule, Onger was still the owner of the journal, which meant that she was ready to personally face some future risks. It seems like she never avoided doing so.

It is said that members of the İKD wrote down the texts of Onger's talks, which she gave during communal meetings or elections. However, it is also said that she never neglected reading and signing them. Considering the number of texts and announcements prepared by the İKD for journals, newspapers, regional meetings and communal meetings, it was not possible for one person to prepare them all. Many announcements were prepared in a day to announce daily national or international progress. Therefore, it would be unfair to say Onger did not write the texts of her speeches herself. However, one common view is that Onger read these texts with well-spoken Turkish, perfect diction and an impressive voice.

When Beria Onger accepted the position of president, it had been four years since her husband's death. Therefore, we can deduce, Fahir Onger could not have been a possible influence on her decision. At this moment, however, Onger's children enter the scene. It is an

appealing yet an unconvincing assumption that it was her children who convinced her to accept the presidency. Even though she was not a prominent figure in the decision making process at the İKD - the process which was usually handled by the TKP in any case- it is hard to imagine she shouldered all the risk and difficulties she did only because her children demanded it. She was perfectly aware of the fact that the İKD was a women's organization connected to the TKP, an illegal party, and that tens of people were being killed everyday for political reasons. We also know that she received many written threats during the election campaigns.

So, why did Beria Onger accept this responsibility? Having conducted studies on the women's question, Onger had been interested in the subject since the 1960s and had conducted studies on the women's question criticizing many women's organizations for limiting their activities to organizing tea parties and charity campaigns. In her 1967 book, *Kadınların Kurtuluşu* (Women's Emancipation) she expressed the need for "Equal Pay for Equal Work,"²⁶³ day care centers and nursing rooms especially for working

²⁶³ Beria Onger, *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*, p.44.

women.²⁶⁴ In the first issue (August 1975) of *Kadınların Sesi*, the İKD's publication, objectives and targets were explained as follows: Equal pay for equal work should be applied, genuine equality should be provided for education, employment and job promotions. Motherhood should be acknowledged as a social function. The existing legal rights and equalities should be put into effect and demeaning articles of laws should be amended. Women should be the alert defenders of peace, democracy and national freedom.

These objectives were also part of Onger's books written in the 1960s. During those difficult and unsafe times, Onger, -who was not even a member of the TKP until she fled the country- assumed significant responsibilities in order to reach the objectives which she believed would help women, objectives such as peace, women's progress, liberty, equality as well as rights for women to participate in government administration.

Here is how Onger describes her life in Denmark as an émigré:

I like strolling in town, especially during the night. Alone and fearless ... Someone walks by on

²⁶⁴ Beria Onger, *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız*, p.42.

the opposite pavement, does not even bother to glance at me. I find it strange, but in fact, isn't it only natural? And I feel so relieved ... I keep telling myself that those days are history now. Those days when I avoided going out, when I avoided people, not just at night, but during the daytime, too... The underground life. I feel melancholic. I start to walk faster and get back to the hotel; to my room ... I talk with my daughter on the phone, after all those years of separation... Are they still looking for me? No, apparently, they having been coming by lately. I tell her to tell them that I am here, if they do come. I tell her to give them my address, so they will leave you alone ... I have a burning inside. Is it not because of me that they ruined her life? She became an illicit, too and lost her job. Is such a life easy? ... All alone...²⁶⁵

Especially in the pages where Onger describes her life in Denmark, a feeling of solitude dominates. She is a mother worrying about her children... Also, holding herself responsible for her children's problems makes it even worse for her. But immediately following these pages, her enthusiasm is felt, where she describes March 8 and May Day festivities only to be followed with a sense of grief and longing for the celebrations that are part of a past she left in Turkey.

Did the party ever consider another candidate as the president? Following is the answer I was given:

²⁶⁵ *Politik Göçmenler*, p.164-165.

Nobody else was ever considered. Onger was a resistant woman who got what she wanted. She was also a significant element of balance within the larger movement. She filled her position with her charismatic personality. She was an element of balance for the party, too. If it was not her who was the president, there were many who would have been willing to compete for the position, which could have resulted in disputes. In short, her leadership contributed immensely to the movement and helped create many opportunities and opened new paths. She was a person to whom no one could say "NO." She was a platform for the party. People from Turkey and abroad respected her. Leadership did "become" her.²⁶⁶

The birthday party organized for Onger in Denmark in 1986 was clearly an expression of the respect felt for her. All international women's organizations were informed of the birthday and messages from all over the world were sent to the celebration gathering, not to mention the countless gifts that were sent. Doubtless, all these gestures pleased her tremendously.

The interviews I conducted reveal that Onger was always regarded with respect. But it seems respect was toward the movement she represented as well as for her personality. It should also be noted that the interviews during which I obtained the above stories were a first in

²⁶⁶ An executive administrator of IKD, interview by author, tape recording Istanbul, Turkey, 17 March 2001.

that this was the first time these stories were shared with someone outside the organization.

In conclusion, in this study, I tried to look at Beria Onger from the outside. She was as an intellectual who tried to be of use to women and who faced many challenges, courageously. Members of the İKD, the organization that built the widest network of women's organizations in the 1970s in Turkey, did not feel close to Onger personally and even sometimes looked at her suspiciously from the outside.

The final picture is a little sad. After all the difficulties she faced and risks she took, Onger, as she complained in the book *Politik Göçmenler* (Political Immigrants), was "no longer" an "illicit" but, again, as she said, was living "all alone." Despite all the difficulties she had gone through, Bakiye Beria Onger is today a name half-forgotten and half-ignored. Since she was in no sense a representative of the "image" of socialist and revolutionary woman, but on the contrary, was a neat and good-looking woman, at times she was approached with reservation, and was criticized, while raising concern among others at other times.

One point needs to be stressed here. In the 1970s, people were "comrades" of society, rather than individuals. A good comrade was a fighter; and his/her other skills did not matter much at the moment. This is the context in which Beria Onger needs to be evaluated. When she became the president of the İKD, she was 54, and when she was forced to flee the country, she was 60.

Heilbrun writes, "What is important is that lives do not make models, only stories do... These stories have shaped us all; in fact, it is these stories that we use when we produce new fictions and narratives."²⁶⁷ However, "male dominance made certain stories unthinkable. The ruling powers make their own stories, and heroes are chosen out of these stories. Those women who are considered as deprived of such qualities are not of much a value in the eyes of the ruling powers. This is why countless stories of women remained unwritten and new narratives were not created."²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Kadının Özyaşamını Yazarken* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992), p.27.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p.32.

Bakiye Beria Onger's Election Campaign

The October 14, 1979 elections that were held for one-third of the seats and the parliamentary by-elections represent milestones in Turkish history in that they were both the last general elections and the last parliamentary elections held before September 12, 1980.²⁶⁹ During the elections, which were held in 29 cities, the 3rd Ecevit government (January 5, 1978 - October 17, 1979) was formed under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit came to power.

In those years, days and nights were very cold in Turkey. There were shortages of fuel-oil and charcoal. Gas oil was scarce, too. There was need for coffee, margarine, oil, medicine, light bulbs, detergents and x-ray film. As a result of this scarcity of essential materials, a black market emerged. On a daily basis, the electricity was cut-off two to three hours in the big cities. In addition, price increases, unresolved cases of murder and mass massacres made people's lives dreadful.

²⁶⁹ According to the 1961 constitution, the senate is a parliament made up of 150 members elected by general elections and fifteen members elected by the President. Senators elected by the general vote needed to be university graduates. All members had to be over the age of 40.

By the mid-70s, the leftist forces that had received a hard blow on March 12 had started to pull themselves together and get re-organized. This organizational activity with its increasing strength caused an increase in counter-attacks. Some powers that supported the RPP during the 1977 elections became opponents of the party in 1979. There were many reasons behind this. First of all, the civilian martial law declared for 13 cities by Prime Minister Ecevit on December 26, 1978 had increased the pressure on the leftist organizations and had caused them to close down. Second, socialist parties and organizations that had started to re-organize during 1974 and 1975 were strong enough to participate in the 1979 elections with their own candidates; they even made a call to some RPP deputies to give their support to their parties, rather than to RPP.

The attacks, which started on December 19 in Kahramanmaraş, targeting Alevi homes and the offices of democrats, RPP members and mass organizations, such as TÖB-DER, resulted in the deaths of 105 people. Following the attacks that lasted eight days, during which the civil administration did not perform its duty and the military forces refused to intervene, saying they had no legal

authority to do so, on December 26, 1978 the government declared martial law. The speeches that were delivered at the National Security Council, prior to the declaration of the martial law are noteworthy. Arcayürek writes that,

While the decision was being made on the declaration of martial law in thirteen cities, Prime Minister Ecevit asked that the law be enforced in those cities that fall into the so-called crescent-region and cities like Yozgat, Tokat and Çorum in which the right-wing extreme nationalists had grouped. However, Kenan Evren objected to the idea saying "we do not have the required forces."²⁷⁰

Thus, the martial law was not enforced in the cities in the "Crescent Region." Taking over power on March 6, 1978, General Kenan Evren, the Chief of the General Staff, noted on March 13, 1978 that "the army is strong enough to defeat the attacks targeting the parliamentary system."²⁷¹ Another point that needs to be stressed here is that on October 2, the MHP had demanded an emergency rule declaration and Süleyman Demirel, President of the Justice Party, was not opposed to the idea. So, the MHP was in favor of emergency rule, in order to be closer to the state administration via their partisans in the army.

²⁷⁰ Cüneyt Arcayürek, *Müdahalenin Ayak Sesleri 1978-1979* (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985), p.14.

²⁷¹ *Demokrasinin 50 Yılı 1945-1995*, 2nd volume (Aydın Kitaplar, n.d), p.701.

Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit said the following on the subject: "the army and the government will not be fooled into this game."²⁷²

About two months after this statement, and soon after the Kahramanmaraş massacre, martial law was declared. The declaration of martial law, at a time when economic crisis had devastated the country, signaled an approaching "intervention." Following the emergency rule, articles appeared with headlines such as "Coup D'état at the Doorway" or "Coup D'état Next" in the media.

On October 14, 1979, elections were held under the shadow of the emergency rule. Parties and independent candidates initiated intense campaigns for the five free parliamentary seats and elections. At the center of these campaigns was Bakiye Beria Onger, who joined the elections as a candidate for independent senator from İstanbul.

I will try to present the ways in which Beria Onger set the agenda during the 1979 elections as a female candidate, as well as her objectives, her followers and the general atmosphere of the elections.

²⁷² Ibid., p.716.

In the interviews with members of the İKD who were active from the beginning, it was noted that the organization did not have a prominent significance for the TKP, and that the TKP focused more on the organizational activities of the youth and union activities. The following reasons were given for this:

Overall, women's organizational activities did not matter whole a lot; as the İKD grew stronger, being a structure formed only by women, it became relatively more democratic and independent so much so that there was even opposition to many decisions that were made by the center, and most of the time, these decisions were not followed.²⁷³

This information is significant in that despite the mistrust in women at the time, a female candidate, Beria Onger, was nominated and supported during the elections. I believe Onger's personality played an important role in this decision. The İKD, the organization Onger led, was well-organized in the shanty towns. The following is a series of possible reasons: although those who disseminated the announcements and distributed leaflets during the election campaigns of independent candidates were required to provide a permit from the pertinent divisions of the police, during the elections, permits

²⁷³ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 20 June 2000.

were not required for every single announcement; election campaigns provided an opportunity to organize assemblies and other meetings (coffeehouse meetings), to disseminate announcements and ideas to masses through the media. When we take into consideration the fact that this was a time when many organizations, including the İKD, were closed down and that it was almost impossible to assemble legal groups, the significance of the opportunities offered by election campaigns becomes more evident. The TKP's willingness to become a legal party also played an important role in its participation in the elections with a female candidate.

Beria Onger's activities for the election campaign officially started on September 23, 1979. An office was rented in Şişhane to function as a Central Bureau for Elections. "Sixty-two people worked at this office. Several offices in seven regions and twenty-eight neighborhood-local election offices opened as branches of this office. There were 4000 campaign staff. Fifty lawyers participated in the campaign in İstanbul."²⁷⁴ Many outdoor and indoor, coffeehouse and communal meetings were

²⁷⁴ *Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı*, no.10 (September 22 1979).

organized during the campaign. The plan was to distribute around six million printed units of propaganda materials.

The target group of the campaign was workers, laborers, women and intellectuals in İstanbul. A close look at the location of coffeehouse meetings and indoor meetings gives a clear idea about the target-group.

September 23, 1979 Communal meeting at Kadıköy
Söğütlüçeşme (02.00 pm)
September 23, 1979 Atatürk Square, Burgazada (10:00 am)
September 23, 1979 Ali Baran Square, Kınalıada (02:00 pm)
September 23, 1979 Coffeehouse meeting at Hasanpaşa
(05:00 pm-08.00 pm)

Some of meetings overlap in the schedule above. Since it was not possible for Beria Onger to attend all of these meetings, in times of conflict, her recorded speeches and slide-shows were shown instead.

Below are the meetings held in other regions:

September 24, 1979 Coffeehouse meeting at Fikirtepe
September 26, 1979 Coffeehouse meeting at Şirinevler
October 3, 1979 Coffeehouse meeting at Merdivenköy

October 3, 1979	Coffeehouse meeting at Bakırköy- Küçükköy
October 6, 1979	Hürriyet-i Ebediye Square, Şişli TSİP- Beria Onger united communal meeting
October 7, 1979	Meeting at Kadıköy Wedding House (02:00pm -05:00pm)
October 7, 1979	Meeting at Gaziosmanpaşa Cumhuriyet Square (01:00pm - 03.00pm)
October 8, 1979	Coffeehouse Meeting at Merdivenköy
October 9, 1979	Coffeehouse meeting at İçerenköy
October 12, 1979	Meeting at a Wedding House in Fikirtepe
October 13, 1979	Sultanahmet Square TSİP- Beria Onger United Action Communal Meeting

Other coffeehouse meetings were held at Hisarüstü and Beykoz-Paşabahçe; however, the dates of these meetings are unrecorded.

The transcripts of these meetings reveal that the local problems of every residential unit were stressed. For example, the speech given at Hasanpaşa focused on problems such as "the filth, mosquitoes and bacteria caused by the Kurbağalidere (creek), and the need for a

clinic in the area."²⁷⁵ During the coffeehouse meeting at İçerenköy, on the other hand, Beria Onger addressed the "laborers who had to wait for hours everyday for minibuses and buses."²⁷⁶ This was due to the serious transportation problem in İçerenköy. And at Merdivenköy, the problems of local people, who lived in the "muddy swamps of Çömlekçi Çukuru,"²⁷⁷ were addressed.

Being the president of a women's organization, Onger emphasized the following issues as she addressed women from different spheres of society:

Equal pay for equal work! Stop the pain over the loss of children! Social insurance for women who are hired for domestic work and who work at home! The government must pay for the social insurance of housewives! Longer and uninterrupted maternity leave! Jobs for mothers and day-care centers; kindergartens, school and milk for children!"²⁷⁸

Different speeches were prepared for each district and area, while press releases were sent to the daily papers and Onger's letters to selected individuals. Apart from these conventional propaganda materials,

²⁷⁵ *Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı*, no.11 (September 22 1979).

²⁷⁶ *Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı*, no.39 (October 09 1979).

²⁷⁷ *Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı*, no.37 (October 07, 1979).

²⁷⁸ *Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı* (September 17, 1979).

comprehensive materials such as an election announcement with caricatures drawn by Latif Demirci were also distributed.

There were two other independent candidates from İstanbul in the 1979 elections: Recep Cüre (Samsun Primary Education Inspector) and lawyer Niyazi Ağırnaslı (former Ankara TİP senator). The Emancipation Socialist Journal (*Kurtuluş Sosyalist Dergi*) circle supported Cüre while Ağırnaslı was a candidate jointly supported by the TEP (*Türkiye Emekçi Partisi*, Turkish Laborer's Party), the *Sosyalist Vatan Partisi* (Socialist Fatherland Party) and the *Vatan Partisi Birlik Yolu* (Fatherland Party Union Path).²⁷⁹ These independent candidates called for an alliance, which was also expressed in the columns of the daily papers.²⁸⁰ The idea of forming an alliance around a candidate and going to elections with a single candidate was proposed, but it was not achieved. The TİP, on the other hand, was against the idea of an alliance. Although activities for alliance continued, a united action between the TSİP, the *Devrimci Demokratlar* (DDKD, DHKD)

²⁷⁹ *Cumhuriyet*, October 10, 1979.

²⁸⁰ *Cumhuriyet*, September 22-23-24-30, 1979.

(Revolutionary Democrats) and Beria Onger was not accomplished.

As a result of this united action, on October 6 and in Sultanahmet on October 13, communal gatherings and coffeehouse meetings were organized in Şişli, and they attracted large audiences. Maden-İş Union and Bank-Sen Unions, both members of DİSK, supported Beria Onger, the independent candidate from İstanbul.²⁸¹ However, Mehmet Ali Aybar, who spoke on behalf of the *Sosyalist Devrim Partisi* (Socialist Revolution Party) that was participating in the elections as well, asked people "not to support the independent candidates of the illegal Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)."²⁸² Another tendency that reflects the atmosphere of the elections was the call for an election boycott, led by Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left), Dev-Yol (Revolutionary Path), TİKKO (Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Party) and *Halkın Kurtuluşu* (People's Emancipation).²⁸³

²⁸¹ *Banksen Haber Ajansı*, no.213, October 10, 1979; *Cumhuriyet*, September 29, 1979.

²⁸² *Cumhuriyet*, September 14, 1979.

²⁸³ *Cumhuriyet*, October 10, 1979.

So, this was the political milieu in which the elections were held. The election results reflect the atmosphere of the era.

Table 4. Election results from İstanbul^{284, 285}

Number of registered electors	2,178,836	
Number of Votes	1,327,955	
Participation Rate	59.8%	
CGP:	39,590	(3.1)
SDP:	13,101	(1.0)
RPP:	483,365	(37.9)
MSP:	110,474	(8.7)
AP:	509,463	(40.0)
TBP:	25,869	(2.0)
TİP:	12,616	(1.0)
MHP:	46,682	(3.7)
TSİP:	5,523	(0.4)
Independents:	27,709	(2.2)
Beria Onger:	20,215	
Niyazi Ağırnaslı:	3,355	
Recep Cüre:	2,439	

İstanbul had five senators from the JP, four from the RPP and one from the NSP.²⁸⁶ In the end, the JP took

²⁸⁴ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, vol.6 (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982-1983), p 3880.

²⁸⁵ *Cumhuriyet*, October 16, 1979.

the five free seats in parliament. Interpreting these results as an indication of the people's mistrust of the RPP, Bülent Ecevit withdrew from the government. The sixth Demirel government was formed subsequently and events escalated until September 12, 1980.

It is necessary to make a general evaluation of the elections along with the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, which took place only ten months after the elections. However, such a discussion is beyond the scope of this study.

In the elections of October 14, 1979, the number of votes that Beria Onger received, 20,215, was very high when compared to the votes of the legal socialist parties and other independent candidates. I believe women's contribution to Onger's votes, both in terms of electors and as active participants of the election campaign activities, can not be overlooked.

²⁸⁶ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.6, p.3880.

As in all spheres of society, it seems easy to overlook women in the political arena, too, an arena in which they were not powerful enough. The Turkish Left, too, did not feel at ease with independent women's organizations; and when women worked under the same roof with men, their opportunities for promotions and to become decision-makers diminished. Because gender relations were explained in relation to socio-economic structures, women's emancipation was also associated with the transformation of the existing socio-economic structure. And women's share in the emancipation movement was to struggle toward social emancipation, rather than expressing the contemporary issues they faced as a gender group.

Issues peculiar to women such as family violence and abortion cannot be easily expressed. The general approach to issues concerning women and the family is of a rather conservative nature. The İKD, which was able to mobilize a large group of women, can be evaluated within this structure. However, considering the problematic conditions of the time, the İKD's achievement in introducing women from different platforms -ranging from housewives to

workers and from top-level executives to artists—to the political life, should not be “undermined.”

The TSİP: Democratic Women’s Association
(Demokratik Kadın Birliği)

Demokratik Kadın Birliği, DKB (the Democratic Women’s Association) was officially founded on February, 1979, as a women’s branch of the *Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi*, TSİP (Turkish Socialist Worker’s Party)²⁸⁷ upon an application of 110 members to Bursa Governorship. The objective was to organize the women who gathered around *Kadın Dayanışması* (Women’s Solidarity), a journal first

²⁸⁷ The TSİP was the first socialist party established after March 12. It was founded on June 22, 1974 by Ahmet Kaçmaz, Yalçın Yusufuğlu, Aydoğan Gezer, Osman Sercan, Ali Kar, Oya Baydar, Burhan Şahin and his friend. The origins of the party go back to the periodical titled *Sosyalist Parti İçin Teori ve Pratik Birliği* (*The Unification of theory and practice for the socialist party*) published in 1970, by Ahmet Kaçmaz, Çağatay Anadolu, Oya Baydar, Orhan Silier and Yalçın Yusufuğlu. The party, trying to avoid the mistakes made by the MDD and the TİP, was formed with the participation of a group who supported Dr. Hikmet Kıvılcımlı. The party tired to set the past accounts with The Turkish Worker’s Party (TİP), which had been closed down on March 12 and accused the TİP of being pacifist. The party strongly criticized the TİP for falling into parliamentarism. The party also criticized MDD members for ignoring the importance of the working class and, for having militarist tendencies for overemphasizing the military’s role. The TSİP argued that the party needed to “organize in a flexible structure to facilitate the shift into an anti-system structure, in order to face the bourgeoisie attacks when the need arises.” (For more information, see *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi* (The Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988) volume 7, p.2232.

published in 1977, under the roof of an organized formation. Its activities began with laying the foundations of the association on March 8, 1978. And on July 1978, Program Objectives and Planned Tasks of the DKB (*DKB Program Hedefleri ve Görevler*) was published.

The Central Administration Committee and the General Administrative Board of this legal association was as follows. Central Administration Committee:²⁸⁸ President: Yıldız Kurtuluş (teacher), Secretary General: Suzan Üstün (teacher), Accountant: Nefise Akçelik (construction engineer), Secretary of Organizational Activity: Asu Aksoy (housewife), Secretary of Training-Propaganda: Gülgün Tezgider (officer), Member: Zekiye Hasaıeıbi (teacher), Member: Asuman Kayabaş (teacher).

General Administrative Board:²⁸⁹

Ayşe Yıldırım (İstanbul)

Rukiye Yıldırım (Trabzon)

K. Ezel Ađaođlu (İstanbul)

Hatice Şıklarođlu (Kayseri)

Havva Bahçekapılı (İstanbul)

²⁸⁸ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no. 20 (Feb 15, 1979), p.2.

²⁸⁹ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no. 20 (Feb 15, 1979), p.2.

Tülay Kurban (İzmir)
Tuğba Aslan (Ankara)
Ayşe Gölcük (Turhal)
Aysel Burcalıoğlu (Ankara)
Güldal Okuducu (Bartın)
Yelda Durak (Bursa)
Gülendam Gül (Diyarbakır)
Bahtışen Yılmaz (İzmit)
Ayşe Kara (Denizli)
Fusun Kiper (Eskişehir)
Emine Cengiz (Manavgat)
Nurhan Bayraktar (İzmit)
Emel Özalp (Dinar)
Tülay Şener (Ordu)
Nimet Karatepe (Aydın)
Nurşen Yeşilyurt (Ordu)
Meliha Çömez (Adana)
Mükerrem Döke (Mersin)

The Foundation of the Democratic Women's Association

An article titled "Women's Democratic Union Must be Achieved" (*Kadınların Demokratik Birliği Sağlanmalıdır!*)

reveals that the foundational activities of Democratic Women's Association and its target group were becoming clearer:

We all know what has been going on under the roof of the İKD. The administrators of the İKD, who eliminated those holding different opinions, imposing their own word and opinion, have turned the organization into a place where only those who walk on one common line remain. The organization is isolated from the masses. Yet it goes on comforting itself, believing itself to be the representative of the women's movement. Today, the democratic women's movement has a firm stand. *Kadın Dayanışması* has fought against exploiters, factionists and separatists and it continues to do so. *Kadın Dayanışması* says that we women have commonly shared problems, which we must fight against. All women who believe in democracy must act together. Women from different spheres who take part in the democratic arena should unite under the roof of a single organization. More women are joining with this true and right voice of *Kadın Dayanışması* and the voice of the women's movement, which is organized under the leadership of *Kadın Dayanışması*, will become louder everyday. The war we are fighting for peace, democracy and equality will eventually be won.²⁹⁰

This quotation reveals that women from the TSİP were trying to attract women from wider spheres. The excerpt below is from an interview with a member of Democratic Women's Association Central Administrative Board, who was a teacher:

²⁹⁰ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.11 (July 4, 1978), p.5.

Within the DKB there were women from the RPP and the JP. We never tried to bring restrictions to those who wanted to work for the organization. We even invited them. This was what separated us from the İKD. We carried out the women's movement without referring to socialism or feminism.²⁹¹

An announcement in *Kadın Dayanışması* called for organizational activity, and noted the following:

We will unite. Regardless of their opinion, all women who believe in democracy will become one. Because we face the same problems; we share the same issues and our rights and interests are the same. And the answer lies in our hands.²⁹²

It can be said that this slogan revealed that these women were aiming to attract all women who believed in "peace, democracy and equality" and to unite all women's organizations under a single roof in the future. The name of the movement itself gives clues about such an aim. Instead of using the word "organization," the group preferred the word "association," which referred to the objective of uniting a "large masses of women."

The DKB's President, Yıldız Kurtuluş, in an interview she gave to *Kadın Dayanışması* to announce the foundation of the association, talked about the

²⁹¹ An executive administrator of DKB, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 10 April 1999.

²⁹² *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.11 (July 4, 1978), p.5.

association's activities and relations with other women's organizations:

The equality of men and women, although improved to some extent by the laws, has not yet been realized. Besides, there are decrees in the laws that are against this principle. The working conditions of working women do not support family commitments and child care responsibilities. Hundreds of thousands of women work in conditions that are hazardous, hazardous both for their own health and for the health of their children. Statistics have proved that women in equal work with men are paid less. Millions of women are deprived of social security of any sort ... No doubt, the source of all these problems is the fact that the lives we are living are based on oppression and exploitation. However, one must not forget that the existing democratic rights have been won by the past struggles of democracy fighters and women.²⁹³

Yıldız Kurtuluş said the following on the association's relation to other local and international women's organizations:

The Democratic Women's Association, while fulfilling the role a democratic women's organization should fulfill, also defends the unity of the democratic women's movement. The DKB will try to eliminate separatist acts and unite the existing women's organizations in a singular massive form ... The DKB attributes great significance to the international solidarity of women. Our organization conducts its activities under the light of the WIDF's activities. Soon, we will reinforce our relations with the organizations that are members of the WIDF and improve our friendship

²⁹³ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.20 (February 15, 1979), p.3.

and solidarity with women from other countries.²⁹⁴

Kurtuluş lists the activities that the DKB was planning to realize in the near future as follows:

The DKB will organize many indoor meetings to be held on March 8, the International Women Laborer's Day. We will also put into effect The First 8 March Competition with the help of Kadın Dayanışması ... The 1979, the International Year of Children is a very important issue in terms of the DKB's future activities. Another significant example of planned future organizational activities is preparations made for March 1st, The Union and Solidarity Day of the Working Class. DKB members will join the March 1st festivities with enthusiasm and with strong belief in the beautiful days to come.²⁹⁵

From the Central Administrative Board member interviewed for this study, we learn that the DKB, several activities of which were listed above, "was well organized in Anatolia, but did not have an extensive organizational network in İstanbul."²⁹⁶ An examination of the founding members' of the General Administrative Board reveals that out of 24 members, only three were from İstanbul. In a section above on the relations between the İKD and the DKB, the first and most widespread organizational

²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.3-7.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p.7.

²⁹⁶ An executive administrator of DKB, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 10 April 1999.

activities had started in Bursa. Also, three out of the six that made up the Central Office Administrative Board were teachers and one was an officer.

In examining the periodical *Kadın Dayanışması*, one notices that a great number of the articles on professional issues were issues concerning teachers.

The DKB's Program

Among the articles on demands for women that were presented in the July 1978 DKB Program, those articles that disclose the organization's larger goals will be examined.

The program begins with the first article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ARTICLE 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.²⁹⁷

The program lists the proposals and objectives regarding women's organizational activities were listed under a separate heading:

²⁹⁷ *Demokratik Kadın Birliği-Program ve Talepler* (Program and Demands of The Democratic Women's Association) (Ankara: Kadın Dayanışması Yayınları, 1978), pp.13-15.

The Women's movement needs a leading, reliable, regulating and unifying organization that does not favor separatist acts. However, an actual democratic women's organization can lead the largest groups of women to success in the struggle for emancipation. This is why the DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION was founded. As the Democratic Women's Association (DKB) prepares for this duty, it will try to:

help women prepare for the fight for democracy,

defend women's social rights and interests,

eliminate the separatist acts within the democratic women's movement,

unite the existing women's organizations under a single massive democratic women's organization,

and continue to struggle for peace, democracy and equality with persistence and sacrifice.

In order to reach these objectives, The Democratic Women's Association calls all women to participate in the struggle and to gather under its roof.

The demands of our women's movement:

Democratic Women's Association struggles to protect and improve the economic, democratic, political and cultural rights and interests of our women in order to resolve their problems. The association sets the targets for this struggle in accordance with women's common demands and with the interests and needs of women from different social spheres.

Articles of law which prevent women from participating in production and social life, particularly Article 159, which asserts that women need their husband's permission in order to work, should be abolished.

Articles of law which treat women as inferior to men in the family and social life and which also conflict with the constitutional article that asserts women's equality with men should be abolished.

All required measures need to be taken in order to provide literacy, to obtain equal of opportunities in education and to provide and develop up-to-date professional training for women.²⁹⁸

Kadın Dayanışması, the DKB's Publication

The first issue of *Kadın Dayanışması* was published on July 14, 1977. This publication, the title of which read "Women's Monthly Political Periodical" (*Aylık Siyasi Kadın Gazetesi*) at the beginning, became a bi-weekly periodical, beginning with its 16th issue, dated December 11, 1978. The last issue we have is issue number 36, which has no publication date on it. However, the announcements on the celebration of June 1, International Children's Day, suggest that it could be the July 1980 issue. The title of this last issue too reads, Women's Monthly Political Periodical. Since a monthly magazine could not have been published after September 12, 1980, it is

²⁹⁸ Ibid., pp.10-12.

possible that only two more issues were published (issue no. 38 should have been the last one) after this one.

The first issue announces Mürvet Küçükali as the owner and Fazilet Çulha as the chief editor. The address is: Menekşe sok. 21/5 Demirtepe, Ankara. However, in the 12th issue dated August 11, 1978, the owner was noted as Asu Aksoy, a member of the DKB Central Administrative Board and secretary of organizational activities. Fazilet Çulha remained chief editor, however, the address changed as follows: Başmuhasip sok. Tan apt. 10/11 Cağaloğlu-İstanbul. According to issue no 26, dated June 9, 1979, Gülgün Tezgider was both the owner and chief editor. Tezgider was a DKB Central Administration Board member and secretary for training and propaganda.

The most interesting aspect of the periodical is the images on its covers. The photograph of a women's statue, which seems to be the logo of the periodical, reflects the style of the period. The woman holds a dove in her right hand and with her left hand she embraces a child. Her facial features are stiff. Women are usually illustrated with stern expressions in most of the socialist publications of the time. These images are reminiscent of the de-feminized images of women with stern faces seen in

publications from the Soviet Socialist Republic Union or the Democratic German Republic.

An inspection of all 36 issues reveals that women are rarely the subjects of cover-page headlines, nor do they appear frequently in the frontispiece photographs.

In the first issue, the picture of the female statue, which would later become the logo, occupies the entire cover page along with the paragraph "As We Begin." The cover of the second issue bears the title "No to MC."

Topics in the third issue mainly focus on price increases and the demolition of squatter towns. Women's photographs do not appear until the seventh issue, and the cover of the 7th issue bears the title "Let's Fight for Our Economic and Democratic Demands" (*Ekonomik Demokratik Taleplerimizi Savunalım!*), with a large picture of a group of women possibly taken during a protest. However, the demands listed on the cover page include only one item that is directly related to women, which also happens to be the last one: "prostitution must be banned completely and more severe punishments for those who encourage it must be enforced."²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.7 (February, 1978), p.1.

Since the 8th issue corresponded to March 8, it included relatively more subjects concerning women. And women do not appear on the cover pages of later issues, unless the topic of frontispiece is the establishment of the DKB or March 8.

Beginning from the first issue of *Kadın Dayanışması*, there is always a page devoted to children. In the column titled "Children's Education" (*Çocuk Eğitimi*), tips for women are listed. In issue no. 26, dated June 9, 1979, a section titled "Hello, Children" (*Çocuklar, Merhaba*) includes poems and games for children. Again in the same issue, the column titled "Did You Know These?" is spared for cooking and "tips" on housework. Issue 36 dedicates its columns not only to cooking, but also to sewing.

The fact that many organizations and periodicals were closed down or banned after the emergency rule of April 28, 1979, might have been a motivation for choosing these "moderate" topics. It is probable that the reason for the change was to make the periodical look more like other women's periodicals, because, whereas there were no such topics as sewing, embroidery or cooking until the issue dated April 28, 1979, these topics were included in every issue after that date. Also, one might think that

the fact that 1979 was International Children's Year was a major incentive to dedicate a page to children; this does not explain why those pages continued to appear after April 28, 1979. The children's year was internationally celebrated beginning from January 1979.

Kadın Dayanışması and the İKD

When the first issue of *Kadın Dayanışması* (Women's Solidarity) was published on July 1977, it could be said that its major, if not sole, purpose was to form an opposition to *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*, the İKD. One group in particular, women who were organized in the İKD's Bursa branch office (who were TSİP members or partisans), formed a major opposition. In order to break down this opposition, the İKD abolished the administrative board of the branch office. Conflicts sharpened after this move, and the opposition wing was forced to publish their own journal to communicate its ideals and politics, along with its opposition to the İKD administration.

In an article titled "As We Begin" (*Çıkarken*) in the first issue, the reasons why women should participate in the "economic-democratic struggle" were explained, and

then a settling of the old scores with the İKD, or the İKD's central administration, was made. The major reason behind the publication of the journal was explained in the following words:

Our journal is published in order to reinforce the democratic women's movement and help contribute to its progress at a time when flawed trends are emerging within it. In this respect, our objective is to focus on the erroneous trends in the İKD and try to correct them, while at the same time to work to realize women's general social interests. In this sense, our journal will fill an important gap within the women's movement.³⁰⁰

Around the same time, the İKD took serious measures against the TSİP members and abolished the branch office administration. According to a news article published in *Kadın Dayanışması*, the sale of the journal during the congress of Ankara-Çankaya branch, held on September 1977, was stopped and with a decision made at the congress: "The Journal, *Kadın Dayanışması*" was declared "divisive."³⁰¹

It was also claimed that the speeches of the TSİP's "Democratic Centralism" group members were interrupted at the congress. As noted in the journal: "With an undue bill, talks were interrupted and members that registered

³⁰⁰ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.1 (July 14, 1977), p.3.

³⁰¹ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.4 (October 22, 1977), p.4.

to deliver speeches prior to the bill were not allowed to do so."³⁰² Another note in the same issue says that the İKD's Head Office not only abolished the Bursa branch office and assigned a provisional "partisan" administrative committee, but also started "expelling staff from membership who were not on the same line with them."³⁰³ On December 12, 1977, Fazilet Çulha, a TSİP member and the editor-in-chief of *Kadın Dayanışması*, was "expelled from the İKD, with no written defense" with the excuse that the "journal's notes on the İKD were destructive and divisive." The mutual tough attitudes of the TSİP members and the İKD's Head Office were nothing more than a reflection of the political rivalry between the TKP and the TSİP.

While trying to establish their own organization around the journal, *Kadın Dayanışması* (first published in 1977), female members of the TSİP were also continuing to challenge the İKD. They criticized "straight-line organizations"; in other words, structures that simply allowed the survival of those walking on the line. These criticisms find expression in the journal with the words:

³⁰² Ibid., p.5.

³⁰³ Ibid., p.5.

Today, different social circles have their own women's organizations. The first women's organizations to be found were desk-job organizations established to prevent excess leisure time. And of course these desk-job organizations were the ones that organized tea-parties. Local women's organizations were founded as straight-line organizations and therefore did not contribute to the progress of democratic women's organizations. The İKD, founded in 1975, took a first step in the arena of democratic women's organizations and carried out activities to gather masses of women under its roof, with success to a certain extent. However, the Central Administrators of the İKD, who claimed to have acknowledged the massive democratic spirit of women's organizations, did not do so in practice. The central administrators have displayed repellent and discriminative attitudes toward those who do not share their ideas in the İKD. This attitude has even led them to abolish branch offices and to neglect the opening of new offices in areas where there is a female potential, with the excuse that "those women do not share their views." Despite all these negative acts, we, as *Kadın Dayanışması* believe that it is to the benefit of the democratic women's movement to continue with our activities within the İKD, to fight against the İKD's Central Administrators' tendencies of going against the democratic and massive spirit of women's organization and to show efforts to reinforce the women's movement."³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.1 (July 14, 1977), p.3.

The TİP: Women's Section (*TİP Kadın Seksiyonu*)

Earlier it was stated that the *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish Worker's Party) (TİP) had no separate women's organization. However, at the end of 1979, a women's section was formed under the roof of the party. The women's section founded at the party's head offices reporting to the central office was the division office for the other women's city divisions. Nermin Aksın (lawyer) was the secretary of the division located at the head offices. Belkıs Kiroğlu was the secretary for the Women's İstanbul City Division. In 1979, many women's organizations, in addition to a number of democratic mass organizations, participated in a joint action organized by the Peace Organization in Turkey, in order to prepare for the international peace congress. This is when TİP formed the women's section, in order to be represented as a party at the congress. So, this division had no real relevance to women, to the women's question or to women's organization. It emerged as a necessity to form a structure similar to the other women's organizations participating in the joint action. When the peace congress was cancelled by the martial law, the function of the women's section within the TİP came to a complete end.

Still, until September 12, 1980, the women's section continued collaborating with other women's organizations and participating in joint actions.

Information about on the TIP's women's section is limited, as the organization lasted only a year. In chapter six, interviews with participants who worked for the TIP's women's section will be separately provided.

CHAPTER V

THE APPROACH OF THE TKP, TSİP AND TİP TO THE WOMEN'S ISSUE

The Stances of the TKP, the TSİP and the TİP towards the "Women's Question," the Women's Movement, "Women's Emancipation" and Separate Women's Organizations

In the following pages, the decisions and proposals made by the TKP, the TİP and the TSİP in their party programs, congresses, conferences and publications will be examined. In doing so, examples that have a close proximity in terms of dates will be provided.

Within this context, it is necessary to review some of the decisions that were taken by the TKP at a February 1977 conference. The conference is important in that 1977 was the year when the TKP started widespread national organizational activity, while continuing the activities of the İKD, a women's organization, the establishment of which the party had supported in 1975. The first point that is striking attention in the conference records is the scarcity of information on women's activities. Below

are several excerpts that provide insight into the TKP's approach towards the women's movement.

The paragraph below presents an evaluation of the party's status and mentions in passing the women's movement.

The women's movement, too, is making progress. Our party is committed to and responsible for supporting this movement on all points. Our progressive women are starting a great struggle. This is a tough struggle. Women constitute half of our society. And a large majority of this population is oppressed severely. The bourgeois constitution aside, facts indicate that women do not have equality. A major struggle is awaiting the communists, awaiting our party, in this respect. Let's train confident, active, informed women comrades for our party.³⁰⁵

In those pages in which an evaluation of the party is recorded, a half page is dedicated to the women's movement under the title "Mass Organizations and the TKP" (*Yığın Örgütleri ve TKP*).

The problems of women workers and laborers can not be separated from the problems of their male counterparts. However, it is evident that women laborers have their own problems. Struggle on this level should be carried out with cooperation. The major problems of women workers and laborers are these: equal pay for equal work, the right to reserve motherhood rights and to fight against war, militarism and fascism. One of the objectives of our party is

³⁰⁵ *TKP Conference (Documents)* (Ankara: Temel Yayınları, March 1978), pp.75-76.

to support women to organize independent organizations and unions pertinent to their general and specific problems. The TKP will pay more attention to organizing women laborers of the party.³⁰⁶

As this statement suggests, while the party recognized the fact that women had their own problems, it nevertheless saw these problems as part of workers' and laborers' problems in general. This approach finds its best articulation in the first sentences. The last sentence, on the other hand, while admitting the necessity of "autonomous" organizations, also suggests that these organizations should be under the control of the party.

One of the talks in this conference was given by A. Yoldaş, a female party member who had participated in women's activities. Yoldaş's talk as one of the founders of the İKD, which was established in 1975, gives some insight into contemporary women's activities.

The women's movement is in a general process of advance, rapid organization and self-consciousness. This is closely related to recent legal policy guidelines, which have led to developments within the working class, changes in objective conditions and the progress made by the TKP within the last several years ... Until recently, women's movements allegedly have been represented by more than twenty organizations. However, these organizations have not been able to go beyond

³⁰⁶ Ibid. p.133.

being "charity" organizations engaged in organizing balls and welfare sales ... One of the best implications of the progress achieved in the women's movement is the level of organized activities. The rate of women workers' active participation in unions is increasing. Especially over the past few years, this progress has led to women's separate and massive organizational activities. These activities are rapidly spreading into many regions in the country; organizations are flourishing in the factories, offices and districts where laborers live. Workers and waged-laborers constitute a major part of the organized women. The participation rate in the organizations is growing among the wives of workers and laborers - housewives, and also among women who work at home or who are hired for domestic work. Millions of peasants, the most suffering, oppressed and unorganized group of women laborers, are taking the first steps toward being organized groups. There is a lot to be done in this sphere.³⁰⁷

As this speech delivered at the 1977 conference reveals, the worker's movement was becoming stronger under the more democratic and liberal circumstances of the mid-1970s. Parallel to this progress, the TKP was paying more attention to its organizational activities nationwide.

The TKP not only tried to extend its organizational activities to cover unions, factories and professional organizations, but it also sought to establish separate youth and women's organizations. What was described in Yoldaş's speech as "separate and massive women's

³⁰⁷ Ibid., pp.189-190.

organizational activities" was usually the activities carried out by the İKD. The boundaries of the target group were also drawn.

The excerpt below describes the İKD's connection to the international women's movements and states that Soviet women were or should be taken as examples.

Among the many organizations that have taken part in Turkish women's movement, there seems to be an effort to form a continuous unity of action between the İKD, women's groups of the RPP and female members of the legal socialist party grounds... Meanwhile, the Turkish women's movement is inspired, on the one hand, by the organizations of international women's movements and the works and experiences of the DDKF and on the other, by the achievements of women in real socialism, of which the Soviet Socialist Union is the most important example.³⁰⁸

A review of the İKD's publications reveals that this focus and objective was continuously maintained. The excerpt below is important in that it provides insight into how the TKP determined its model of women's movement and how it described the "women's question" and "women's emancipation":

There have been a number of difficulties encountered throughout the organization of the women's movement. Many historical and social causes are creating obstacles in the progress of the movement. The consequences created by

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.191-192.

the residues of the feudal system that promotes dependency on imperialism are twice as influential on women (as men). Issues of unemployment, inequality and illiteracy put a double burden on women's shoulders. Traditions, superstitions, dependency and commitments originating from the oppression that has lasted hundreds of years all prevent women from taking active roles in social life. In addition to these, some practical facts such as the scarcity of continuous and successful examples in women's organizational activities also add to the slowing down of the progress ... There are more to the obstacles that prevent the movement from progress and growth. Errors made concerning the women's question and some negative attitudes taken against the organizational activities of the women's movement are also obstacles to the progress. Errors made regarding the women's question can be grouped in two categories: first, there is the leftist approach that disregards and undermines the women's question and opposes women's organizations, arguing that they cause fragmentation in the struggles of the proletariat and laborers. We still fight against this attitude and we will continue to do so.

Second, there is the approach that disengages the women's question from its class origin, albeit admitting its existence. This approach includes the bourgeois feminism that is built upon gender opposition and all sorts of opportunist and reformist ideas that prefer answering women's question with adjustments that do not do anything about the exploitative system. Communists are fighting against these errors. They are centralizing the women's movement around Marxist-Leninist ideals. Women's emancipation cannot be considered separate from the emancipation of workers and laborers and in short, of everyone; accordingly, the emancipation of people cannot be achieved without the organized contribution of women, who make up of half the population

and a major part of the working people. Solutions of and struggle for the solution of women's problems cannot be considered separately from national independence and the struggle for an advanced democracy and further for socialism struggle. However, a resisting women's movement can only be created with an organization and action plan that rests upon solid, vital and immediate demands. And only masses of women who struggle for such solid demands can figure out that the solution is related to radical social changes and to the question of political sovereignty.³⁰⁹

The TKP started to separate women's organizations during this period. However, parties, groups and movements that represented the Turkish Left held a different and critical approach to the women's question. Below is how the TKP described the situation following that criticism:

There are basic errors of tendency in the problem of the massive organizational activity of the women's movement. Circles ranging from some legal socialist party administrators to deviant movements of all size and origin are opposed to the separate organization of the women's movement. These circles are trying to integrate organizations into their own parties or factions. And as they fail to realize their objectives as a result of the struggles of the TKP members and organizations, they resort to anti-communism and anti-sovietism against the autonomous and massive organizations of the women's movement.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Ibid., pp.192-194.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p.194.

At this point, it should be noted that the conflicts that existed between the legal socialist parties and movements of the period were reflected in the women's organizations, too. In the following pages of this study, some examples from the struggles and competitions carried out especially by the TKP and the TSİP as part of the women's movement will be discussed.

There are some notes on women's activities in the TİP'S 1976 party program. However, notes like these do not exist in the section titled "Principles that Form the Basis of the Party Program" (*Parti Programına Temel Olan Görüşler*). Although there are some notes on factory or agricultural workers, petty-bourgeois laborer classes, petty bourgeois intellectuals, peasants and the young, the women are absent in this section.

In the party program, the party's objectives are given as follows: "The party presents the below concrete proposals to reify the struggle that will be carried out for the socialist democratization of the country and for hindering the progress of imperialism"³¹¹ in the party

³¹¹ *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Program ve Tüzüğü*, 3rd Edition (İstanbul: Türkiye İşçi Partisi Yayınları, 1976), p.38.

"program." Some objectives determined for women are referred to in this section:

The party asserts that the anti-democratic requisitions of the law be abolished and women's living and working conditions be made easier, functional and effective; measures be taken to meet the difficulties arising from the motherhood status of working women; the equal pay for equal work law concerning female laborers be effectively applied; the required conditions to make women take part in all levels of public services and play active roles in social progress be provided and the pension period be re-adjusted, taking the difficult living conditions that capitalism imposes on women into consideration.³¹²

As this excerpt suggests, the TIP was not supportive of separate women's organizations. Behice Boran had been elected the party leader following the fourth congress in 1970 as the first female party leader in the history of the Turkish Republic. Although throughout the mid-1970s many socialist women's organizations were established and widespread organizational activities were carried out, the TIP never favored such progress. The following is Boran's response to a question asked on this issue:

Unfortunately, no. We are working on increasing the number of female members with dedicated effort. And the number of female candidates for membership is higher than female members. However, we did not feel the need for a separate women's organization and so we never

³¹² Ibid., pp.44-45.

established it. If we had felt the need, we would have done it. Women's organizational activities, however, are a must. Therefore, we may consider a division of labor within the party structure; the party works in groups, so we can appoint some female members to women's issues. However, it is important to achieve a sound party character, first. In this respect, we prefer appointing members to training activities of the party directly, instead of forming a separate women's group.³¹³

When compared to the TİP's party program of 1961, the 1976 program reflected some changes in favor of women. In the part where party activities planned for the governing period were listed in the 1961 program, there were only two entries concerning women, these two entries referred to the "social security" problems:

All mothers will be granted the right to have fully-paid leaves two months prior and after labor. Child-care centers and kindergartens will be opened for women worker's children under the age of six.

...

We will put an end to sex, age, religious, language, (religious) sect, political belief and criminal history discrimination.

Equal pay for equal work will be applied.³¹⁴

³¹³ Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982), p.272.

³¹⁴ *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Programı* (İstanbul: n.p., 1964), p.133-134.

Both programs take the work problems encountered by female workers as a basis; however, unlike the 1976 program states, this program declares that women should take active roles in social life. However, even the 1976 program fails to emphasize that women needed to take part in politics and should become organized. There was only one article on women in the issues published between 1976 and 1978 of *Çark Başak (Wheel Ear)*, the major publication of the party, the first issue of which was published on February 13, 1976. It was noted that this article titled, "March 8, International Women's Day" by Behice Boran, was published in the 49th issue of journal *Yürüyüş (The March)*; however, it was not.

As in the TIP's major publication, this article, too, reflected the party's approach to the women's question. Below are some quotations from the article related to women's problems and some proposed solutions.

The women's question is a problem related to social structure and therefore it can only be solved by changing the structure and eliminating the larger exploitative system. However, in addition to the fact that women have their personal problems related to their social status, they also have problems of their own and therefore it is only natural and also necessary that they become organized for their own problems and interests and take part in social struggle ... The women's question of social status, rights and liberties in

societies with class divisions is a result not of the biological differences between genders but of the exploitative system.³¹⁵

The article gives examples as to what women's problems and demands may be in capitalist societies and in Turkey: equal pay for equal work, equality of opportunity at work and in profession, rights to participate in social activities outside the house and in politics, and sharing household labor with men while having equal rights with them and breaking their dependency on men.

The struggle proposed for "women's emancipation" is described basically as the struggle for socialism and the women who should take part in this struggle are the particularly the working women:

Therefore, the struggle to bring a solution to this problem, which is women's emancipation movement, can give positive and effective results as long as it is carried out on the right path and in line with, and integrated to the struggle of the working class and laborers for democracy and socialism. And since women's society is not a homogeneous one and that class distinctions divide them too, it is very important that women from working class and laborers, take part in this struggle.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ "8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü," *Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*, year 2, no.26-27 (March 16, 1977), p.17.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

"Will the problems of women be resolved when women finally obtain equal rights with men?" One answer proposed to questions of this sort is as follows:

The progressive women's movement is fundamentally different from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women's movements. These movements called the "feminist" movements, diminish women's struggle to demands limited to apolitical issues such as household labor, childcare and gender relations and they ignore the fact that these problems have already been resolved in socialist countries. They deliberately try to disguise the achievements in socialist countries, in problems concerning women.

Since exploitation and oppression of laborers no longer exists in socialist countries, women are truly equal and free. Again, in these countries, the double exploitation of women's labor is abandoned, equality in education is obtained as well as mother and child health is. In line with the maturing process of the socialist system, an improvement in family relations and in the solution process of issues between men and women can be observed. Women have the opportunity to participate in political life and take part at all levels of social life. The women's struggle for emancipation will be fruitful as long as it is continued in harmony with and integrated to the struggle of democracy for the rights and freedom of all laborers.

The final resolution of problems, on the other hand, can only be achieved when the struggle of the working class and its political organization, carried out to free all working people from exploitation and oppression, is succeeded. Once the basics of the social system are changed and the exploitative system is destroyed, complete socialization of all the divisions of the social structure and of all

institutions will be realized, throughout a process. The people's socialist identity will also change for the better and grow, as the socialist system grows and takes root. Thus, the issue of women's rights and freedom will reach final solution.³¹⁷

This excerpt from an article in *Çark Başak* is a summarized and reviewed version of an interview with Behice Boran made March 8, International Women's Day, published in issue 49 of *Yürüyüş*, March 16, 1976. In this respect, it seems like the İKD's movement, called The Progressive Women's Movement, was supported by the TİP, since the TİP took part in the establishment of the İKD and since the competition was not very apparent by then. However, in its discourse on the women's question, the TİP makes it very clear that the party did not support women's separate organizations, that what really matters was to educate "socialist people," that the party disapproves of gender distinctions and that, as was the case with all other socialist movements of the time, the party was clearly opposed to feminism. Accordingly, the party argued, women's oppression at work was related to the capitalist modes of production, and oppression at home was associated with husbands.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

In the 1974 TSİP program, women's activities were referred to only in the section called "Social Rights" (*Sosyal Haklar*), a section concerning workers and work life.

Inequality in payment due to gender differences, differences in age and other similar grounds among all workers and employees will be adjusted as 'same pay for same work'.³¹⁸

This statement reflects nothing more than a concept that should be applicable to the workers of all countries that comply with the human rights laws and whose signatures appear under the international human rights declaration. There is no specific reference to women. The familiar phrase "equal pay for equal work" (*eşit işe eşit ücret*) has changed to "the same pay for the same work" (*aynı işte aynı ücret*). One wonders whether this adjustment was a coincidence or a deliberate assertion.

Another article in the same section expresses another promise to women, this time less obscure: "Work conditions for women and juvenile workers will be improved in all respects."³¹⁹

³¹⁸ "Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi Programı," *İlke*, 2, no.7 (July 1974), p.137.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.138.

In the 1974 program, there is a long section dedicated to the youth in which organizational activities of the young generation are described in detail. It is striking that the program includes only a one-sentence article on women. It was only in the 1976 party program that a separate heading was devoted to women, and, in comparison to the first program, demands were specified in greater detail. Article 5 (on women), under the title "Social Tasks" is as follows:

The inequality between women and men created by exploitative societies will be eliminated, women will be freed from the slavery of household life, efforts will be made to increase their creativity, they will be protected from those work conditions that are detrimental to their organism and equal pay for equal work will be in effect for all women and men. Prostitution, the most degrading human activity, will be prohibited completely and for those women who are saved from the trap of prostitution, job opportunities for an honorable life will be created and the financial circumstances that lead to prostitution will be eradicated.³²⁰

When we think of the period in which this article was written as a whole, we may draw some conclusions. There is a probability that, established in 1975, the İKD might have led the way for other parties to be more

³²⁰ *Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi, Program, 2nd edition (TSİP Yayınları, 1976), pp.21-22.*

sensitive towards the women's question and encouraged them to pay more attention to it. It is also possible that the fact that women from both the TİP and the TSİP participated in the establishment activities of the İKD, and that they later left the party to continue on their own paths, was two other motivations that brought the issue to the fore.

It can be seen that the party program offered no proposals to the women's question. However, in the concluding paragraph of an article titled "The Oppressed Sex: Woman," which appeared in *İlke* (Principle), a party publication, the reasons behind "women's oppression" and the suggestions for their "emancipation" are given as follows:

The women's question can not be handled in isolation. What could be the reasons behind such brutal and inhuman belittling and exploitation? ... It is now understood: it is the capitalist mode of production. In this case, as it is the case for the emancipation of all people who are oppressed and exploited, women's emancipation too depends on "making the modes of production into social property"; in other words, women's emancipation depends on the "creation of socialism." So, the urgent task for women, especially for working women, is to participate in the struggle for socialism. In emancipating the working class and all

laborers, socialism will emancipate women as well.³²¹

I will now try to briefly present the similarities and differences in the approaches of the TKP, the TİP and the TSİP to the women's question, the attitude, perception and proposals which were illustrated with quotations from party programs and publications noted above. These parties basically considered the women's question to be peculiar to "working women" and they described the worst types of exploitations as unequal payment, inadequate maternity leave and heavy duty jobs for women. The feminist movement is described as a "bourgeois movement" and struggle against it is considered vital. It is emphasized that the answer lies in the socialist system and that when all laborers are emancipated, women will be emancipated, too.

The publications of the three parties reveal that it was a common belief among these parties that "customs," "ferocious traditions," the "capitalist system" and the "residues of the feudal system" all led to inequality between the sexes. However, there is no mention of patriarchal society, despite the Marxist theory's emphasis on women's inferior social status that first emerged with

³²¹ Mehmet Savca, "Ezilen Cins Kadın," *İlke*, no.16 (April 1975), pp.29-30.

the emergence of the patriarchal system. Again, these party publications give hardly a word on women's independence and freedom. Among the documents researched, only in an article in *Çark Başak*, the TİP's major publication, are "sharing household labor with men, having equal rights and being independent of them"³²² presented as problems of women that need to be resolved.

The inequality women faced at home, women's secondary status in the family, and the tyranny of husbands are not presented as indicators of women's oppression. Ultimately, there is an effort to avoid placing men and women in opposite positions. The emphasis had been to motivate men and women to fight "shoulder to shoulder" to overcome problems. In short, the effort had been to avoid any potential "deviation" toward feminism. In addition, when the women's question was on table, all three parties brought to the fore the issue of prostitution and asserted the socialist system as its solution.

³²² "8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü," *Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*, year 2, no.26-27 (March 16, 1977), p.17.

The Progressive Women's Organization

Feminism

In the later parts of the İKD's declaration prepared during its foundation process there is a note on some "unprogressive" powers that tried to hinder the "progress" of the women's movement in the world and in Turkey. The feminist movement, according to the declaration, which did not approach the women's question from a "class" point of view, was also among these "unprogressive" powers.

Every organized and consistent war we fight for all women's interests will bring us face to face with the bourgeoisie and their reformist extensions. This is why we must pay utmost attention to avoid attitudes and acts that might damage the common interests and union of all workers, men and women ... National and international unprogressive powers are already aware of the potential destructive results of the fights for genuine equality of women, and they have started a twofold struggle. Those powers are trying, on the one hand, to use all means of mass media, such as newspapers, magazines, novels, radio and TV to prove women's social inferiority and inequality as a virtue, and on the other hand, to have their paid-scientists prove with pseudo-theories that women's inferiority and inequality is necessary. And as if these were not enough, these people have found one last means to hold onto. Movements and organizations that do not approach the women's question from a "class" perspective and defend an abstract notion of

"women's rights" and equality of "men and women" are the result of such efforts.³²³

In order to grasp the theoretical background of the ideas in the declaration, Clara Zetkin's words need to be remembered:

Lenin, as a result of learning history, especially the history of the international proletariat movement, realized that it is very important and inevitable to realize this demand and his belief became even stronger. It cannot be said that having complete freedom and equal rights with men is not only important and inevitable to women. This is inevitable for everyone, men or women, who are harshly exploited and imprisoned by capital. In order to achieve this task, the social life of all humanity should be made better, should gain a better and higher form. Lenin entirely denied feminist tendencies, which put women in search of their freedom, in a position to participate in a fight between men and women who walk on the wrong path. He showed that the only way that led women to their freedom was the way of the social proletariat revolution, which was full of challenges and hardships.³²⁴

Below are the İKD's evaluations in the Report of the First Regular Assembly Meeting held in 1976 on the attainment of women's rights during the process of the establishment of the Republic and also on women's

³²³ ...ve hep birlikte koştuk, pp.27-28.

³²⁴ Clara Zetkin, *Lenin'in Bütün Dünya Kadınlarına Vasiyetleri*, trans. Atilla Temiz, 1st edition (İstanbul: Sorun Yayınları, 1978), p.30.

organizations founded after the establishment of the Republic:

While the proletariat women, who had been deprived of all sorts of education and training for hundreds of years, were risking their lives on those dark days of our people, the women of the ruling classes were showing up at balls organized by the invading forces. Women's participation in production during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, and their fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with men during the War of Independence, has helped women obtain some rights in the newly established Republic.³²⁵

The above discourse is no different than the discourse used in many books on the history of the Republic or even the discourse of textbooks, where they explain how women were granted their rights. Apparently the İKD, too, expressed the "clichés" on the subject, without giving it much thought. This criticism of the Republic's "women policy" asserts, at the same time, that women deserved their rights because of their courageous support during the War of Independence.

What happened to these proletariat women who fought against the enemy? After they returned home, was all left to the "women of the ruling classes who showed up at the balls organized by the invading forces?" Did they go on

³²⁵ *İKD I. Olağan Genel Kurul Çalışma Raporu* (İKD's First Regular General Assembly Meeting Report), duplicate copy, p.9.

organizing balls and parties within the organizations they founded?

Many women's organizations were founded, beginning from the early twentieth century, especially from the establishment of the Republic. A great number of these were short lived. However, they all had some things in common: the administrators, founders and target group of these organizations were exclusively made up of the women of the ruling classes. None of these organizations attained a mass form. The essence of the activities and philosophy of the twenty-seven existing women's organizations was, as their former examples were, the same as the bourgeois feminist movement in the developed capitalist countries ... However, until now, the basic quality of their struggle was to separate women's fight for equality from its social and economic grounds. The major activities of these women were to provide grants or loans for a few young people, to give food to the poor and mostly to organize parties and balls at luxurious hotels."³²⁶

This excerpt represents an absolute denial. The organizations of the post-Republic era are categorized and described as the "activities of the ruling classes" and "bourgeois feminism," after which a harsh attack on feminism follows. The fact that this was not an attitude limited to the İKD will be seen in the section where the attitudes of the other political structures are detailed.

³²⁶ Ibid., p.9.

This attitude is in fact peculiar to the socialists of the time.

Women exposed to the vindictive exploitation of capitalism have always had a potential reaction against capitalism. As in many capitalist countries, it was primarily the bourgeoisie and its reformist extensions that took advantage of this reaction, and this is how the women's movement that we call feminism today has emerged.³²⁷

In Engels's works, the word "patriarchal" is often used.³²⁸ However, this word did not appear in any of the texts belonging to the socialist women's organizations of the period studied, and it is quite interesting that feminism was distorted as such. Clearly, these women were unaware of the Second Wave feminist movement and that they could hardly abandon the Marxist discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The quotation below, which reflects the İKD's approach to the "organizational activities of the feminists," is noteworthy:

In fact, such organizational activities justified the centuries-old acts and ideas of the ruling classes, which presented women as nothing more than women, as a peculiar and inferior being. Since the feminist movement

³²⁷ Ibid., p.11.

³²⁸ Friedrich Engels, *Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni*, trans. Kenan Somer (İstanbul: Sol Yayınları, May 1977), 5th Edition.

refutes the concept of equality between men and women to a simple-minded and coarse level, which claims that women should be doing everything that men do, rather than trying to attain men's collaboration, it regards them as targets and even as enemies. Thus, feminism distorted women's organizational activities to achieve social emancipation and it set erroneous targets for the movement, isolating the struggle from the struggles of other progressive and social powers. This is why such feminist organizational acts reached, neither in the country nor abroad, any concrete results or gains.³²⁹

One point needs to be stressed here: no matter how severely the feminist movement was criticized, it seems that the İKD agreed that feminist demands were significant and vital. It can be said that the İKD's attitude was both a denial of the feminists and a simultaneous claim on their demands:

Women's organizational activities must be able to meet women's material and immediate needs. Various demands such as "equal pay for equal work" or "a nursery for every workplace" must be explained in their own contexts, rather than be repeated like parrots. It is not enough to communicate only how badly women were oppressed and belittled within the existing system, or to call them to a struggle. The fact that bourgeois reformists are also out there "defending" many righteous demands for women should not prevent us from giving up on our fight for these demands. On the contrary, women's groups who fight today will soon discover, with their own experience, who

³²⁹ *İKD I. Olağan Genel Kurul Çalışma Raporu* (İKD's First Regular General Assembly Meeting Report), duplicate copy, p.11.

actually is on their side and will help take off the masks of the reformists and feminists.³³⁰

Answers to the "Women's Question" and Women's
Organizational Activities

Let us take a look at Bebel's ideas on the answer to the women's question and the shape the struggle for women's rights should take:

This applies to all areas on the grounds of the existing governmental and social order, where women's marital, legal and political equality with men is a matter of concern, which means in all areas where women can take part to the extent of their strength and skills ... In addition, the female proletariat has the privilege of struggling hand in hand with the male proletariat, in order to take all necessary measures and provide all required institutions which will protect the working women from physical and moral deterioration and which will protect women's skills as mothers and children's educators. The proletariat women are responsible, along with their male comrades of class and destiny, to struggle for a radical change in society, in order to create the necessary conditions, which will allow the absolute economic and philosophical independency of the two sexes, by means of proper social institutions. Therefore, what is important here is not just to realize the equality of men and women within the existing state and social order, which is the main purpose of the bourgeois movement, but to

³³⁰ Ibid., p.11.

remove all the obstacles that make an individual dependent on another person, therefore one sex dependent on the other. The resolution of the women's question, in this respect, is equal to the resolution of the social question.³³¹

What the İKD had to say on separate women's organization was not very different than what Bebel had stated:

Yet, the women's struggle for emancipation cannot be isolated from the society's struggle for emancipation. To free men and women from exploitation is only possible when exploitation is entirely demolished. The status of women who live in countries where exploitation does not exist any more also justifies this idea. The basic precondition of the achievement of the struggles carried out by all working classes, which is "uniformity and accordance with the struggle of the working class," is true for women's organizational activities, too. To be in accordance with the working class movement is the guarantee of the achievement and precision of women's organizational activities and movements. However, such organizational activities are different than the activities of the millions who were oppressed and exploited. The fact that women have been pacified for centuries, isolated from social life, became outsiders and quieted, cloistered between the narrow borders of the family and home life, makes it inevitable for us to discover unique ways of bringing women into an organized struggle.³³²

³³¹ August Bebel, *Kadın Ve Sosyalizm*, trans. S.N. Kaya (İstanbul: Inter Yayınları, 1991), p.41.

³³² İKD'S First Regular Assembly Report, duplicate copy, p.11.

The point that was reached, having acknowledged that women's participation in the struggle was a prerequisite, is quite peculiar. It is clearly stated that, even if women did not attain the demanded rights as a result of this struggle, this would be no loss, for what was essential was to help women become "more active in social and political life."

The way in which we make our demands is as important as what we demand. Thus, by fighting for their demands, women will learn how to struggle and will become more active in social and political life, even if they do not attain new rights at the end. Besides, those rights can actually be attained by a resolved struggle. As a result, more opportunities can be created to help women progress and participate in social life. A denial of women's organizational acts means to leave this ground and leave the women into the hands of the ruling classes. In addition, drawing women into the struggle will play an important role in the unification of male and female laborers, in preventing bosses take advantage of women's inexperience and timidity during the struggle of the working class and in drawing the wives of laborers into the social struggle. Apparently, women's social emancipation cannot be achieved only by the efforts of women's organizations. Women should be active in as many economic, democratic and professional organizations as they can, and try to take the necessary measures to help other women in these organizations become more active. A true women's organization should include both working and non-working women. And finally, members of a true women's organization, while fighting for problems peculiar to women, should

always keep in mind that this fight is a part of the common struggle against exploitation.³³³

More quotations can be noted on the subject;

however, one statement from the İKD's First Regular Assembly Report summarizes the nature of the significance attached to women's organizations: "Their (women's organizations') places and duties should neither be undermined nor overemphasized."³³⁴ When this report was published, the İKD was already a year old. But there were still debates on the necessity and proposed nature of an independent women's organization. Therefore, despite the statement above, there were still reservations against a women's organization. However, it is possible to approach this statement from a different point of view: such organizations should not be undermined, because it is important to draw more (women) into the struggle and yet they should not be overemphasized, because women's problems should not overshadow the main issues. And women who actively work in such organizations should not consider themselves too important.

³³³ Ibid., p.11.

³³⁴ Ibid., p.13.

Housewives

At the First General Assembly Meeting Report, the İKD's demands and plans concerning housewives were listed as follows:

To activate women for the organization of large campaigns against price increases and inflation; to display the reasons behind price increases; to support the opening of inexpensive and convenient food markets; to help local markets and sale points of meat by municipality, to start selling less expensive and better food under the control of municipalities; to organize women to help fix the prices of food and clothes that vary from one grocer to another, from one province to the other and one from city to another, and to facilitate the effective control of prices; to become more active in fighting against fascism in providing security for children, which is becoming a major problem in Turkey.³³⁵

According to the report of the First Regular General Assembly Meeting, ten percent of the members of İstanbul branch offices and seventeen percent of members from other branch offices were housewives.³³⁶ Actually, this was not a low percentage. In comparison, the percentage of İKD members who were industrial workers in İstanbul was 30 percent, and of the industrial workers who lived in cities other than İstanbul was six percent. Still, the demands

³³⁵ Ibid., p.18.

³³⁶ Ibid., p.16.

specified for housewives seemed to be inadequate. The report stated that while the commissions established for workers, government officers and teachers were already active, the commission for housewives was not functional yet.³³⁷

Working Women

The İKD's target-group was working women, especially workers. However, according to a member chart, which appeared in the Report of the Second Regular General Assembly meeting, held in 1978, 32 percent of the members were housewives. Yet, it was still the workers who were regarded as the most "progressive" part of the female population, which constituted the İKD's actual target group.

Demands for equal pay for equal work, for a nursery in every work place and nursing rooms in those work places with more than one hundred employees, and longer maternity leaves, were particularly specified for all working women.

³³⁷ Ibid., p.15.

Below is a excerpt from an article in which the declaration of a bill which would grant women retirement rights after 20 years of employment was criticized:

Here is the grace of those who seemed to support the idea of granting women some rights and privileges, considering their twofold contribution to the society as mothers and laborers. Working women will have the right to retirement after twenty years of employment, BUT, provided that;

they pay the premiums for 5000 work days,

they settle for a 60 percent retirement fee, instead of 70 percent, regardless of the number of days they worked before the age 18.

...

... To turn the clock back to the old practices and to change the laws to encourage retirement at 25 years is a deception, it is trickery.³³⁸

The İKD members also specified demands for women with different professions; the following propositions, for instance, were made for the insurance coverage of "hired domestic workers":

Housemaids not only lack paid leave and old-age or health insurances but they are also forced to work 10-12 hours a day, performing a week's work. Their pays in return are too low to cover the expenses of a day ... These laborers, who do not have lunch breaks and who have to leave their work later than usual in the evening if

³³⁸ *Kadınların Sesi*, no.1 (August, 1975), p.2.

they have an extended lunch, have many problems waiting to be resolved.³³⁹

İKD members started a campaign of collecting signatures for this issue and they specified four demands for domestic laborers:

Insurance rights should be granted, domestic workers should be protected under the labor law, the Social Insurances Law should be amended as to include the hired domestic workers' health, maternity, accident and old-age insurance, and domestic workers who go to work to obtain insurance should be organized under the roof of local labor cooperatives.³⁴⁰

Who Were the "Role-Model Women"?

As was noted in the introduction, the İKD was a women's organization supported by the TKP, the policy of which could not be separated from the party; therefore, women in the Soviet Socialist Union, a country regarded as the "center of the world socialist system," and the studies conducted there, which were believed to be the future achievers of "women's emancipation," constituted models for the İKD.

³³⁹ *Kadınların Sesi* (Women's Voice), no.24-3 (July 1977), p.2.

³⁴⁰ *Kadınların Sesi*, no.24-3 (July 1977), p.2.

Pertinent examples often appeared in *Kadınların Sesi*. For instance, in the October issue, a two-page article titled "The Soviet Women in the 60th Year of the Revolution" (*Devrimin 60.ncı Yılında Sovyet Kadını*) emphasizes the inferior status of women in the Tsarist era and then describes women's progress after 1917 with the following words:

50 percent of college students are female; the same as in work-life. 51 percent of plant and office laborers and 52 percent of rural area laborers are female. Today there are no jobs women cannot handle, and that the prejudice against women has lost effect ... ninety-two percent of those women who are able to work are actively participating in the development process of the country ... Women in the Soviet Union are becoming the first female captains, first ambassadress, and the first cosmonaut...In order to elevate women to the social status they deserve, the government is trying to ease the domestic labor for them and while sharing the responsibility of child care to help women with their social responsibilities. House labor is no longer absorbing women's energy, any more, because it has become much easier with the help and contribution of electrical-devices and common-restaurants.³⁴¹

Evidently, the Soviet women presented as an example had achieved significant progress in contributing to the work and social life. However, it appears that in 60 years' time Soviet women had not been entirely able to get

³⁴¹ *Kadınların Sesi*, no.27-6 (October 1977), p.4-5.

rid of house labor, neither were they able to eliminate it from their supposed area of responsibilities. House work and childcare continued to be part of women's "social responsibilities." Although electrical devices are commonly used today, is it possible to say that they made life much easier?

Considering the fact that during the times the above article was written, there were no automatic washing machines or dish washers in Turkey, and that even vacuum cleaners were used by a limited number of people, the examples given above must have been very impressive for Turkish women. Since both the editors and the readers of this periodical acknowledged house chores as part of women's given responsibilities, they must have considered access to such household devices -which was, of course, possible with the recent higher living standards- quite a privilege.

In the same issue, there is a poem titled "The New Year of The Soviet Woman" (*Sovyet Kadınının Yeni Yılı*). The poem emphasizes the great contribution of the Soviet women in national progress and continues as follows:

The palms of hands that once hear the loyal
song of your hands
Will never forget them sister,
Your hands, a little too large

Your hands a bit worn
And wide as the brightest foreheads,
Are wrinkled and admirably beautiful,
...
Your table welcomes everyone
Is there anyone who never tasted your bread and
wine before?
No such housewife like you, the world ever saw
Stand by the mirror
And look at yourself, sister, from head to toe,
And let me see you adorned like a Christmas
tree.³⁴²

In the poems or narratives/stories of the period, women were portrayed as hardworking and loyal, but their hands and faces were wrinkled and worn. But for some reason this made them look better. Despite the fact that they played the leading role in the development of their country, they were skillful women at housework. For some reason, they did not look good when they were good looking and healthy. They hardly deserved to dress up after so much hard work.

Democratic Women's Association

Feminism

The articles in *Kadın Dayanışması* reveal that members of the TSİP were in the same line of thought with

³⁴² *Kadınların Sesi*, no.7 (February 1976), pp.4-5.

other socialist women's organizations. The following is from an article titled "The İKD's Role and Our Commitments" (*İKD'nin İşlevi ve Görevlerimiz*) published in the third issue of the periodical:

The basic role of such an organization, which unites women from different social spheres under its roof, is on the one hand, to educate women to participate in the struggle for democracy and increase their social awareness, and, on the other, to fight for women's social rights and interests. The organization provides guidance for women's social rights (protection of motherhood, equal pay for equal work, nursery, etc.), and, in order to help people fight for their economic rights and interests, it also orients female workers toward unions and female laborers toward professional democratic mass organizations.³⁴³

Having explained the objectives of the organization as above, the article, which comments on "Women's Social Status," makes the following statements on feminism, which it described as a "flawed idea":

It is the exploitative system that makes women the oppressed sex. Some flawed ideas, which do not see women's problems as part of the conditions created by the existing system, declare a "fight against men." However, the fight must be against the exploitative system and the exploiters. Because, in an exploitative system, all laborers men and women, are oppressed. The only difference is that women's exploitation is twofold, and they are more oppressed. Equality between men and women in

³⁴³ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.3 (September 18, 1977), p.2.

all spheres of life can only be achieved in a society where there is no exploitation.³⁴⁴

Here, the "only difference" in women's exploitation is explained as women's "twofold exploitation," yet the reason behind this is once again correlated with the "exploitative system." At this point, the factor that causes women's double exploitation, unlike men, remains uncertain. Although, it is stated that women's twofold exploitation was peculiar to their gender, the fact that women's status needs to be evaluated from a different perspective, is passed over lightly.

Women's Emancipation

The text under the first article of the DKB's program first explains people's emancipation, and then moves on to how women can be emancipated accordingly:

Women know that workers and laborers do not only fight for the emancipation of labor and for the peace and brotherhood of humanity. They also lay the grounds for women's freedom with this struggle they are fighting for. This is why the struggle for the PEACE, DEMOCRACY and EQUALITY of the working classes and laborers draw women's attention. Women's movement for democracy is taking its shape and it is growing. The reason is clear: class-societies

³⁴⁴ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.6 (January 10, 1978), p.6.

have caused great damage to women's humanity and honor. Exploitative systems and imperialism, which offer women nothing more than slavery, oppression and suffering, continue to consume women and to draw them into a physical and moral destruction.

Unjust wars attack women's material and spiritual values and devour them. Wars take away their husbands, children and brothers. And it is women's share to heal the wounds of war. Raising children without fathers and reconstructing a destroyed life is only possible with women's labor and endless sacrifice. We have already stated that women's emancipation cannot be separated from laborer's emancipation. For this reason, women should come together and resolve problems emerging from womanhood. All women who say "I agree" to take part in a struggle for peace, freedom, equality and sisterhood, must gather under a united roof. They have to unite their powers and add it to the powers of workers and laborers.³⁴⁵

These statements are similar to the discourse of many socialist women's organization of the time. While struggling for emancipation, workers and laborers (male workers and laborers who carry out the political and social struggle) will lay the ground for women's emancipation, and only after that, it will be women's turn. Not leading the fight, women are expected to remain behind the frontiers and as a result of such efforts they

³⁴⁵ *Demokratik Kadın Birliği-Program ve Talepler* (Program and Demands of The Democratic Women's Association) (Ankara: Kadın Dayanışması Yayınları, 1978), pp.6-7.

will have the opportunity to express some of their demands.

And how will those women who are "fallen" be saved? The most dangerous situation for women at all times and all periods is to become "a fallen one." "The capitalist and imperialist system, which is trying to trap women" turns them into 'puppets of the system' or 'window-shoppers of shiny windows.' Falling into a trap and losing one's virtue and honor should be regarded as the problem of all humanity, yet it is presented as a danger awaiting women exclusively. As for becoming the "window-shoppers of shiny windows"... this is another judgment attributed to women which belittles them. Women, who are believed to have a tendency to consume and who face the risk of being attracted by shiny windows, will "fall into a trap" if they cannot free themselves from such risks.

The exploitative system, which turns everything into commodities, is "marketing" virtue and honor, too. This system, which sets a price for everything, is also setting a price for motherhood, womanhood and women's virtue and integrity. Degenerate and unprogressive culture makes this trap even worse. Thus, this trap is trying to pull inside it not just women laborers but also working women in general. Many young girls and women are conditioned as the puppets of the system and faithful window-

shoppers of bright windows, instead of becoming the honorable fighters of their own futures.³⁴⁶

Separate Women's Organizations

Recently, women have been increasingly participating in the economic-democratic struggle. Women, oppressed by house labor and all sorts of social commitments, are being exploited by their bosses at work. Women's particular social status places them as inferior to men within the economic and democratic struggle against the capitalist society. And this particular situation brings about the need for women's separate organizational activities. Women's democratic and massive organizations, a derivative of the conditions noted before, are empowering men and women to live better lives. The war fought for democracy is not a diversionist, but a progressive one. The most important issues that a democratic women's organization should pay attention to are to focus on women's immediate problems, at all social spheres, and to preserve the democratic and massive structure of the organization. The organization should welcome all the anti-fascist and democratic women. This will also help the organization become massive. Otherwise, administrators, who only favor women with certain ideals, and push the others away, would hinder the progress of the women's movement, which is democratic in essence.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ *Demokratik Kadın Birliği-Program ve Talepler*, p.7.

³⁴⁷ *Kadın Dayanışması*, no.1 (July 14, 1977), p.1.

The above explanation does not clarify what women's immediate problems were or what women's "particular situation" was.

Working Women

Like other organizations, the DKB too prioritized equal pay for equal work, a nursery at every workplace and longer maternity leave for all working women.

In its program, the DKB's demands for women were listed under a separate heading, however, as it immediately draws attention that, under the same heading, demands for working people in general, were also listed. Especially, Articles 7 and 8 were prepared to "preserve women's health" at work. However, "a closer look" at these articles reveals that they placed women into a more inferior status than they were in the work life. From these articles, it is difficult to figure out what was hazardous to women's health, and not to men's. However, this uncertainty disappears when the article is focused on pregnant women. In fact there are jobs that may be hazardous to everyone's health, not just to pregnant women's. It is astonishing that, in these articles, there

is a proposal to "ban" women from work at night. The writers of this article were not aware that it was actually them who helped create a "particular situation" for women.

- March 8 should officially be declared International Proletarian Women's Day.
- All working people, laborers or officers, should be granted the right to establish unions for their right to strike.
- The 8-hour workday must be in effect everywhere.
- All work places should observe a two-day weekend holiday.
- Obligatory overtime should be banned and a fair pay system should be put into practice.
- Equal pay for equal work must be valid for both men and women.
- Women's employment under hazardous health circumstances must be banned. Scientific and technical progress should be taken into account while specifying those hazardous fields and the legislation should be regularly updated.
- Women should not be forced to work at night. In work fields where night shifts are a must, working conditions must be improved.
- Women should have the right to a six-week leave prior to birth giving and to a six-month paid maternity leave.
- Adequate numbers of nursery, kindergartens, education and day-care centers should be opened at workplaces and within the municipal borders.

- The minimum wage should be adjusted so as to meet the scientifically determined life standards of workers and their families.
- The minimum wage must be re-adjusted every year by local commissions within each municipality area, in which representatives of workers should regularly participate.
- The removal of tax cuts from minimum wage should be immediately legalized.
- There must be no cuts from workers pay for any reason.
- Unemployment insurance must be put into effect.
- All restrictions regarding the right to strike must be removed and general strike and sympathetic strike should be legalized.
- Lock-out must be banned and acknowledged as a crime.
- Seasonal workers must have social security.
- All regulations concerning working life should be democratized.
- 1 May should be officially announced as Worker's Day.³⁴⁸

Housewives

Both in the DKB's party program and in *Kadın Dayanışması* there are some demands for housewives:

³⁴⁸ *Demokratik Kadın Birliği-Program ve Talepler*, pp.13-15.

Housewives are isolated from social life in general, production being one aspect, and therefore have become the constant slaves of house labor. Economic problems, as well as the cultural progress of housewives, who are distant from the vividness and dynamics of life, are one of the major issues. Therefore, in order to overcome the legal restrictions that hinder women's participation in production, it is important that women be freed from the oppression and control of the unprogressive dominant culture, while continuing their struggle. Therefore:

The housewives' demands to work should not be prevented; on the contrary, these women should be encouraged to work. Their employment should be guaranteed.

Housewives should have social security and their premiums should be paid either by the government or by their husband's employer.

Women hired for domestic work must be provided with insurance.

The labor of women who work at home must be appraised by cooperatives.

Equal pay for equal work should be applied in the field of agriculture, too.³⁴⁹

The TIP Women's Section

In chapter four, the TIP's approach to the women's question and organizational activities will be discussed,

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p.13-15.

shortly in general. In this chapter, its approach to the women's issues under specific topics will be examined.

Women's Organization and Emancipation

Behice Boran, the TİP's president, stated that women were of inferior status compared to men and that class society formation was the reason why. She argued that issues like women's social status, rights and liberties could be resolved only by achieving women's solidarity as a social division, but that these were issues related to social structure and therefore could only be resolved by altering the structure and removing the exploitative system, in general. However, she acknowledged that women had particular problems apart from those arising from their social status and that it was "natural" and "necessary" for them to organize and to participate in the social struggle, in parallel to the organizational activities of other social divisions and groups. She said:

It would be wrong to think that there is no need to dwell on the women's question independently and that there is no need for women to organize and start a social struggle, simply because women's question is a question of changing the social structure. However, women do not form a homogenous group among themselves. Class divisions divide this group,

too. Only female laborers and workers, especially working women, can carry out the struggle for women's rights and they can do this by an accurate cooperation and collaboration with the struggles of workers and laborers for democracy and socialism. Only in this way can the women's movement progress towards positive and effective results."³⁵⁰

Despite the fact that the necessity for women's organization was acknowledged by the party, separate women's organizations clearly were not encouraged at all. On the grounds that women do not form a homogenous group among themselves, it was declared that the women's question was directly related to the "struggle for socialism." It was clearly stated that women's questions could only be resolved within socialist societies.

The following is the TİP's comment on the women's movement:

In Turkey, there is neither an effective bourgeois feminist movement, nor a strong and progressive women's socialist movement, which embraces female workers and laborers. The existing organizations are those, which are limited in their scopes and are formalist. If we disregard some exceptions, the women's movement is limited to superficial "activities," such as praising the rights granted to women after the establishment of the republic, electing the Mother of the Year and donating clothes to a limited number of poor children at bayrams (celebration days). However, there have been some recent attempts

³⁵⁰ *Yürüyüş*, no.49 (16 March 1976), p.16.

which approach the women's question from a broader socialist and political perspective and try to act within this frame. Again recently, there seems to be an increasing politicizing among women, especially among the proletariat and workers (halk kitleleri). This trend became more obvious during the 1973 and 1975 elections. Women have also taken active parts in boycotts, strikes and protests.³⁵¹

Bearing in mind that these statements were made back in 1976, it is important to note that the Progressive Women's Organization had been established in 1975 and that female members (partisans) of the TIP participated in the establishment process. What sort of emancipation was planned for those women who had begun to take active roles in the political life and what was proposed for the resolution of their issues?

The answer to these questions was given by Boran:

The women's question is already resolved in the socialist societies, because, as I tried to explain before, it is related to the social system and class structure. However, not all problems, and accordingly, the women's question can be resolved immediately and automatically at all levels with the establishment of socialism. Social values and family relations within the old system endure for some time and continue to function. To put it in a more general and abstract way, the superstructure will not change in accordance with the change in the substructure. There is always an interim period.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

I think the rules and values that regulate the relations between men and women and father and children are not socialized adequately in practice and in daily life, especially in those pre-capitalist societies which had a transition from an underdeveloped social structure to socialism. But once the basic social system is transformed and the exploitative system is eliminated, the complete socialization of all levels of the social structure can be achieved within a process. The people's socialist identities will start to develop and strengthen as the socialist system takes root and starts developing. This way, the issues of women's rights and liberties will be completely resolved.³⁵²

Feminism

Like all other socialist formations in Turkey in the 1970s, the TIP was opposed to feminism, and it proposed the "progressive women's movement" as an alternative. The following is the TIP's approach to feminism, in Boran's words:

In the developed capitalist countries, the women's movement (the feminist movement) developed mainly among petit and middle bourgeois women. Women struggled for a long time to attain the right to vote. Today, the feminist movement in those countries still prevails within the same old social spheres. This movement has prioritized social values which consider women "inferior" and sex objects, rather than choosing to fight for

³⁵² Ibid.

tangible economic and social rights and demands. They both demand equality with men in sexual terms and oppose the idea of women being treated not as individuals but as sex objects. They believe that a life style limited to housework and childcare does not satisfy women or meet their individual needs. Hence, these conditions cause psychological problems.³⁵³

This statement reveals quite a bit about the way feminism was perceived at the time. The following statement reflects the approach to women's organizational activities:

In developed capitalist countries there are some progressive, democratic and socialist women's organizations and movements which embrace workers and physical and intellectual female laborers and which act in parallel and accordance with the political movement of the working classes. These movements influence both the people of the countries in which they originated and the people of other countries.³⁵⁴

To take the statement above as a basis and to believe that the TİP encouraged women's organizations would be wrong. It is almost impossible to claim that the TİP's Women's section, which had secondary importance within the body party, was influential on Turkish public opinion.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

Working Women and Housewives

The following quotation is from a speech delivered on March 8 by the TWP's president on the issues of working women:

Within the system of the division of labor, which relied upon the owning of the modes of production, women were deprived of property and of the function of managing production, controlling it and becoming decision-makers of the usage of earnings. They were either limited to functioning as house laborers, confined within the walls of their homes, or discouraged to participate in social life and have social rights. Even in cases in which they did participate in the production -especially in agricultural labor- they were forced to become the "workers" of men, who were the "bosses" of the family institution, being the owners of the modes of production.

This detrimental situation of women within the production and division of labor system was reflected in social values, too, which caused women to be considered as less skilled than men, incompetent and weaker; "obeying" men became their major duty. Opportunities such as participating in a wider social life, contributing to it and taking part in political life were not granted to women.

Participating in the production and service sector with the development of capitalism has not helped women gain the same rights and advantages as men. Social values which regard women as "inferior" to men have prevailed in work life as well and given bosses the opportunity to exploit female workers more than their male counterparts. Even women with higher career status have had to face inequalities and difficulties in salary, career and professional progress opportunities. Working women have had to face a double burden: they have to work in

unequal conditions in both production and professional services and also do the housework and raise children. Women's dependence on men within the family and their unequal status persist. Women's participation in work life and earning their living has not contributed to a radical change within family relations.³⁵⁵

In the light of these explanations, it can be said that the women's question has never been resolved and all the propositions remained inadequate. In order to raise their social status, women had to wait for people, and especially for men, to "develop and strengthen a socialist identity" even if they were already active in work life or had high career status.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

FIELD RESEARCH AND INTERVIEWS

In this section, interviews will be evaluated and examined under separate headings, some common or different points will be emphasized and a retrospective evaluation will be made.

The Progressive Women's Organization

For the purposes of this section, 15 women in İstanbul were interviewed, who were either the İKD's founding members, Central Administrative Board members, Branch Office Administrative Board members or Regional (district) Administrators. These women, who were decision-makers and executives, functioned as administrators (responsible members) in the İKD. This group was a group with a high 'representative power' and a group which had the most available information on the organization's foundational activities and policies.

The interviewed women's positions within the organization are as follows:

Members of Central Administrative Board (also founding members)	3
Members of Branch Office Administrative Board	7
Regional (district) administrators	5

In 1975, the average age of İKD members was 26. At that time, seven of these women were university graduates, five were undergraduates (who later became graduates), one was a high school graduate, another was a secondary school graduate, and one was only literate. Eight of them were married and seven were single. The mothers of two members were active in professional life, while the mothers of the remaining were housewives; their fathers were workers, officers and artisans. Also, the majority of these women had had previous experience with other political formations or professional organizations.

Questioning the Reliability of Women!

Below, data obtained from these interviews are presented and evaluated.

The İKD members expressed that in the male-dominated leftist movement, they had found a new "area" which offered the opportunity for self-development and which increased their self-confidence. Women who had had to do "unimportant" and "trivial" work in organizations made up mostly of men stated that in a women's organization, they had become decision-makers and executives, had the opportunity to make suggestions and saw that those suggestions were taken seriously by others. These women noted that especially women who had been quiet as union members had achieved self-confidence and developed skills (such as writing, delivering public speech, organizing campaigns and protests). It was the common view of all the interviewees that the criterion of the İKD's staff policy, which had a "hierarchic" and "disciplined" structure, was "to be active, to accept all tasks appointed, to work hard, to sincerely believe in the class struggle and to be reliable."³⁵⁶ At the time "to be reliable" had a particular meaning and yet the testing of women's "reliability" had some other meanings.

³⁵⁶ A member of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 30 July 2000.

Since the Ancient Greeks, Western philosophy has associated women with everything believed to be out of the field of Reason. Lloyd writes that "according to Pythagoras's table of opposites created in the sixth century BC, the female was openly related to the unlimited - the ambiguous and to the recondite - which was taken as the opposite of the limit - that which was determined entirely and clearly."³⁵⁷ This philosophical foundation constituted the basis of all judgments concerning women.

Let us see how these judgments were reflected in the mid-1970's: For instance, "The number of female TKP members was very limited and they had to wait longer than men did to become party members."³⁵⁸ "For some reason, women always had to 'prove' themselves and they are 'bourgeois' until they do so and this is sufficient reason to doubt them."³⁵⁹

Let us now look at an example from the post-September 12, 1980 era, which reflects this conception:

³⁵⁷ Genevieve Lloyd, *Erkek Akıl* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1996), p.23.

³⁵⁸ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 5 May 2000.

³⁵⁹ Fatmagül Berktay, "Türkiye Solu'nun Kadına Bakışı: Değişen Birşey Var mı?," *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, Şirin Tekeli (ed.) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p.317.

The TKP gradually decided to abolish all its contacts. According to the interviewees, it first started from its relations with the İKD. There are alternative approaches to this subject, both of which give the same result: "The first is that women were not considered reliable and were perceived as 'weaker and feeble' and second, since the duties of the husbands of married women were relatively 'more important', to continue relations with women would be to risk the husbands."³⁶⁰ Members of the İKD stated that they had "doubts, before September 12, 1980, that the İKD had a secondary position. After that date they were positive that it did." Even the 1983 TKP program reveals how little importance was attached to the women's movement and as a result how "the theoretical and ideological fight gained importance against feminist movements."³⁶¹

The Significance of Women's Organizations

During the interviews, the interviewees gave many examples as to what the approaches to women's

³⁶⁰ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 5 May 2000.

³⁶¹ *TKP Programları ve Mustafa Suphi Tezleri* (İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları, 1997), p.204.

organizations were. One of these examples concerned the TKP's Progressive Youth Organization's (İGD was an organization where the young, workers or female and male students gathered) relations with the İKD. Women who transferred from the İGD to the İKD can be grouped under two categories: those who were "considered not to be very useful" to the İGD and those "who created problems by insisting to be transferred to the İKD."³⁶² Women who fell under the first category "were very displeased at being transferred, because they too did not think much of the İKD, either."³⁶³ They must have considered themselves as having been expelled from the frontline. However, these women later realized that this was much better for them, because in a formation where men were the majority, they were not taken seriously; however, in the İKD this was not the case.

The İKD faced yet another problem at the time, which was that the educated staff were shifted to "more important fields," like union activities. Although, the İKD members did oppose the shifting of educated and

³⁶² An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 5 May 2000.

³⁶³ Ibid.

skilled women from "secondary" to "primary" areas, such as women's activities, they could not prevent it. It was particularly emphasized by the interviewees that when women's organization and the İKD's activities were discussed at meetings, "the male members started smiling, but when it came to organizing unions and youth groups, the smiles disappeared from their faces."³⁶⁴

However, these women stated that they attached great importance to their activities and prioritized them in their lives. This belief helped them organize a very widespread and strong structure.

The Approach towards Women's Sexuality

It is a commonly known that women who took part in leftist movements mostly populated by men dressed like them. However, this was not the case with the İKD. Since organizational activities were mainly carried out in "proletariat districts," women were asked to dress like the locals, which meant a "decent İKD skirt" (long, black, loose, below the knee) and long-sleeved plaid shirts, rather than short-sleeved, tight ones that would emphasize

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

the figure. There were no written regulations for dress code; however, these were considered "learned behavior."

İKD members were "feminine" and yet they wore "uniforms" and accepted a unified dress code, which separated them from the "bourgeois women." Unity in the dress code both facilitated inspection and caused the reproduction of differences. It is important to note an experience which interviewees told without being asked: "Female workers who worked in some factories where the İKD carried out organizational activities dressed in fashionable clothes, looked smarter than the İKD members and they would put on their make-up before leaving work."³⁶⁵

It seems like the above-mentioned dressing style was especially for the militant women of the İKD and that it was believed that female workers who "dressed like bourgeois women" and who were "still under the influence of the bourgeois culture" were expected to voluntarily quit such dressing habits after they were exposed to "political consciousness." Delphy writes that "Women's participation in the 'proletariat struggle' means to leave

³⁶⁵ An executive administrator of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 20 June 2000.

the bourgeois women out ... Leftist women, within their own non-heterogeneous groups, mimic the guilty consciousness petit-bourgeois male leftists bear when the subject is the proletariat ... Due to this identification, women might feel 'privileged' and therefore 'guilty'."³⁶⁶

Delphy explains "leftist women's" hatred of the "bourgeois" women with three pressure mechanisms: 1) They (leftist women) objectively hate themselves, since they define themselves as bourgeois, too; 2) They have the misconception that they have the same privileges as the men of their class; 3) The feeling of abusing their privileges is a source of their guilty conscience."³⁶⁷. These efforts of identification both caused them to control themselves while making it easier to be controlled. This control had to do not with women's dressing style, but also with their relations with the opposite sex.

Marriage was not obligatory, yet the rumor was one needed to avoid women who did not have a steady relationship with a single man and who often changed boy

³⁶⁶ Christine Delphy, *Baş Düşman Patriyarkanın Ekonomi Polisiği* (İstanbul: Saf Yayıncılık, 1999), p.133.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p.136.

friends (and the number of these women were very few) had to be avoided. "Revolutionary match-making" (*devrimci görücülük*), as interviewees put it, was a common practice. "In order to free women from the oppression of the family and their fathers and to help them work more actively, women were encouraged to marry 'progressive and revolutionary' men who would not debilitate their activities."³⁶⁸ However, these "revolutionary" men should not be affiliated with a different political organization and the reason for this was he would sooner or later affect the woman's political views and drag her toward his own camp. And who would imagine an influence operating the other way around!

What kind of attitude was displayed when such "progressive and revolutionary" men practiced oppression of and violence towards their wives? A Turkish maxim describes the situation nicely: "the broken arm remains in the sleeve" (*kol kırılır, yen içinde kalır*). Husbands who resorted to such violent acts were properly warned, with such words as "this does not suit you" (*sana yakışmıyor*). The women subject to these acts were not provided with

³⁶⁸ A member of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 18 July 1999.

special support and on the contrary were asked to “put up with it” (*idare et*). Even though we can not conclude that the İKD members were supportive of domestic violence, evidently an opposition to violence never became an official party policy.

One striking example of a biased approach to women’s sexuality can be found in *Kadınların Sesi*. In this issue it is noted that a group of women from a different political organization had gone to a factory to convince workers at strike to bring the strike to an end. Apparently these women were dressed in “quite revealing” clothes hoping to end the strike using their femininity.³⁶⁹ The purpose of this report was probably to degrade and criticize that particular group of women. However, in a periodical published exclusively only by women, to suggest femininity as a means of seduction could not have achieved more than the further humiliation of women.

On Traditional Roles

There are two striking examples given by the interviewees on traditional roles: today the interviewees

³⁶⁹ *Kadınların Sesi* (1978, no. 4).

criticize themselves for "assuming the responsibility of cook, while male strikers were chatting in the strike tents."³⁷⁰ Apparently, they had readily accepted the social division of labor and it had never occurred to them to reject it. One important point that needs to be emphasized here is that apparently the majority of the married İKD members were trying to carry on their responsibilities such as child care and house work along with organizational activities and they received no help with the house work from their husbands, nor did they ask for it. İKD members, too, defended that such problems could only be resolved socially. Without becoming aware of it, these women helped men enjoy their traditional roles and privileges.

It seems like in those spheres where the idea of "equality at all levels" was defended, the basic issue of inequality between men and women was treated as an issue of less significance and it was put aside to be resolved at a later time when the socialist order had been achieved. As one of the interviewees stated, the idea was probably that "when slaves are freed of slavery, they

³⁷⁰ A member of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 18 July 1999.

would set their own slaves free."³⁷¹ Yet this idea is not even in accordance with the concept of universal liberal equality. To put forward progressive and revolutionary political ideals does not always bring with it the idea of putting forward progressive and revolutionary solutions for the women's question, too. However, as the İKD members also emphasized, the greatest weakness was the fact that women's issues particular to their gender were not brought to the table.

When the analyses of classical socialism joined hands with the policies of "top-level" male administrators, women who worked hard for the emancipation of the female proletariat did become prisoners within the walls of different social spheres, without having questioned the cultural male dominance. While efforts were shown to free women of "spatial isolation" (*yalıtılmışlık*), a space, this time "wider" and yet "isolated with the same material" (*aynı malzemeye yalıtılmış*), was created. Socialist organizations regarded women's fight to maintain and develop their own interests as "hazardous" and approached the demands of women, who

³⁷¹ A member of İKD, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 30 July 2000.

constituted half the world's population, as the demands of a minority. The leftist movement, which took the resolute conflict between the capital and paid labor as the basic conflict, ignored the need for exclusive research on women and on the family, even after socialism was founded. However, a "struggle which ignores the interests of half of the population is not a 'common' one."³⁷²

The TSİP (Democratic Women's Association)

The TSİP's partisan women's association *Demokratik Kadın Birliđi* (Democratic Women's Association) (DKB) had a different structure from that of the İKD. The leadership of the DKB, supported by a legal political party, was mostly made up of officers and even teachers. As explained before, the DKB had been founded by the opponent TSİP partisans in the İKD, who had been expelled from the Bursa branch office. The conflicts between the two groups can easily be followed in the DKB's publication *Kadın Dayanışması* (Women's Solidarity).

³⁷² Anja Meulenbelt, *Feminizm ve Sosyalizm* (İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1987), p.85.

Although the DKB's activities can be followed through its publications, the following were revealed during the interviews: activities led by women, such as increasing the number of childcare centers, demanding longer maternity leave, and visiting strikes were the most commonly preferred activities of the 1970s.

One of the female DKB members I interviewed was a teacher. She said that she had participated in the activities of the opening of the İKD's Trabzon branch and worked for some time under the roof of the Şişli İKD branch in İstanbul in 1977. When asked "what separated the DKB from İKD?" she stated that "We embraced people from all social spheres. There were women from the *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party) and the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (People's Republican Party). We were trying hard to become a democratic mass organization."³⁷³

Although there were conflicts and disagreements between the different political formations of 1978, some joint activities were carried out, such as the one described above during the 1979 Peace Conference by equal numbers of delegates from the DKB, the İKD, the DKDF and

³⁷³ An administrator of the DKB, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 13 March 2000.

the TİP Women's section; however, it was cancelled by the martial law order.

The interviewees also stated that the local units were more effective in the DKB's administration than the central administration. The administrative members and staff in Izmir were younger people, mostly intellectuals; that in Ankara, organizational activities were mostly carried out in *gecekondu* (squatter town) areas and that in İstanbul activities were mostly concentrated in regions like the Beyoğlu, Okmeydanı, Şişli industrial areas and Kartal. Organizational activities in those areas were conducted by visiting houses one by one. The most highly concentrated organizational activities were carried out in Bursa, Antalya, Balıkesir and Gönen, which implies that the DKB's organizational network reached more to Anatolia than İstanbul. During the interviews it was pointed out that since the İKD was widely organized in İstanbul, the DKB had concentrated on Anatolia.

Unlike what the İKD members stated, the DKB members pointed out that it was "not a male dominant party."

The number of female members and the presence of a children's room at the organization's local headquarters are indicators of the fact that women introduced their own order to the party.

Tomris Uyar, Ayşe Düzkan, Sibel Özbudun and Nermin Meriç are some of the well-known people who were said to have supported the DKB at the time. During the 1970s, many authors, film and drama artists and singers participated in the activities of the socialist women's organization and the enthusiastic atmosphere of the time influenced people from many different social spheres.³⁷⁴

The Women's Section of the TİP

We see how although the party "seemingly encouraged" separate women's organizations, it did not give them real support. Finally, after September 12, a women's section was formed under the roof of the party. This section examines presents interviews with participants in this division in order to illustrate these statements.

The following is what the interviewees had to tell about the formation of the Women's Section:

I think it was the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980 when the issue of women was first addressed. The agenda included the activities of the Peace Organization planned for the Congress of Peace Organization, the congress itself, and the elections of delegates. The plan was to represent different social spheres, organizations and opinions at

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

the congress where each group had its own activities. I think women constituted one of these social spheres. The TİP did not have a women's organization, so, a women's section, of which Nermin Aksın was the secretary, was formed at the TİP's head offices, in order to coordinate joint and other activities with other women's organizations and to help provide support from the TİP's female members and delegate the TİP's representatives. At the İstanbul City Organization, we formed a City Women's section. Belkıs Kiroğlu was the secretary. Zerrin Sakalsız and many other friends were founders. However, the TİP's Women's section was not an organization led by the TİP's women's movement. And there was no grouping at all. Female members maintained their positions at base units to which they had been reporting. It could not be otherwise. Because, no female members would have volunteered for it anyway.³⁷⁵

How did the TİP approach women's organizational activities or rather, as the interviewee put it, "the issue of women I do not recall the issue of women being addressed at the party, in any form or on any grounds since 1965 and I don't think it ever was. I don't believe the issue was brought up before 1965 and even if it was, I don't know on what grounds. Still, I don't think it was."³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ Administrator of TİP's Women's section, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 13 September 2002.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

How did the TİP leadership, who did not encourage separate women's organizations at the time, approach the "women's question" or what kind of answers did they propose?

For the TİP, the issue of women meant women's unequal status at work and in social life and it could only be resolved by social organizations and when workers and laborers were freed. In short, we approached the women's question rather from a class point of view, than one of gender. This is why the issue was not separately addressed at the party and no one felt the need for a separate organization.³⁷⁷

When former TİP members were asked why they had participated in the İKD's foundation activities although they were not in favor of women's organizational activities, they stated the following:

In 1975, prior to the İKD's foundation, female TİP members held meetings with other women and participated in activities. However, in the course of the TİP's re-construction, the TKP's attitude, which was in favor of not getting involved in any activities against the TİP, changed and as a result of this, women from the TİP stayed away from such organizational activities.

As the general approach to the İKD can reveal, an organization which was founded later, it was not a gender-based women's movement. I think there were two major reasons why the party never attempted to found any female sub-party organizations after the İKD was founded. The

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

first was that the party never approached the women's question from a gender point of view and it even opposed the idea. The second reason why the women's question was not addressed in the party was the belief that a political movement of working and laborer classes, divided into three different groups, could not be successful. Besides, following its establishment, the party started attaching great importance to eliminating all sorts of competitive attitudes and to uniting the political movement. I believe one can only understand the second reason by studying the TİP's policies of united acts, its relations with other movements, its internal conflicts, and splits within the party.³⁷⁸

In addition to this, the comments of interviewees which clearly reflected the TİP's approach to the women's question was the fact that March 8 celebrations were never held under the roof of the party. The following statement is striking: "We used to celebrate even the anniversaries of *Pravda* or *Izvestia*. However, I don't recall celebrating March 8, even among ourselves."³⁷⁹

When asked how they approached the İKD's activities, the interviewees gave the following answers: "The İKD used to participate in local *çiğ köfte* (Turkish meat balls) parties and even danced with local women. We used to watch

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ A member of TİP, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 14 September 2002.

them and think that these were inappropriate attitudes for a socialist woman."³⁸⁰

In the light of the interviews, it can be said that the TİP refused to organize a women's organization, under its own roof or not. The fact that Behice Boran emphasized the importance of women's organizations in her article in *Yürüyüş* published in 1976 could be explained as her desire not to stand against the international trends of the time or her acknowledgement of socialist women's organizational activities in principle.

Another point expressed by the former TİP members I interviewed was that female party members were not in favor of working in the field of women's organizations. This was probably because they considered it as "being behind the frontlines." As a result, the TİP did not get involved in women's organizational activities and clearly expressed that the party had aimed at "educating socialist people, rather than discriminating between men and women."

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

Common Points throughout the Interviews

Here, general conclusions from the interviews conducted will be drawn and the common points of the answers of the interviewees identified. When asked what it meant to be active in organizational activities during the 1970s and what were the gains and losses, all of the interviewees said that their gains were more than their losses. Two different points of views dominated the interviews. According to the first, the losses of women who had higher education and relatively good jobs were greater than those of the others. Especially after the September 12 coup d'état, some were forced to go abroad as refugees or live in Turkey with no jobs. According to a second point of view, women in local activities were abandoned after September 12, 1980 and their lives had become much harder compared to the others'.

There was a tendency among the interviewees to see women as unique individuals or creating an idea of "unusual women." It is, on the other hand, striking that women categorized other women as "us" and "them" (the other).

Some interviewees stated that they had lost their careers and jobs at some point. However, what strikes the

attention here is that women were more easily asked to make career sacrifices than men were by the parties or organizations to which they belonged.

The interviewees who participated in the socialist movement of the 1970s also stated that the main reason they were such active participants of political life was the desire to help people in Turkey and in the world and to be able to do something good for others and for their own children.

The majority of the interviewees stated that their families attached importance to education. The women who were members of organizations indicated that they felt strongly at the time about belonging to these organizations and that they could recall no other place where they had felt so liberated and free to take decisions. It was even emphasized that women who were organized in squatter towns (*gecekondus*) became more self-confident in dealing with their husbands. Becoming decision-makers and receiving respect for their decisions helped women gain self-confidence. Women who worked for other organizations other than women's organizations (unions, professional organizations, etc.) pointed out that in such organizations they had been able to raise

their voices more loudly with the self-confidence they had gained in their women's organizations.

The clothing style of the female members of organizations was quite typical. Women dressed like men within circles where men were the majority. Yet female members of the three organizations I tried to analyze in this study had a conservative but "feminine" dressing style. Conservative skirts and dresses were preferred to trousers. Although there were no written dress code, rules had formed spontaneously. Since organizational activities were mainly carried out in *gecekond* neighborhoods, members tried to dress similar to the women who lived in those areas. For instance, if there was an activity in the local marketplace, the woman who would deliver the speech would wear a scarf and a long coat, although this was not her usual style of dressing. Keeping up with the latest fashion, on the other hand, was the worst thing to do because fashion was considered to be a combination and outcome of Western imperialism and capitalist production. Fashion implied modernity and keeping up with it gave way to the criticisms of those who considered fashion a symbol of Westernization. Moreover, it appeared in the form of

rejecting everything provided to women by the modern capitalist society (state).

It is common knowledge that the people who worked for the political organizations of the 1970s were asked to make infinite sacrifices and to act with discipline. The case was the same for women's organizations; women were asked to dedicate a lot of time to the organization and yet it was never enough. Women who were members of the same organization and who planned to have a child were asked to do this in turn.

Female administrators or active members who had children had a more difficult experience because they believed that they had to be both "one of the best" active participants of political life and at the same time maintain their duties as "good housewives." Among the interviewees were women who compared their children born before and after September 12. It is quite striking that some women said their children born before September 12, who witnessed the circumstances of the time, were more self-sacrificing and better at sharing, whereas those born after that date were more self-centered and selfish.

In addition to the lack of help from their husbands at housework, women had to deal with men who asked for

everything to be perfect. Another striking point about the interviews is the fact that women did not talk about their husbands or boy friends during the interviews. However, when asked, the commonly shared opinion on the attitude of husbands was that they had always supported women's participation in active political life and yet had never agreed to share the responsibility of housework. Single women, on the other hand, indicated that they had taken the responsibility of doing the washing for single men who were members of the organization as well.

Interviewees also said that their demands for such things as childcare centers, laundries and dining halls concerned particularly women themselves and that therefore they considered it only "natural" that men never contributed to such efforts. However, these women added that later in their politically active lives they prioritized their own demands, rather than men's. They expressed, rather resentfully, that back in the 1970s, they had acted fairly traditionally in their relationships with their husbands.

It is noteworthy that the interviewees pointed out that the İKD was closed down, both by the Martial Law in 1979 and by the party itself (the TKP) after September 12,

even before the İGD was closed down because the power that the women wielded had scared everyone. It is also noteworthy that the interviewees had to state that the reason why the party eradicated the İKD after September 12, before any other organization, was the mistrust it had in women. The interviewees also emphasized that they were still annoyed with this act of eradication.

Where does women's power come from?

The interviewees' answer to the question was that women who believed in something could spend all efforts on the way to realizing their ideals and that at the time, it had been very difficult to control local activities. It was emphasized that it was easier to monitor the activities carried out at universities and unions, but it was difficult to enter houses and monitor the activities there.

The opinions that women who were members of socialist organizations in the 1970s held about other female members of different socialist organizations were striking. Their opinions of each other reveal that they did not know one another very well and were prejudiced. Members of the DKDF interviewed stated that they had found the İKD "elitist" at the time and thought that they had

organized in some "high-class neighborhoods." They also believed that the İKD was a strong organization for it had a union like DİSK behind it. Yet the İKD's first representative office was opened in Çeliktepe, a *gecekondu* area, and the organization had conducted its organizational activities mainly in such areas. İKD members, on the other hand, expressed that they found the DKDF members "very sharp." However, the DKB's approach to the İKD was different because some of the founder members of the DKB had worked for the İKD previously. In Chapter Four, where the DKB's establishment was discussed, the conflicts between the İKD and the DKB were described. Due to the reasons explained before, the İKD was accused of not being "democratic" and of being a "straight line" organization. It was stated that the TSİP was not a very "masculine" party; therefore the DKB was a very female organization. Members of the DDKAD said that they had carried out many joint activities with the İKD in Diyarbakır and that they had admired those women from the İKD who came from İstanbul. It is quite understandable that these women, who had never left Diyarbakır before, should admire women from İstanbul, who came to Diyarbakır for organizational activities. And the activities carried

out reveal that similar methods and organizational models were preferred by both organizations.

The common discourse of all the organization members was that: "We tried to provide women with more room to act without even uttering the words 'feminism' or even 'socialism'."³⁸¹ Members of socialist organizations which were trying to achieve "women's emancipation," such as Marxism, had stated that when they looked back, they could see a lot to criticize and yet they were proud of having gone through that period.

As a result, these women who formed such powerful organizations and believed in the equality of men and women had ignored the existing inequality and never questioned it. Again, these women who set out to emancipate women were no different than others within the boundaries of their homes and private lives. And they were far from questioning gender hierarchy.

³⁸¹ An executive administrator of DKB, interview by author, tape recording İstanbul, Turkey, 10 April 1999.

Modernism and "Tales as Told" by Socialist Women

As mentioned before, the socialist organizations in Turkey do not take ideologies based on Marxism and the women's question as basic reference points. Engels' program, which can be summarized as "let's procure women to enter the social area of production and socialize the private area of production," has been the central feature of the Marxist and ultimately communist program. Lenin, Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg were generally committed to this approach. In the publications of socialist organizations, these names and the programs they offer for the "liberation of women" are frequently found. This method (program) has been adopted by many socialist parties, organizations and organizations in the world and has been applied to women-oriented work of theirs. However, as our working area is limited to Turkey (İKD, DKP and TİP Women's section), we will strive to compare the picture that comes forth during and in the aftermath of this program with the program the Republic strove to establish and develop in the name of women and draw certain conclusions. This section only sets forth from the interviews made with women who are members of these three women's organizations.

Assuming Marxism to be a modern theory, what is modernism proposing in the name of women and how has this become manifest in Turkey? Kemalism also tried to bring to life a "women's revolution" starting with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in order to create the "modern" woman of the modern state. Where does the socialist thought, which in fact opposes Kemalism, fall in, in this modernization program started by the Kemalists in Turkey? What are the points at which they intersect, unite and separate on the subject of the "liberation of women"? These are the basic questions to be dealt with here.

Now let's go back to the oral historical research. While interviewing women who had been in these structures, those women of "high representative power" were chosen. And here an evaluation will be attempted based on what they said. First, I would like to draw the profiles of the source individuals who were interviewed for this study. These women worked as founding members of these structures, as members of central directing committees, members of branch directing committees or as those in charge of regions/neighborhoods. Most of them had previously worked in another social structure or in

professional organizations. In the context of the organizations, it was women who determined the organization policy and made the decisions. Therefore, it was this group which had the most information about organization policy. An attempt at discussing the points common to the women in this group will be undertaken on this subject.

When we look at the economic and social positions of the families the result is as such: They are from the middle class, and mostly, children of government officials. These women were raised by parents of the Republican generation. Their families supported them to get higher education, and tried to raise them as "modern" women. They were expected to be "people useful to society." Their families' expectations in this respect were high. They were raised with a target fitting the political objective they had chosen for themselves, in a sense: "To transform, to change society."

At this point we try to evaluate modernity as to how women's and men's role are shaped within the context of women's groups. Assuming that modernization also has to incorporate micro structures, we can set forth from the relations that these women had with each other, from

interfamilial relations and concepts such as parenthood, and look at how the individual describes herself in society-centered cultures. Modernization, no doubt, covers not only changes in the political and economic fields. Here, the form and decisiveness of traditional relations in micro structures comes forth. We should look at how these traditional relations change or else do not change.

One of the results that came out in the interviews made was as follows: These women considered being people taking their place in the contemporary (meaning educated) public sphere as a mission. Especially their fathers' expectations of them were very high. Some of them told of how they were raised like boys and that their fathers behaved more understanding, softer to them than their mothers did. This is another common point.

One of the common conclusions reached from the answers of the women interviewed is their choice of a men's field as objective. Both the fact that they were at the heart of political work, and their choice of profession (they would be engineers and medical doctors, not teachers) reflect such a choice. However, as far as can be deduced from what was told, they did not do this very consciously, not with an understanding to change

those fields peculiar to men. Each experienced it as an individual story.

Their grand target here was not to change the role socially granted to men because, when viewed from the ideology of the movement they were in (Marxism), being a woman or a man was not something that created social differentiation. The target was set, respectively, as to change society both economically and politically first, and then to regulate social relations between genders. However, in order to reach the targeted society, it was deemed necessary for women to participate in the public field. While being a housewife became less important, the target that was set for them was being a woman who works and produces.

"Reading and writing courses," which can be considered as part of this understanding, were opened in many neighborhoods. Of those women living in the neighborhood, those of a suitable age, were provided with the opportunity to take exams from outside to finish primary school. As for those women who taught in the courses, most of them were university students at the time. The courses were held in the representative offices in the neighborhoods, most of which were in shanty towns.

And as these neighborhoods had serious infrastructure and transportation problems, the women who went there to teach dressed differently (in clothes different from those they normally wore). In winter, in particular, they preferred to wear black rubber boots, as the roads were muddy.

Apart from that, they took care not to wear pants, and to wear black, bell-shaped "İKD skirts," coming to under the knees. This training was realized under quite difficult conditions. In winter, first the stove was lit up, one room of the office thus made warm, and then they called on the houses one by one to invite those who had not arrived. In these courses, women were also delivered information pertaining to sexual life.

It will be enlightening in many respects to cite some examples of the slips prepared for training at the reading and writing courses: "Demirel Has Again Made Price Increases" (*Demirel Yine Zam Yaptı*), "People Wait in Queues" (*Halk Kuyruklarda Bekliyor*), "Women Are Not Second Class" (*Kadınlar İkinci Sınıf Değildir*), "Mothers Give Birth, Fascists Kill" (*Analar Doğurur, Faşistler Öldürür*). The most striking events of the day in the political and economic areas are reflected in the training slips of the reading and writing courses.

Their work naturally was not limited to this. The women there, especially those who were students in the faculty of medicine, tried to solve the health problems of the women or children in the neighborhoods personally. They tried to give themselves a teacher's appearance in every respect. In this context, thought should once more be given to the venerable position of the image of women teachers in Turkey.

The women interviewed said that, being women, it was easier for them to enter the houses in the neighborhoods. When the men went to work in the mornings, the women stayed at home alone and another woman's comings and goings, even spending the night there, drew no reaction from anyone. The means to form relations with these women who came from rural areas to these shanty towns in the heart of Istanbul lay in demonstrating attitudes that would not be adverse to them, and they might even feel respect for and trust them. The relations started with educating them, and this was an interesting point made. The wish to incorporate them into the city, into modern living, came forth. During this training, the necessity and benefits of reading newspapers was explained. The publications of the organization were regularly

distributed and women were persuaded to read them. In this way, an attempt was made to take them out of their private spheres and make them part of the public sphere; furthermore, into an area like politics, where men had always been dominant.

Fundamentally, the modern woman was considered to be a woman who participated in public life and while this participation was contemplated, private problems were not accounted for as problems. There were demands for nurseries and nursing rooms, but this was only demanded for working women. However, the problems related to the care of women, especially those working actively in the İKD, were sought to be served by bringing the children to the organization. No direct discussions were held on this problem which they all shared and the question was not explicitly expressed. The organization sometimes turned into a kindergarten.

Moreover, since it was a women's organization, those coming there brought their problems with them: taking care of children, problems with husbands. In a very intense work schedule running around day and night for problems related to the organization, those with children had to take them along. They said that even when the children

were sick they had to take them to meetings in the neighborhood, and that there was no other way in that period. They particularly stressed that at the time they were not disturbed by this, but now looking back they could see how difficult it was.

Since the 1930s, it had been expressed at every stage that the fundamental duty for women in Republican Turkey was to raise children useful to society. By the 1970s, raising children was connected to the mother, instead of raising useful people for the nation and society. It is here that women began to feel "guilty and insufficient." However, they found a way to rationalize it. They said that the children raised in the period where there was intensive political activity (1975-1980) were more humane, benevolent children, ready to share, while those raised after the 1980s were more selfish and thought only of individual benefit and did not care much about the people around them. Here we see the feeling of guilt that confronts the "modern" woman, the working woman who is in active politics, that is, who takes her place fully in the public sphere.

And they did not try to solve this problem by relying on their families. They did not leave the children

with their own mothers, or could not. They seemed to have had tense relation with their families. They either brought their children to the organization or looked after each other's children when they had the time. As for husbands, they never became part of the solution to this problem. Here we also witness some reduction in the importance of the function of the family. This attitude also derived from the conditions in which they lived, all of which forced their private space very much. In addition to this, they also undertook to do the laundry of their bachelor friends. These women solved, if necessary, the problems of the men who were in the organization but outside the family, and made this an extension of their own private areas.

But then who would solve their problems? They never asked this question. Everything was expected to be unproblematic, and they tried to make it so. Between work, children, home, and political activity they always had this question in their minds: "Am I hindering the work of the organization?" As they always deemed such problems to derive from their private lives, they did not consider this to be a common problem of women. What they feared most was to hinder their political work.

Here another very important point comes up: These women reported that in the male-dominated leftist movement they found a different area that gave them the chance to develop individually as women, that increased their trust in themselves. They stated that women who had had to work at "insignificant" jobs in political structures where men were in majority (party, organization, trade union, etc.) became individuals that made decisions, enforced them, brought proposals and saw that these proposals were taken seriously by other women in a women's organization. Thus we have a different meaning of being taken seriously and being relied on.

That is why they strived to perform the tasks they had undertaken perfectly and to show under all conditions that they are not "an impediment." Today it is possible to catch the pride they had in this, the "pride of being a woman." They conducted their political lives with the fear of not being considered real citizens. In order to achieve their duty in this area, they placed their work in front of everything, of family, children, and career.

When taken as a whole, it becomes apparent that they experienced the pride of being women in the most masculine of fields. Even though they did not think of changing,

transforming the traditional roles in their lives, in the public sphere, "existing" under the most difficult situations, they tried to change the relations where they were.

Consequently, we can clearly see the effect of the "modern" woman image drawn by the Republic: To be a "successful" woman in the public sphere and private life, to work to change society in its entirety, to take the problems of women deriving from being women as a "secondary problem." They specified as their principal target to teach reading and writing to women and to incorporate them in the working life.

It is apparent that even though they had different ideologies, the Kemalist, modern woman understanding of 40-50 years ago continued to dominate. While striving to be successful, reliable women in the public area, they did not think about traditional roles, did not question this structure, and the problems that women experienced as a result of being women (of course, they were considered problems) were put "aside" as a matter to be solved after changing society and order.

Capitalist modernity takes its ideological legality, its progressive character from its ability to prohibit

people from remembering their roots, which are deemed primitive. For example, the capital city "openly binds" the other cities, centers can render peripheries ineffective. We also find traces of this in Kemalist modernization. To deny the past in its entirety and to start on a new, clean page. One immediately thinks how effective the socialist movement in Turkey, especially the project of the "liberation" of women, has been in the second part of this book, which began by writing on these new, clean pages.

For example, in accordance with the modernist perspective of the Republic, "liberated" women always try to liberate other women. They have such a mission. The reading and writing courses emerge as an instrument of this target. Many such examples have been cited above.

We can draw the limits of the area opened up to women in the modernization project of the Republic: To suppress sexuality, to rely on having a profession (or education), respect for society rather than the individual. We can see them all in the policies of the socialist movement of the 1970s.

What should a modern woman wear in Turkey, how should she behave? The answer to these questions are given

by the secret, mutual agreement that nothing feminine is permitted. "Turkish women" will dress like modern women, but they will make others forget that they are women by the way they dress. In the socialist movement developed after 1975, the fact that women adopted a masculine appearance is an interesting point to note. Even if skirts were worn, they were below the knee. At this point, it can be said that socialist women preferred a masculine way of dressing (pants, duffle coats, and boots) in order to be taken seriously. Furthermore, the conditions they were in were not favorable to wearing skirts and high heels. And when skirts were worn, the model preferred manifested a situation where tradition came face to face with modernity. Even though in working life, political work, in public life in general the feminine and masculine roles seemed to have been confused; in life itself this role distinction kept on as sharp as ever.

However, when you look at the matter as regards women's right, the differences between socialism and Kemalism are revealed. The status of women as citizens who have entered the public field and women's right in general are more important, as far as the Kemalist reforms are concerned, than enhancing legal rights and human rights.

However, according to the socialist discourse, men and women will, shoulder to shoulder, first liberate humanity and this path will open the path of liberation to women.

In short, while the Kemalist understanding puts women's rights in the first place, the socialists reserve that place for human rights. The continuance of traditional society is a factor that clandestinely distorts the liberation of women. This is one of the clearest signs of the decay that the workers' movement has experienced. The acceptance of women into all sorts of work under observation hides the fact of the continuance of their being removed from humanity.

CHAPTER VII

ADDENDUM

The Women's Movement in Turkey between 1980 and 1985

It can be safely stated that the real turning point for the women's movement in Turkey was the early 1980s. The military coup on September 12, 1980 dealt a heavy blow to the political movements, especially the left. The repressive regime established by the military silenced all dissident voices in the country. Although feminists were accused for being pro-12 September (*12 Eylülcü* or *Eylülist*), they became an opposite voice in that silent period. According to Yeşim Arat, in contrast to Islamists or the Green movement that came into being then, feminists "had the advantage of being able to make use of the sensitivity of the Kemalist tradition."³⁸²

³⁸² Yeşim Arat, "1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Hareketi: Liberal Kemalizmin Radikal Uzantısı," in *Türkiye'de Kadın Olgusu*, ed. Necla Arat (İstanbul: Say, March 1995), p.86.

The women's movement that developed in the early 1980s also provided support for the cause of improving women's social status that had been launched by the Kemalists. In a period when all the dissident voices had been silenced and de-politicization reigned supreme, the initiatives in favor of women, i.e., feminism, was not considered "dangerous"; on the contrary they were encouraged. While no one was allowed to carry on political activity, the women's movement was able to flourish.

Liberal tendencies that supported the women's movement came to the fore in the aftermath of September 12. While liberalism was conceived as an ideology that put the individual at the center and took a favorable position vis-à-vis the movements that aimed at the improvement of individuals, the women's movement was perceived as a current of thought with the objective of the empowerment of women as individuals.

"Feminism, however, is not a liberal movement. From the perspective of women's movement, restructuring involves fostering solidarity ties as well as

individualization, although it is impossible to develop the idea of solidarity without becoming individuals."³⁸³

Moreover, the feminist movement after 1980s in Turkey was against the authoritarian state, and did not impute the women's liberation to the actions of the state, but there was no antagonism between the political regime and this movement. According to Arat, the women's movement eased the process of the transition to democracy for this very reason. The restrictions in the Constitution were not thought to be related to the women's question. In other words, there were some limitations of the women's movement in the process of the transition to democracy.³⁸⁴

The process of secularization carried out by Kemalism paved the way for the women's movement. Many women within the women's movement took an antagonistic stance against the Islamist movement, which gained momentum after September 12, 1980. The relationship between the two movements was tense, to say the least. In short, the secularist camp was a strong basis for the women's movement. Islamist women accused secular feminists

³⁸³ Ibid., p.88.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., p.91.

of Jacobinism, while feminists had the opportunity to revise their stance vis-à-vis this accusation.

It is stated that women became more sensitive to inflation, the question of shantytowns, and health problems in parallel with the development of the feminist movement.³⁸⁵

The fact that large groups of women were involved in political activities and political organizations covered masses laid the ground for the new type of politics that came into being after 1980, i.e., women who became aware of their own problems and tried to find solutions to them in feminist politics. According to Ayata, women, in fact, entered the Parliament not as symbolic agents, but rather by winning the competition with male rivals.³⁸⁶ First, the Republican People's Party formed its women's branches in 1954. Then this party mobilized women's branches in municipal activities in the 1960s is remarkable. The women's branches of the right-wing parties became more active only in election.

³⁸⁵ *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yaşam Eşit Hak-Eşit Katılım*, ed. Necla Arat (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği Yayınları, Cem Yayınevi, 1991), pp. 120-121.

³⁸⁶ Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, "Türkiye'de Kadının Siyasete Katılımı," in *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), p.311.

It is widely believed, however, that the women's movement gained momentum, or rather took off, only after 1980. But how was it that these women became interested in politics and their problems? And who were these women who launched and carried out the women's movement?

We touched upon some views about why the women's movement gained momentum after 1980. Now the analysis on who these women were and what they had done before 1980 might help answer this question.

Should we call the new women's movement of the 1980s a rupture or a kind restructuring? It is a truism that every movement rises upon some heritage. The women's movement of the 1980s was based upon the heritage of both the organized labor movement and the socialist women's movement of the 1970s.

Most of the leading figures and activists of the women's movement in the 1980s belonged to the generation of 1968 and 1978. The latter part of the 1970s was marked by women's activism. The number of "militant" women within the socialist movement in the 1970s was amazing. They were very experienced in the political organization activities.

The developments, the women's associations and their political activities between 1975 and 1980 have been

underestimated, often totally ignored, in the academic and non-academic writings on women's politics in Turkey. In her study conducted in 1989, Ayata argues that women's interest in politics increased after 1980. Can this be attributed to the activities of the women's associations formed after 1980?

Şirin Tekeli gives the example of the Association of Solidarity Association of Prisoners' Families (*Tutuklu Hükümlü Aileleri Yardımlaşma Derneği*, TAYAD) in this context.³⁸⁷ In response to the arrests and missing persons, some housewives took to the streets, but this was the consequence of the political conjuncture, which cannot be regarded a women's movement on its own right. The number of women who took to the streets in 1970s cannot be belittled. Thousands of housewives took part in the demonstrations called "We Don't Want to Mourn for Our Children Anymore" (*Evlât Acısına Son*) and "End the Costliness of Living" (*Hayat Pahalılığına Son*)." These demonstrations were held specifically for women's demands, i.e., in their role as mothers who did not want to see their children killed and in their role as housewives who

³⁸⁷ Şirin Tekeli, "Kadınların Siyasetten Dışlanmışlıklarınının 55 Yıllık Öyküsü," in *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yaşam Eşit Hak-Eşit Katılım*, p.127.

had difficulty making ends meet because of high inflation. Thus, the socialists were able to mobilize women by appealing to their specific problems.

Undoubtedly, the women's movement after 1980 brought about significant changes for women. Thanks to it, feminism became part of the Turkish political imaginary. No large-scale massive organization, however, has lacked throughout its history since then. Only a few "massive" activities like "Purple Pin"³⁸⁸ (*Mor İğne*) have been carried out since its inception.

A large number of books on feminism and women's movements have been written, translated, published since the 1980s. Some women came together to publish a "feminist page" in the weekly *Somut* in 1983. In the same year, a book club came into being under the title "Women's Circle" (*Kadın Çevresi*). Feminist classics were translated into Turkish. In 1985, at the end of the women's decade, collective actions were taken for the implementation of the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Eventually, the women's

³⁸⁸ Purple pin is the symbol used in 1989 during the campaign against sexual violence.

movements grew as well as partitioned into various factions.

Only on March 8, 1987, the magazine *Feminist* began to appear. In the same year, the Women's Association against Discrimination (*Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Derneği*, AKKD) was set up. On May 1, 1988, *Feminist Kaktüs* began to appear. In 1989, the Association for Women's Solidarity (*Kadın Dayanışma Derneği*) was founded in Ankara. The women that came together in this association launched a campaign called "No to Sexual Harassment" (*Cinsel Tacize Hayır*) in November 1989 and distributed purple pins. This action had a great deal of repercussions, becoming the focus of heated discussions. In 1990, the Foundation for the Purple Roof Women's Shelter (*Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı*) was founded. In the meantime, the Women's Library and Information Center opened (*Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi*). In 1990, the Research and Implementation Center for Women's Problems (*Kadın Sorunları Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi*) was established in İstanbul University. All these developments are very important and invaluable for the women's movement in Turkey.

The feminist movement in Turkey, however, has not been successful at creating its own public figures. In the

1980s, Duygu Asena contributed greatly the popularization of feminism, but we do not come across such a leading feminist figure in the following years despite the fact feminism has become much stronger. This can be largely explained by the depolitization process in the wake of the coup on September 12, 1980.

The political tension and conflicts especially between 1979 and 1980 gave rise to an overcautious attitude vis-à-vis organized movement on the part of the Turkish people, even amongst those who had become politicized before 1980. As pointed out, the majority of the activists that created the feminist movement in Turkey were recruited from among the women who had taken part in the leftist political organizations before 1980 and who had felt it necessary to settle accounts with them. It cannot be denied that this critical settling of accounts with the Turkish left has not come to an end yet. The women reevaluated the past from a feminist point of view. Their self-positioning against any kind of hierarchy gave rise to an antipathy toward becoming organized. Activism means devoting oneself to a movement, and requires one to put her or his profession, career, even home and family in order to strengthen the movement. The motivation for

making so much sacrifice can be found in the faith in the movement and its outcome.

It was also pointed out that Kemalism played a very important, at times decisive, role in the women's movement. It is necessary for the women's movement to engage with the Kemalism in a critical way, appropriating its legacy without getting trapped into becoming assimilated into it. Reconciliation with or assimilation with Kemalism is simply out of question for the women's movement in Turkey, because it challenges the very structure of the state. The post-1980 feminist movement demands women's emancipation and liberation rather than women's rights; but it centralizes the debates on gender roles.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Women gained the right to vote and election in 1934 in the Republican Turkey founded in 1923. The ratio of women members of the parliament was 4.5 in 1935-39, and after almost 68 years (based on the elections of 2002) it is still 4.36.³⁸⁹ These striking figures reveal the invisibility of women in political and social life. This is supported by the low ratio of women in terms of literacy and education.

During the radical social transformations in the establishment process of the Republic, programs concerning women's rights acquired weight. These transformations implied a break with the past. Gaining women's support for the process of construction was important. That is why feminism was unable to develop as an independent movement during the nation building process, because the understanding that the interests of the nation were prior

³⁸⁹ Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü.

to all, and obscured social discriminations. Under such circumstances unfavorable for individuality an independent women's movement was unable to acquire footing either.

In fact, feminists and Islamic women's groups opposed this process while other women's groups, including socialists, remained content with the rights acquired.

However, since the Republican Turkey is founded on secularism and has taken the West as a model from the outset, the support for women's rights appeared as ideologically necessary. The idea that legally improved rights for women has always been welcome. Although the Kemalist ideology does not support an independent women's movement, it does not view the feminist women's movement as "separatist," or "a vehicle of Western imperialism" since it is marked by a Westernist approach. This has allowed for appealing to universal concepts such as equality, for creating a resistant vocabulary in fields of inequality and for supporting independent organization.

In Turkey, too, the Marxist left opposed the feminist movement. But since their vocabulary and the categories they used were universal, too, the feminist movement which developed in the 1980s were able to

overcome the conflicts experienced in other "underdeveloped" or "developing" countries more easily.

However, it was also the left that constituted the strongest opposition and the barrier against feminist women during the 1980s when they had to struggle with those problems.

So, how did the left approach the women during the 1970s? Why did it fail to develop an attitude towards the women and the women's question by getting over such domestic concepts as "mother," "sister" or "wife"? Why couldn't women be approached as members of a sex instead of being defined in terms of their social status under categories such as the "worker/peasant women" or "bourgeois women"? Why didn't women in Turkey bring the issue of abortion to the social agenda when European socialist women raised their voices for this demand during the 1970s? What kind of concerns lay behind their silence on domestic violence and battery? To what extent did women contribute to the rising leftist movements of the 1970s? Did the leftist movement of the 1970s have a role in the comparative late coming of the feminist movement as opposed to some Western countries? These are some of the

crucial questions asked and to which answers were sought in this study.

These questions were answered by looking over the programs, models of organization, publications and interviews conducted with the members of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSİP) and the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP).

The first point to be noted is that the most pervasive women's organization between the years 1975-1980 was the İKD, as revealed in this study. It is seen that the DKB and the Women's Section of the TİP remained limited in this respect. The most obvious reason behind this was that the TİP and the TSİP, as legal parties, did not allow for an independent women's organization. Party discipline was executed in such a way that women had no space for autonomous activism.

We cannot speak about a massive membership for the TKP of the 1970s. And since it did not have the means to operate legally and had not made any efforts in the past to expand its organizational basis by means of democratic mass organizations, we may assume that the leading cadres of the TKP were not as experienced as their counterparts in the TİP in terms of controlling the youth and the

women's movements. It is obvious that the massive character these movements acquired in time complicated their control. In this respect, maybe the TİP, having more organizational experience, did not allow for the autonomous organization of its women members. And the women's question was neither discussed in the TİP's publications, nor was it brought to the agenda in the party, as the interviewees noted.

I have already mentioned that the leading cadres of the TKP, which acquired massive membership through the İGD (Progressive Youth Association) and the İKD, experienced conflicts with the directors of the İKD which accomplished a pervasive organization. The women of the İKD demanded that the unfavorable circumstances hindering the expansion of the organization be removed since they were the motors of the massive movement. They also opposed the hanging of portraits of Lenin, Marx and Engels on the walls of the association building. They tried to make their premises appealing for women as well as their children, because they came to view the work done and the achievements gained as their own. As the members of the İKD noted, in fact the TKP did not care too much for women's

organization. And this was precisely the reason why women gained more space and initiative.

All socialist women's associations of the period achieved organizing and recruiting the masses in a way that aimed to solve the women's problems rather than propagate socialism. They made efforts to deal with the health problems of children, improve the conditions of nutrition and recreation, transportation and other infrastructures in the neighborhoods they organized.

The day-care center campaigns of the İKD, which they conducted for working women and their children, are noteworthy. Many work places established day-care centers thanks to these campaigns. The İKD gave weight to the organization of women workers. And women workers, with the support of their unions, made efforts to establish day-care centers at the factories. These efforts contributed to their self-confidence as well as their faith in their organizational skills. They engaged in the problems of the slum neighborhoods inhabited by the poor, the workers and the unemployed and the women activists realized these efforts by directly contacting them. (Today the Justice and Development Party [AKP] follow the same methods and organize in similar ways in the neighborhoods.) The women

of the İKD were perceived by the neighborhoods as young women who sought ways to solve their problems. They benefited from the advantages of womanhood and improved their skills in directly contacting the women of the people by visiting each house personally.

This invisible labor is significant in terms of understanding the role of women in the rise of the left in the 1970s. We see that the aim of getting involved with the people, as part of the intellectual climate of the period, revealed itself in efforts to solve their problems. We can say that in this way the search for legitimacy proved to be functional in practice although it was not well calculated. And the fact that such legitimacy was partly the measure of success for an organization and that the İKD had a relatively autonomous structure consolidated these efforts.

Although politics was perceived as a masculine field of violence in the 1970s, women achieved the creation of their own organization with their own efforts, the İKD. They saw that in the world of politics dominated by men, the activities of women could have a particular weight and this led to their willingness to claim their achievements.

All these were realized in a five-year period. The interviews made with the members of the İKD, the DKB and the Women's Section play the most crucial role in the account of this short history. The most striking result to be derived from these interviews is that this organization created women who could make decisions and use initiative, who were taken seriously by other women and thereby, who could gain more self-confidence.

The fact that although women working for the İKD felt as if pushed behind the frontlines at the outset came to feel more comfortable working there compared to other organizations dominated by men, supports this conclusion. Similar accounts are made concerning the Women's Section of the TIP: It is clearly expressed that no women from the party would accept "willingly" to retreat from the basic units of the party and be directed towards TIP's women's organization. At first, even women did not care too much for women's organizations. However, when they took initiative they themselves realized that they could develop many methods and bring the organization to unexpected levels. Whereas in structures dominated by men women's efforts were not highlighted, the women's organization of the İKD allowed for more space despite its

relatively hierarchical structure. Women saw once more that opening up an independent space for themselves was crucial.

The most significant point made in the interviews with members of the DKB is that there was not a high level of hierarchy within the association and that men's intervention was not too decisive. The women of the DKB criticized the İKD for not being democratic and argued that the TSİP was not at all too "masculine" and the DKB was a true women's organization. But it should be noted that these women did not decide to work for the DKB on their own will; most of them had husbands, brothers or relatives who were members of the TSİP.

The most important point about the Women's Section of the TİP is that it was led by a man. This fact requires no further explanation. We can say without any reservation that it remained a very limited organization. Although the president of the party, Behice Boran, was a woman, she never supported a separate women's organization. In fact, the TİP did not take women's organization seriously. It is expressed in the discourse of the TİP that since women did not constitute a "homogenous" group a separate organization was unnecessary and that the women's question

was directly related to the struggle for socialism. This approach may have contributed to the fact that the TİP was relatively behind in terms of recruiting people in the 1970s compared to the 1960s.

Requirements for advancing one's status in the organization distinguish even the TİP and the TKP. For example, in order to gain higher positions in the İKD one had to prove her skills in organizational work; the level of ideological awareness was a lesser requirement. But the TİP gave more weight to the educational level of its cadres as part of its party discipline and a certain level of ideological awareness was required for higher positions. This information was obtained through the interviews; it is impossible to derive such conclusions from written sources.

More information, obtained again from the interviews, reveals the basic common feature of the socialist women's organizations of the period. The socialist women of the period tried to recruit women for struggle without ever pronouncing feminism, or even without clearly expressing socialism. Even when they criticized the period severely in general, they expressed their pride in having been a part of that struggle.

A women's organization does not have to be a feminist organization; however, the women's organizations of the 1970s contributed to the preparation of the feminist movement. There is no doubt that the organizations of the 1970s cannot be defined as feminist, the proof of which is that questions peculiar to feminism were never asked.

One of the main reasons for this was that the socialist movement of the period and the women members of that movement viewed feminism among the "reactionary forces" or "heretic currents" on the grounds that it did not approach the women's question with a "class perspective."

Moreover, socialist women were content with their roles as the "mothers" or "sisters" of their comrades and they never felt the need to question this role. They washed and repaired men's clothes when needed, they prepared food and tea at fields of strike, and they could not come out of the essentially feminine sphere of the "kitchen" even during revolutionary struggle.

And most importantly, they never envisaged a transformation of their practical lives. When they returned home from working for the party or the

association, they did not share with their husbands the task of taking care of the "needy" (the children and the husband) at home. And they did not have such a demand in the first place. They tried to cope alone with all the tasks socially defined as feminine. The questioning of the social division of labor where all domestic tasks are expected to be fulfilled by women is one of the basic principles of feminism. The socialist women of the period never engaged in such a questioning, neither in their private lives, nor as a general understanding. They seem to have been content with the men's argument that these problems would be solved with the transition to socialism. Another symptom of this uncritical contentment reveals itself in their belief in women's freedom from such problems in the socialist countries.

This was also the case for the problem of domestic violence. Even if the victims of battery were protected and their husbands were criticized, we know that men were never subjected to serious sanctions for battery. It is also clear that even though women with high positions were subjected to battery, a party politics on this issue was never discussed. The fear behind such silence was that such discussions could damage the movement.

As to the İKD, the relation of women with men can be viewed in two categories. First, their relations with men from other "brother organizations," second, men with whom they wished to share their private lives. Many interviewees pointed to the fact that the party interfered with marriages. Men from other political movements were not welcome as "bridegrooms."

Women had to make decisions concerning their bodies within the limits of that traditional structure. They did not discuss the issue of abortion openly, although it was often applied to end unwanted pregnancies. Whereas the demand for the right of abortion was the most popular, extensive and effective struggle of the European feminist movement in the 1970s, socialist women in Turkey never expressed the issue of abortion in the same years.

It is also observed that a very traditionalist attitude was adopted in terms of man-woman relations. Intimate relations with men were not welcome. The point that a member of the İKD made is noteworthy: "The İKD never contributed to our attitudes on this issue except for repeating what we had learned from our parents."

But these women also made efforts to go beyond this traditional paternalistic approach. Men from "brother

organizations" assumed the task of security at the İKD's demonstrations. However, when these men intended to intervene in their work on the grounds that they were more experienced, the women of the İKD rejected their help and withdrew their demands for security in the following activities.

As to the issue of dressing, the TİP, the TSİP and the İKD adopted similar attitudes. A "plain, low-profile look avoiding flamboyancy" was preferred. The basic intent here was not to highlight one's womanhood. And, the socialist women of the period never saw themselves as women. The defining terms of their identity were "leftist," "socialist" or "a member of the İKD." Women of profession defined themselves primarily as architects, lawyers, engineers, doctors, or teachers. These were definitions that endowed them with power in the world of men. They express openly that they realized their womanhood "very late," maybe only after the period of September 12.

The İKD can be defined without reservation as an autonomous structure "untouched by men" where all the tasks were assumed by women and all its members were women. It can be said that the İKD contributed to the

creation of more autonomous spaces for women. However, the feminist movement of the post-1980 era was unable to benefit more effectively from these spaces.

The İKD is the only women's organization which published a book (though fused with nostalgia) on its history and the only one whose former members still feel attached to. The slogan chanted on the 30th anniversary of the İKD is striking: "The İKD lives, the İKD fights." This reveals the enthusiasm of those women for keeping that spirit alive and keeping up the fight for women. It is significant that after 30 years more than a hundred women gathered both to look into the past and express their hopes for the future. The İKD transferred its women cadres experienced in practical works and organization to the women's movement. But the feminist movement was devoid of such cadres despite its legitimacy. The transferring of the cadres of the İKD to women's associations, parties or NGOs were mentioned in the Preface.

The leader cadres of the İKD, the DKB and the TİP's Women's Section were mostly children of the Kemalist elite. Although this image was a disadvantage particularly for the İKD, when looked more closely it is seen that it was a group marked by social dissidence. In fact, we can

view this as a success of the transferring of the Republican tradition to the left. Some of these women constitute the groups observed in the Republican demonstrations of June 2007, who shouted slogans for the Republic.

There is no doubt that the women's movement of the 1970s cannot be defined as feminist; however, it should be noted that this was a strong and effective movement. The movement discussed here was one composed of women only and whose primary aim was to provide women's participation in politics and political struggle. It was a movement which explained the oppression to which women are subject with the ideology they have; which approached the solution of the women's question only in terms of class but at the same time allowed women to create their independent spaces, empowered them and raised their political consciousness. And with all its deficiencies and achievements, it transferred a considerable number of its cadres to the feminist movement of the post-1980 era. One of the main reasons behind the neglect for the women's movement of the 1970s is that the cadres of the feminist movement were composed of "former leftists." But every movement must have a base upon which to develop.

The women of the leftist movement turned towards feminism after the great disintegration caused by September 12. Although the feminist movement aimed to constitute a "democratic opposition" to the coup of September 12, the leading forces of the coup did not perceive feminists as a threat. And Kemalism, which marked the political climate of post-coup period, provided legitimacy and moment for the feminist movement. So the women's movement should not neglect Kemalism and its effects when analyzing its own history.

However, another legacy of the 1970s that should be noted in this context is that the women who lived through that period are somewhat reserved on committing to a collective structure, namely to organized struggle. That may be the reason behind the feminist movement's failure to engender large activist cadres and popular leaders who are able to connect with the masses. The feminist movement of the post-1980 era determined that the most important barrier to its development was the Marxist left. However, although Marxism contained certain anti-feminist analyses, women came to recognize their oppression as "members of a sex" while walking in this path. Turkey was behind the West by 10-15 years in the process of women's gaining

consciousness, but the leftist movement of the 1970s and the women who participated in that movement set the ground for this process.

In Turkey, even the history of the left of the 1970s waits to be registered in a truly comprehensive way. Certain doubts and concerns, the time of which should have run out after more than 30 years, but which are seen to persist, and studies marked by the aim of making the "other" invisible, hinder a truly historical account. Studies which are based on both oral history and firsthand sources, which not only represent, but also discuss the period, and which are composed with historical consciousness will contribute to the making up of this lack.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "1975 Uluslararası Kadınlar Yılı." *Yeni Dünya Sosyalizm Sorunları*, no.3 (March 1975).
- "8 Mart Demokratik Kadın Hareketi." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 4, no.46 (April 1978), pp.21-23.
- "8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü." *Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*, year 2, no.26-27 (March 16, 1977), p.17.
- "8 Mart Uluslararası Kadın Günü: SSCB Kurtuluşun Sosyalizmden Geçtiğini Kanıtlıyor." *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.152 (March 7, 1978), pp.14-15.
- "8 Mart ve Türkiye'de Kadının Toplumsal Kurtuluşu." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 4, no.45 (March 1978), pp.36-37.
- "Ankara Kadınlar Derneği." *Devrimci Yol*, no. 13 (January 15, 1978)
- "Bir AKD'li ile Görüşme, Interview (Ayşegül Devecioğlu)." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.3 (September 1988), pp.24-29.
- "Bir İKD'li ile Görüşme, Interview (Filiz Ağın)." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.2 (July 1988), pp.33-37.
- "Devrimci Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu Kuruldu." *Devrimci Yol*, no. 16 (March 20, 1978)
- "Emekçi Kadınlar Demokrasi Savaşımında." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 3, no.34 (April 1977), pp.23-27.
- "Feminizm." *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.5. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988, pp.1556-1568.

- "İKD Basın Bülteni." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 2, no.13 (July 1975), pp.45-47.
- "İKD Başkanı Beria Onger Türkiye'ye Alınmadı." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.5 (January 1989), p.71.
- "İKD Kongresine." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 4, no.48 (June 1978), pp.14-15.
- "İlerici Kadın Hareketi." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 2, no.18 (December 1975).
- "Kadın ve Sosyalizm." Speech delivered in Berlin by a TKP representative at the 100th Anniversary of August Bebel's Woman and Socialism. *Türkiye ve Dünya Olayları. Haber-Yorum İnceleme Dizisi 2*. İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları 40 (May 1979), pp.11-14.
- "Lynne Segal ile Görüşme: 15 Yıllık Deneyim." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.1 (May 1988), pp.33-37.
- "Marksistler ve Kadın." Archive, 11. *TEZ (Marxism and Feminism)*, no. 9 (February 1989), pp.112-140.
- "Milletvekili Adaylarımız." *Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*, year 2, no.31 (May 16, 1977), p.13.
- "Parti Hareketinin Temeli: Bilinç, Sorumluluk, Disiplin." *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.100 (March 8, 1977), pp.14-15.
- "SSCB'den Haberler- Gerçek Hak Eşitliği." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 3, no.33 (March 1977), pp.95-96.
- "TİP Merkez Yönetim Kurulu Üyeleri." *Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*, year 2, no.26-27 (March 16, 1977), p.20.
- "TSİP Bir Likidasyon Olayı mıdır?" *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.51 (March 30, 1976), p.6.
- "Türkiye İşçi Partisi Programı." *İlke*, Vol.2, no.7 (July 1974), pp.55-139.
- ... ve hep birlikte koştuk. İstanbul: Açı Yayınları, 1996.

- Ağduk-Gevrek, Meltem, and Şahin, Özlem. "Tarih Çözümlemesi İçinde Sözlü Tarih ve Feminist Sözlü Tarih." *20.Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek*. Edited by Oya Çitçi. Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, November 1998.
- Ahmet Abakay, ed. *Politik Göçmenler*. İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, 1988.
- Akal, Emel. *Kızıl Feministler Bir Sözlü Tarih Çalışması*. İstanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Tarih Araştırma Vakfı Yayınları, 8 March 2003.
- Ali Alev, trans. *Birinci Doğu Halkları Kurultayı*. İstanbul: Koral Yayınları, 1975.
- Altındal, Aytunç. *Türkiye'de Kadın (Marksist Bir Yaklaşım)*. İstanbul: Havass Yayınları, January 1975.
- Ana ve Emekçi Olarak İşçi Kadınının El Kitabı*. 2nd edition. İstanbul: DİSK Yayınları, October 31, 1976.
- Ansal, Hacer. "Kapitalist Üretimde Cinsiyetçilik." *11. TEZ (Marksizm ve Feminizm)*, no.9. (February 1989), pp.8-22.
- Arat, Necla. *Kadın Sorunu*. İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 1986.
- Arat, Yeşim. "1980'ler Türkiyesi'nde Kadın Hareketi: Liberal Kemalizm'in Uzantısı." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.53 (Spring 1991), pp.7-19.
- Arat, Yeşim. "1980'ler Türkiyesi'nde Kadın Hareketi: Liberal Kemalizmin Radikal Uzantısı." In *Türkiye'de Kadın Olgusu*, ed. Necla Arat. İstanbul: Say Yayınları, March 1995.
- Arcayürek, Cüneyt. *Demokrasinin Sonbaharı 1977-1978*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985.
- Arcayürek, Cüneyt. *Müdahalenin Ayak Sesleri 1978-1979*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985.
- Aslan, Emel Akal. "Aykırı bir örnek: İKD." In *Yerli Bir Feminizme Doğru*. Edited by Aynur İlyasoğlu and Necla Akgökçe. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, October 2001.

- Aslan, Emel. "Türkiye'de Kadın ve Sosyalizm, Örnek Olay İlerici Kadınlar Derneği." Master's Thesis, Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1996.
- Aybar, Mehmet Ali. *TİP (Türkiye İşçi Partisi) Tarihi*. Volumes 1,2,3. İstanbul:BDS Yayınları, July 1988.
- Banksen Haber Ajansı, October 10, 1979, no.213.
- Bebel, August. *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*. Translated by Sabiha Sertel. Ankara: Toplum Yayınevi, 1976.
- Bebel, August. *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*. Translated by S.N. Kaya. İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, 1991.
- Belge, Murat. "68 ve Sonrasında Sol Hareket." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.41 (Spring 1988), pp.153-166.
- Belge, Murat. "Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye." In *Sol*. Edited by İ.C. Schick and E.A. Tonak. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1992.
- Belli, Sevim. *Boşuna mı Çiğnedik?* İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1994.
- Berktaş, Fatmagül. "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı." *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*. Volume 3. *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, pp.275-285.
- Berktaş, Fatmagül. "Türkiye Solu'nun Kadına Bakışı: Değişen Birşey Var mı?" In *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*. Edited by Şirin Tekeli. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993, pp.313-326.
- Berktaş, Fatmagül. *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003.
- Bingham Marjorie Wall, Gross Susan Hill. *Women in the U.S.S.R*. Wisconsin: Gary E. McCuen Publications, 1980.
- Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı, October 7, no.37 (1979).
- Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı, October 9, no.39 (1979).
- Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı, September 22, no.10 (1979).
- Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı, September 22, no.11 (1979).

- Birlik Dayanışma Ajansı. Brochure for October 14, 1979 elections.
- Birlik Dayanışma, İstanbul: September 17, 1979.
- Bock, Gisela. *Avrupa Tarihinde Kadınlar*. Translated by Zehra Aksu Yilmazer. İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2004.
- Bonnie S. Anderson, Judith P. Zinsser, Judith P, eds. *A History of Their Own, Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present*. Volume 2. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988.
- Bora, Aksu and Sayılan, Fevziye. "Resmi İdeolojide Kadın Hakları Söylemi." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.105/106 (January/February 1998), pp.134-136.
- Bora, Aksu. "Kadın Hareketi: Nereden Nereye?" *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.83 (March 1996), pp.39-41.
- Boran, Behice. "Kadınlar Günü Üzerine." *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.49 (March 16 1976), p.16.
- Boran, Behice. *Son Nefesine Kadar*. İstanbul: Amaç Yayıncılık, 1988.
- Boratav, Korkut. *İktisat Politikaları Ve Bölüşüm Sorunları İktisat Yazıları 1969-1981*. İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1983.
- Caine, Barbara. *English Feminism 1780-1980*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Connell, R.,W. *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*, İstanbul: Ayrıntı yayınları, March 1998.
- Coote, Anna and Campbell, Beatrix. *Sweet Freedom The Struggle for Women's Liberation*. London: Pan Books, 1982.
- Cumhuriyet*. September 14-22-23-24-29-30, October 10-16, 1979.

- Çark Başak Türkiye İşçi Partisi Merkez Yayın Organı*,
no.1(13 February 1976)- no.44.(1 February 1978)
- Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, ed. *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*. Indiana: Indiana University,1982.
- Delphy, Christine. "Baş Düşman: Patriyarka." Interview:
Stella Ovadia, *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.13 (May 1990), pp.54-65.
- Delphy, Christine. *Baş Düşman Patriyarkanın Ekonomi Polisiği*. İstanbul: Saf Yayıncılık, 1999.
- Demokrasinin 50 Yılı 1945-1995*. Vol.2. Aydın Kitaplar,
n.d.
- Demokrat Emekçi Kadınlar Birliği Programı*. n.p., n.d.
- Demokratik Kadın Birliği-Program ve Talepler*. Ankara:
Kadın Dayanışması Yayınları, 1978.
- Devecioğlu, Ayşegül. "1975-80 Kadın Örgütlenmesi:
Kaçırılmış Bir Fırsat." *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Volume 7 (1960-1980
Türkiye). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988,
pp.2260-2261.
- Devecioğlu, Ayşegül. "Biz, Onlar ve Diğerleri." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.51 (July 1993), pp.95-98.
- Devecioğlu, Ayşegül. "Kadın Hareketi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.11 (March 1990), p.48-52.
- Devecioğlu, Ayşegül. "Uyanan Uyansın Düş Sürüyor..." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.81 (January 1996),pp.86-88.
- Devrimci Yol*, no.13 (January 15, 1978).
- Devrimci Yol*, no.16 (March 20, 1978).
- Devrimci Yol*, no.24 (November 30, 1978).
- Dilber, Özden. "Kollontay Susmasaydı...." *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no.5 (January 1989), pp.30-33.

- Dinçer, Gönül. "İKD Kadın Örgütü Görünümünde 'Erkek' Bir Örgüttü." *Yeni Açılım*, no.23 (March-April 1990).
- Doğramacı, Emel. *Türkiye'de Kadının Dünü ve Bugünü*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1992.
- Donat, Yavuz. *Sandıktan İhtilale 1977-1980*. Second edition. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınları, 1987.
- Donovan, Josephine. *Feminist Teori*. Translated by Aksu Bora, Meltem Ağduk Gevrek, Fevziye Sayılan. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997.
- Duchen, Claire. *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France 1944-1968*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Duleymi, Naziha and Rodney Öhman. "Komünistler ve Kadın Hareketi." *Barış ve Sosyalizm Sorunları*, no.1980/3 (March 1980), pp.82-92.
- Dursun, Çiler. "Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı Kimliğinin Medyada Temsili: 1970-1997." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.78 (Autumn 1998), pp.210-243.
- Düzkan, Ayşe. "80'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Feminizm." *Defter*, Year 7, no.21 (Spring 1994).
- Düzkan, Ayşe. "Amaç, Kadın Kurtuluşunun Bağımsızlığıydı." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.83 (March 1996), pp.26-30.
- Düzkan, Ayşe. "Belki Soran Yok Ama Cevap Veriyorum." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.84 (April 1996), pp.106-108.
- Ecevit, Yıldız. "Kadın Dayanışması ve Kadın Örgütlenmeleri." *11. TEZ (Marxism and Feminism)*, no.9 (February 1989), pp.57-79.
- Engels, Friedrich and Karl Marks. *Seçme Yapıtlar*. Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1979.
- Engels, Friedrich. *Ailenin, Özel Mülkiyetin ve Devletin Kökeni*. Translated by Kenan Somer. 5th Edition. Ankara: Sol Yayınları, May 1977.
- Engels, Friedrich. *İngiltere'de Emekçi Sınıfların Durumu*. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1974.

- Erdoğan, Necmi. "Demokratik Soldan Devrimci Yol'a: 1970'lerde Sol Popülizm Üzerine Notlar." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.78 (Autumn 1998), pp.22-37.
- Ergas, Yasmine. "Feminism of the 1970s." In *History of Women towards a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*. Vol.5. Edited by Georges Duby, Michele Perrot and Françoise Thebaud. 2. Edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Eyüboğlu, Ercan. "Batıda Kadın Sorununa İşçi Sınıfı Hareketi Sahip Çıkıyor." *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.158 (18 April 1978), p.16.
- Firestone, Shulamith. *Cinselliğin Diyalektiği*. Second edition, İstanbul: Payel Yayınları, 1993.
- Edith Hoshino Altbach, Jeanette Clausen, Dagmar Schultz, Naomi Stephan, eds. *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984.
- Gökyay, Birten "60'lardan 90'lara Kadın Derneklerine Bakış." *20.Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek*. Edited by Oya Çitçi. Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları no: 285, November 1998.
- Göle, Nilüfer. "Batı Modernizmi ve Post-Feminizm." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.53. (Spring 1991), pp.63-74.
- Gören, Fatma. "Türkiye'de Emekçi Kadın Hareketi Pratik İçinde Gelişip Güçleniyor." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 3, no.33. (March 1977), pp.3-9.
- Gümüšoğlu, Firdevs. "Hareketin Her İşe Koşturanları ve Çok Bilmişleri Vardı." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.83 (March 1996), pp.36-38.
- Güneş-Ayata, Ayşe. "Türkiye'de Kadının Siyasete Katılımı." in *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*. Edited by Şirin Tekeli. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.
- Haug, Frigga. "Yeni Kadın Hareketi ve Sosyalizm." *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.5. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988, pp.1558-1559.

- Heilbrun, Carolyn G. *Kadının Özyaşamını Yazarken*.
İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992.
- Heper, Metin. *Gecekondü Policy in Turkey*. İstanbul:
Boğaziçi University Publications, No.146, May 1978.
- Humm, Maggie. *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Feminist
Literary Criticism*. New York, London, Toronto,
Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore: Harvester Wheatsheaf,
1994.
- Im Blickpunkt der Berliner*, no. 2/79 (Berlin: 1979).
- İGD. *İlerici Gençler Derneği I. Büyük Kongresi Çalışma
Raporu (Konuşmalar, Kararlar - 15-17 May 1978)*.
İstanbul: İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik Yayınları,
September 1978.
- İKD. *İKD On Yaşında*. İKD Dış Bürosu Yayını, 1985.
- İKD. *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği I. Olağan Genel Kurul
Çalışma Raporu (İKD's First Regular General Assembly
Meeting Report)*, duplicate copy, n.d.
- İKD. *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği I. Olağan Genel Kurul
Çalışma Raporu*. Ankara: İKD Yayınları no.2 , 1977.
- İKD. *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği 2. Olağan Genel Kurul
Çalışma Raporu May 28-29 (1978)*.
- İKD. *İlerici Kadınlar Derneği Tüzüğü Bölüm I*. duplicate
copy, n.d.
- İlyasoğlu, Aynur. "Kadın Çalışmalarında Sözlü Tarih
Yaklaşımının Türkiye'de Kadın Araştırmaları Alanına
Getirebileceği Açılımlar Üzerine." *Toplum ve Bilim*,
no.75 (Winter 1997), pp.162-169.
- İlyasoğlu, Aynur and Necla Akgökçe, eds. *Yerli Bir
Feminizme Doğru*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, October
2001.
- Kabasakal, Hayat E. "Kadınlar, Örgütler ve Güç Dağılımı,"
Toplum ve Bilim, no.53 (Spring 1991), pp.55-61.
- Kadın Dayanışması*. Aylık Dergi, no.1 (July 14, 1977);
no.36 (July 1980).

- Kadınların Sesi*. Aylık Dergi, no.1 (August 1975); no.61 (July-August 1980).
- Kadınların Sesi*. Special Issue Brochure for October 14, 1979 elections.
- Kalaycıoğlu, Sibel and Helga Ritterberger-Tılıç.
Evlerimizdeki Gündelikçi Kadınlar. İstanbul: Su Yayınları, February 2001.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Çağdaş feminist çalışmalar ve Ortadoğu araştırmaları." In *Kadın Araştırmalarında Yöntem*. Edited by Serpil Çakır, Necla Akgökçe. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, n.d., pp.123-140.
- Kaplan, Gisela. *Contemporary Western European Feminism*. New York: New York University Press, 1992.
- Karpat, H. Kemal. *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Dönüşüm*. İstanbul: İmge Kitapevi Yayıncılık, 2003.
- Kepenek, Yakup. *Gelişimi, Üretim Yapısı ve Sorunlarıyla Türkiye Ekonomisi*. Third edition. Ankara: Teori Yayınları, First Printing, February 1987.
- Khvalebnova, Olga (Sovyet Kadınlar Komitesi Prezidyum Üyesi). "Sovyet Toplumunda Kadın." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 3, no.33 (March 1977), pp.78-79.
- Kılıç, Zülal. "Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Kadın Hareketine Genel Bir Bakış." In *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*. Edited by Ayşe Berktaş Hacımiraçoğlu. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.
- Kollontai, Alexandra. *İşçi Arıların Aşkı*. Translated by Gülay Türkyılmaz. İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 1996.
- Kollontai, Alexandra. *Kadınların Özgürlüğü*. Translated by Yasemin Çongar. İstanbul: Yarın Yayınları, 1986.
- Kollontai, Alexandra. *Marksizm ve Cinsel Devrim*. Translated by K. Yalım. İstanbul: Tüzmamanlar Yayıncılık, April 1992.
- Komünist ve İşçi Partilerinin 4 Toplantısı: 1957 Moscow, 1960 Moscow, 1969 Moscow, 1976 Berlin*. Translated by Savaş Erdoğan, İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları, 1976.

- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*. Translated by Ertuğrul Yemenoğlu. Second edition. İstanbul: Günce Yayınları, October 1978.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. *Toplumda Kadının Rolü Üzerine*. Ankara: Ürün Yayınları, 1975.
- Lloyd, Genevieve. *Erkek Akıl*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1996.
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. *Feminist Bir Devlet Kuramına Doğru*. Translated by Türkân Yöney, Sabir Yücesoy. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003.
- Mahaim, Annik, Alix Holt and Jacqueline Heinem. *Kadınlar ve İşçi Hareketi*. Translated by D. Işık. İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1992.
- Marksizm-Leninizmin İlkeleri 4*. Translated by Nadiye R. Çobanoğlu. 6th Edition. İstanbul: Yar Yayınları, 1989.
- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Comintern, Clara Zetkin. *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine*. Translated by İsmail Yarkın. 4th edition. İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, September 1996.
- Marx, Engels, Lenin. *Kadın ve Aile*. Translated by Öner Ünalın. 3rd edition. Ankara: Sol Yayınları, November 1992.
- Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. *Kadın ve Marksizm*. Translated by Ö. Ufuk. 7th edition. İstanbul: Sorun Yayınları, May 1996.
- Marx, Karl. *Kutsal Aile*. Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1976.
- Meulenbelt, Anja. *Feminizm ve Sosyalizm*. İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 2. baskı, 1987.
- MHP Kapatılsın! Can Güvenliği Sağlansın!* Haber-Yorum İnceleme Dizisi 4. İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları 43, September 1979.
- Millet, Kate. *Cinsel Politika*. Translated by Seçkin Selvi, 2. edition. İstanbul: Payel Yayınları, 1987.
- Millet, Kate. *Sexual Politics*. New York: Avon Books, 1971.

- Michel, Andrée. *Feminizm*. Translated by Şirin Tekeli, Yeni Yüzyıl Kitaplığı, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995.
- Mitchell, Juliet, Ann Oakley. *Kadın ve Eşitlik*. Edited by Fatmagül Berktay. İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 1998.
- Molyneux, Maxine. "Sosyalist Toplumlarda Kadınlar: Teori ve Pratik Sorunları," *11. Tez (Marxism and Feminism)*, no.9 (February 1989), pp.23-54.
- Naiman, Joanne. *Marksizm ve Feminizm - İki Ayrı Kuram*. Translated by Saadet Özkal. İstanbul: Amaç Yayınları, 1988.
- Necla Arat, ed. *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yaşam Eşit Hak-Eşit Katılım*. Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği Yayınları 4, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1991.
- Oktay, Ahmet. "Türk Solu ve Kültür." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.78 (Autumn 1998), pp.38-58.
- Onger, Beria. "14 Ekim Seçimleri Üzerine," *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, no.63 (September 1979).
- Onger, Beria. *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız*. Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Kitaplığı 1. İstanbul: Fahir Onger Yayınları, 1965.
- Onger, Beria. *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*. Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Kitaplığı 2. First edition. İstanbul: Fahir Onger Yayınları, 1967.
- Ovadia, Stella. "Kadınları Sevmek." *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.5. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988, pp.1562-1563.
- Oya Çitçi, ed. *20.Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek*. Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları no: 285, November 1998.
- Öğün, Seyfi Süleyman. *Modernleşme, Milliyetçilik ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1995.
- Öncü, Ayşe. "Uzman Mesleklerde Türk Kadını." In *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat.
- Özbay, Ferhunde. "Türkiye'de Kadın ve Çocuk Emeği." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.53 (Spring 1991), pp.41-54.

- Özbilge, Özcan. "Siyasetin Cinsiyeti." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.92 (December 1996), İstanbul, pp.34-39.
- Özbudun, Sibel. *8 Mart'tan 8 Mart'a mı?* First edition. İstanbul: Diyalektik Yayınları, March 1995.
- Özbudun, Sibel. *Niçin Feminizm Değil?* İstanbul: Süreç Yayıncılık, 1984.
- Özkal, Saadet. "İlerici Kadınlar Derneği," *Özgürlüğü Ararken Kadın Hareketinde Mücadele Deneyimleri*. İstanbul: Amargi Kadın Bilimsel ve Kültürel Araştırmalar Yayıncılık, 2005.
- Öztürkmen, Arzu. "Sözlü Tarih: Yeni Bir Disiplin Cazibesi." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.91 (Winter 2001-2002), pp.115-121.
- Politika*, 31 May 1977.
- Reed, Evelyn. *Kadın Özgürlüğünün Sorunları*. Translated by Zeynep Saraçoğlu. Second edition. İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1985.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. *Kadınlar, Direniş ve Devrim*. İstanbul: Payel Yayınları, 1994.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. *The Past Is before Us, Feminism in Action since the 1960s*. London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. *Women, Resistance and Revolution*. London: Pelican Books, 1974.
- Rowbotham, Sheila, Lynne Segal, Hilary Wainwright, eds. *Feminizm, Sosyalizm ve Eylemde Birlik*. Translated by Emel Çetin Özgül (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984).
- Savca, Mehmet. "Ezilen Cins Kadın." *İlke*, no.16 (April 1975), pp.29-30.
- Savran, Gülnur. "Kadınların Görevi Barış Türküleri Söylemek mi?" *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*. no.4 (November 1988), pp.9-16.

- Savran, Gülnur. "Kollontay Ekim Devrimi'nin 'Yalnız Feministi'miydi.'" *Pazartesi Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete*, no.55 (October 1999), pp.20-21.
- Savran, Gülnur. "Marksizm ve Feminizm: Yöntem ve İdeoloji." *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.5. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988, pp.1566-1567.
- Sayılan, Fevziye. "Feminist Hareket ve Sosyalistler." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.79 (November 1995), pp.60-62.
- SBKP 25. Congress Report*. İstanbul: Konuk Yayınları, 1976.
- Scott, Hilda. *Does Socialism Liberate Women?* Boston: Beacon Press, 1974.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "The Problem of Invisibility." In *Retrieving Women's History*. Edited by Jay Kleinberg, Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1988.
- Seager, Joni. *The State of Women in the World Atlas*. London: Penguin Books, first published 1997.
- Segal, Lynne. "'Aileyi Parçalayacak mıyız?' 1960'lara Bir Bakış." Translated by Sedef Öztürk. *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.41 (Spring 1988), pp.61-84.
- Segal, Lynne. "Sosyalizm, Feminizm ve Gelecek." Translated by Osman Akınhay-Ayşenur Doksat. *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.44 (December 1992), pp.33-39.
- Segal, Lynne. "Yarışan Erkeklikler: Erkeklik ve Erkek İdeali." Translated by Volkan Ersoy, *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.35 (March 1992), pp.38-49.
- Shiskan, Nadezhda. "Toplumsal Üretimde Kadın." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 3, no.33(March 1977), pp.80-86.
- Socialist Woman*. A Journal of an International Marxist Group. London: Summer-Autumn-Winter 1975.
- Somersan, Semra. "Eşitliğin Ötesi." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.71/72 (March/April 1995), pp.112-114.

- Sosyalist Devrim ve Kadınların Kurtuluş Mücadelesi - IV. Enternasyonal, XI. Ve XIII. Dünya Kongreleri Karar Metinleri*. Yenyol Broşür Dizisi 5. İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1993.
- Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no. 3 (September 1988).
- Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no. 5 (January 1989).
- Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 7 (1960-1980 Turkey). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988.
- Suner, Asuman. "Kadınlar Politikaya Ama Hangi Politikaya?" *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.9 (January 1990), İstanbul, pp.84-86.
- Şenyapılı, Tansı. "Metropol Bölgelerinin Yeni Bir Ögesi Gecekondu Kadını." In *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*. Edited by Nermin Abadan Unat. Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979.
- Şirin Tekeli, ed. *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993.
- Şirin Tekeli and Meryem Koray, eds. *Devlet, Kadın Siyaset*. İstanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı Yayını, December 1991.
- Talay, Birsen. "1979 Seçimleri ve Bakiye Beria Onger." *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.183 (March 1999), pp.55-60.
- Talay, Birsen. "Temsili Bir Karakter ya da Bir Karakterin Temsili Bakiye Beria Onger." *Tarih ve Toplum*, no.220 (April 2002), pp.4-10.
- Tankut, Tülin Tınaz. "Kadın Gözüyle 'Bilinmeyen Değer'," *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.10. (February 1990), pp.69-70.
- Tarakçioğlu, Tülin. *Moskova Dünya Kadınlar Kongresi*. İstanbul: Gerçek Sanat Yayınları, 1989.
- Tatarova, Elmas. "Sosyalizm ve Kadın." *Ürün Sosyalist Dergi*, year 1, no.10 (April 1975), pp.56-91.

- Tekeli, Şirin. "1. Kadın Kurultayı'nın Ardından." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.2 (June 1989), İstanbul, pp.67-68.
- Tekeli, Şirin. "80'lerde Türkiye'deki Kadınların Kurtuluş Hareketinin Gelişmesi." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.3 (July 1989), pp.34-41.
- Tekeli, Şirin. "Kadınların Siyasetten Dışlanmışlıklarının 55 Yıllık Öyküsü." In *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Yaşam Eşit Hak-Eşit Katılım*. Edited by Necla Arat. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği Yayınları 4 ,1991.
- Tekeli, Şirin. "Türkiye'de Kadının Siyasal Hayattaki Yeri." In *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*. Edited by Nermin Abadan Unat. Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979.
- Tekeli, Şirin. *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982.
- Tekin, Latife. *Gece Dersleri*. Sixth Edition. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1999.
- Thompson, Paul. *Geçmişin Sesi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.
- TKP Konferansı (Documents). Ankara: Temel Yayınları, March 1978.
- TKP Programları ve Mustafa Suphi Tezleri. İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları, 1997.
- Toprak, Zafer. "Halk Fırkasından Önce Kurulan Parti Kadınlar Halk Fırkası." *Tarih ve Toplum*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, no. 51 (March 1988).
- Tunçay, Mete. "Kemalist Komünizm: Sabiha Sertel'in Makaleleri." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.11 (March 1990), pp.70-72.
- Tura, Nesrin. "Türkiye Solunda Kadın Sorunu ve Feminizme Yaklaşımlar-1." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.2 (July 1988), pp.11-32.
- Tura, Nesrin. "Türkiye Solunda Kadın Sorunu ve Feminizme Yaklaşımlar-2." *Sosyalist Feminist KAKTÜS*, no.3 (September 1988), pp.9-23.

- Nermin Abadan Unat, ed. *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*. Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1979.
- TİKD. *Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği Tüzüğü*. İstanbul: 1965.
- TİP. *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Program ve Tüzüğü*. Third edition, İstanbul: Türkiye İşçi Partisi Yayınları, 1976.
- TİP. *Türkiye İşçi Partisi Programı*. İstanbul: n.p., 1964.
- TKP. *Türkiye Komünist Partisi 5. Kongre Belgeleri*. İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları, September 2000.
- TSİP. *Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi Program*. Second edition, TSİP Yayınları, 1976.
- Sina Akşin, ed. *Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye, 4*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1990.
- Türkiye ve Dünya Olayları*. İstanbul: Ürün Yayınları, 1979.
- Türköz Erder, ed. *Türkiye'de Ailenin Değişimi Toplumbilimsel İncelemeler*. Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, 1984.
- Necla Arat, ed. *Türkiye'de Kadın Olgusu*. İstanbul: Say Yayınları, March 1995.
- Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu*. Ankara: Türk İktisatçılar Birliği Yayınları, 1975.
- Unat, Nermin Abadan. "İdeoloji Açısından Kadın Araştırmaları." In *20. Yüzyılın Sonunda Kadınlar ve Gelecek*. Ankara: TODAİE Yayınları, 1998.
- Ünsal, Beyhan. "Yoksul Kadının Kadınlık Dramı." *Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.92 (January 11, 1977), pp.16.
- Varikas, Eleni. "Kurumsal Modernleşme Karşısında Yunan Kadınları." *11. TEZ (Marxism and Feminism)*, no.9 (February 1989), pp.101-111.
- Vogel, Lise. "Marksizm ve Feminizm." Translated by Engin Yılmaz. *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.11 (March 1990), İstanbul, pp.38-47.

- Vogel, Lise. *Marksist Teoride Kadın*. Translated by Mine Öngören. İstanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 1990.
- Wehner, R. "Demokratik Almanya Cumhuriyeti'nde ve Federal Almanya Cumhuriyeti'nde Kadınların Durumu." *Barış ve Sosyalizm Sorunları*, no.1978/6 (June 1978), pp.92-96.
- Nermin Abadan Unat, ed. *Women in Turkish Society*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981.
- Yaraman, Ayşegül. *Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Temsili*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, November 1999.
- Yaraman-Başbuğu, Ayşegül. *Elinin Hamuruyla Özgürlük*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1992.
- Yeğenoğlu, Meyda. "Kadın ve Siyaset: Eşitliğin Ötesinde." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.85 (May 1996), pp.39-42.
- Yelda. "Milliyetçiliğe Karşı Henüz Feminist Bir Stratejimiz Yok." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.21 (January 1991), pp.68-70.
- Yelda. "Sanılmaya ki Hikaye, Aynıyla Vaki." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.11 (March 1990), İstanbul, pp.56-59.
- Yelda. "Tencerem Boş, Yemek Pişiremiyorum Diyen Erkek Var mı?." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.25 (May 1991), pp.82-85.
- Yeşil, H. *Sosyalist Kadın Hareketi İçin*. İstanbul: Dönüşüm Yayınları, March 1992.
- Yılmaz, Vahide. "Bir Geçmiş Değerlendirmesi." *Sosyalist Feminist Kaktüs*, no.10 (February 1990).
- Yurt Ansiklopedisi*. Vol.6. İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982-1983, p.3880.
- Yürüyüş Haftalık Siyasi Haber ve Yorum Dergisi*, no.1 (1-15 April 1975 - no.182 (3 October 1978)).
- Zetkin, Clara, N. Krupskaya, W.Pieck. *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine Seçme Yazılar & Clara Zetkin Üzerine*. Translated by İsmail Yarkın. Third edition. İstanbul: İnter Yayınları, January 1996.

Zetkin, Clara. *Lenin'in Bütün Dünya Kadınlarına Vasiyetleri*. Translated by Atilla Temiz. First edition. İstanbul: Sorun Yayınları, 1978.

Zihniođlu, Yaprak. "Üslup Sorunu Vardı, Ama Konuşulmazdı." *Birikim Aylık Sosyalist Kültür Dergisi*, no.83 (March 1996), pp.145-150.

APPENDIXES

FOOTNOTE

CHAPTER I

- 26 Bugün İKD'li kadınların çoğu, artık İKD gibi bir örgüt olmasın, noktasına geldi; Bunun yanlışlığı ortaya çıktı bizce.
- 27 Feminist hareketin Türkiye'ye girişinin bu kadar gecikmesinden, İKD'yi, dolayısıyla da TKP'yi sorumlu tutuyorum ben...

CHAPTER III

- 158 1960'lı ve 1970'li yılların ideolojik ortamında bu doğrultuda eylemlere katılan kadınlar haklarını değil, inandıkları ideolojinin üstünlüğünü savunmuşlardır. Bu eylemlerin dışında olan ve kadın haklarıyla ilgilenenler bu hakları Atatürk Devrimi'nin sağlamış olduğu çerçeve içinde görmeyi sürdürmüşlerdir.
- 160 1950'den 1970 ortalarına kadar kurulan kadın derneklerinin pek çoğu, bu gün de sürdürdükleri, kazanılmış hakların, özellikle laik devletin İslami bir düzene geri dönülmesine karşı sağladığı güvencelerin savunusuna öncelik verdi ve bunu, hemen hemen her yıl Cumhuriyet'in önemli günlerinde düzenlenen törenlerde Atatürk'e olan bağlılıklarını, kendilerine tanıdığı haklar için ona duydukları şükran borcunu ifade ederek dile getirdi...
- 161 Zamanla (bu benim kişisel kanaatim) kadınların meseleleri ile ilgili çok fazla talep üretemez hale gelmişlerdi. (1970'li yılların sonlarında) Bence kadın hareketinin canlanması 80'den sonradır.
- 171 Sömürücüler, faşistler, faşizmden medet umanlar, 1977'de emekçi kadınlar sizlere gerekli dersi verecekler. Haklı talepleriyle 1 Mayıs'ta

meydanlarda, Haziran'da seçim sandıklarında tırmanan faşizmi onların güçlü sesi bastırarak

- 172 Yine politika gazetesinde 31 Mayıs 1997 tarihinde "5 haziran'da sandık başına" adlı yazıda "bebeklerimiz için süt, gıda, eşlerimiz için iş, güvenlik, kendimiz için özgürlük eşitlik (.....) istiyorsak , siyasetin , siyasal mücadelenin içinde, tam ortasında olacağız" denmektedir. Bu da eviçi rollerinden yola çıkılarak kadınları siyasete yönlendirme anlayışını görmekteyiz.
- 175 A. Bebel'in Marksist açıdan inceleyemediği bir görüşü: Kadının evden kurtuluşu, kapitalizm koşullarında da gerçekleşebilir. Bebel, ev işlerinde makineleştirme yapıldığında, teknik bilimin buluşlarından yararlanmayla, kadın ev esaretinden kurtulabilir, düşüncesini savunmaktadır. O, bu verilere dayanarak burjuva toplumu kuruluşunda dahi, devrimci yenileşmeler olduğunu iddia etmektedir. (...) Gelgelim bu yenileştirmeler sınıflı toplum koşullarında gerçekleştirilemez. İşte Bebel, Marksizmi yanlış anlamakla, sosyal - demokrat, oportünist anlayışlara saplandı. O, Lenin'in de yazdığı gibi 'sınıf egemenliğine dayanarak kurulan devletin, ulusal bir devlete dönüşmesini' savundu.
- 176 Bugün de eski koşullar hala mevcuttur, ama istisnai olarak. Eskiden doğal sayılan ev işleri, sanayi evkadınından daha iyi, daha pratik ve daha ucuz yaptığı için, kadınların çoğu bunu bırakıyor, bu nedenle zaten en azından kentlerde, bunlar için ev teçhizatı yoktur. Böylece aile yaşamımızda birkaç on yıl içinde, doğal saydığımız için çok az önem verdiğimiz büyük devrim gerçekleşmiştir. (...) Ev yaşamımızda gerçekleşen ve gittikçe ilerleyen bu devrim, kadının aile içi konumunu da, başka bir yöne doğru önemli ölçüde değiştirdi.
- 177 sabahtan akşama kadar sadece giyinip süslenmeyi düşünen, akşam da erkekleri eğlendirmeye çalışan
- 179 1) "'Equal Pay', 'eşit ücret' olarak Türkçe'ye çevrilemez. Ücret, İngilizce'de 'Wage' demektir. 'Pay' ise maaş anlamı taşır." 2) "Bu slogan egemen sınıf/sınıfların öylesine işine gelen bir ilkeydi ki, İran Şahı bile bu ilkeyi uyguladığını açıklamaktan gurur duyuyordu. Kısacası

kapitalizmin egemen olduđu ülkelerde bu talebi dile getirmek yersizdir anlamı çıkmaktadır. Türkiye'de ise bu ilkeyi ilk kabul eden TÜRK-İŞ sendikasıdır. TÜRK-İŞ sendikası da Uluslararası Hür İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu'na bağlıdır. Bu konfederasyon da kapitalist-emperyalist düzenin Batı Avrupa'daki en güçlü sendikal örgütüdür." 3) "Türkiye'de eşit işe eşit ücret devlet dairelerinde uygulanmaktadır. Bu da sloganın ne kadar tutarsız olduğunu göstermektedir. Çünkü uygulanan 'Eşit İşe Eşit Maaş'tır.

- 180 Anneler Günü kutlamaları gibi soytarılık
- 188 kadının asıl görevi çocuk doğurmak, ev işlerini görmek, erkeğin cinsel doyum aracı olmaktır ... Tarlada çalışır, sanayide aynı işi yapsa da erkek işçiden daha az ücret alır, yani daha yoğun sömürülür. Kazandığı parayı nerede kullanacağına kendisi karar veremez ... toplumda aşağılanır, birçok toplumsal kurum, yasa, değer yargısı yoluyla baskı altına alınır. Eğitim olanaklarından yoksun bırakıldığından, erkeğe kayıtsız şartsız bağımlı olmak zorundadır.
- 189 burjuva toplumunda, kadının üretime yaygın olarak katılmaması, kendisini de etkileyecek olan toplumun gelişmesinde söz sahibi olamaması , kadının diğer cinsin baskısı ve tutsaklığı altında olmamasının temel nedenidir. Burjuvazi kendi sınıfının kadınlarına süs aracı gözüyle bakmakta ancak emekçi kitlelerin kadınları üretime yaygın olarak katılsalar da, toplumda egemen olan üst yapı kurumları nedeniyle en yoğun baskı ve sömürü altında bulunmaktadır.
- 195 ... bu yıl da Uluslararası Emekçi kadınlar Günü'nü iki akıbet bekliyor. Bir yandan 'kökü dışardılığı' ve uyanırdığı 'bozguncu çağrışımlar' nedeniyle unutmama/unutturulma çabaları (nitekim daha milli bir günle 5 Aralık'ta ikame edilmesi yönünde girişimle başladı bile) bir yandan da resmi-feminist çevrelerce içeriği boşaltılarak sıradan bir 'Kadın Hakları' gününe dönüştürme ve böylelikle de uysallaştırma/evcilleştirme girişimleri ...
- 199 Su ve çöp kampanyaları açtık ve bu çalışmalarla kadınlara nüfuz edebileceğimizi gördük. Aslında

bunlar sezgisel, el yordamı ile yapılan çalışmalardı. (...) Gecekondu mahallelerinde okuma-yazma, biçki dikiş kursları açtık. Birçok kadını çalışmalarımıza kattık. Doktor götürdük. İlaç dağıttık. Kadın sorunlarıyla (kreş gibi) ilgili araştırma grupları kurduk. Kampanyalar açtık. Dernek çalışmalarını anlatan heber bültenleri ve aylık bültenler çıkardık.

- 200 Kadın çalışmasına yalnız sahip olduğumuz politik çizinin yaygınlık kazanması gibi bir anlam yüklediğimizden, bunları (kadınların kendilerine güven kazanmaları) algıladık ama değerlendirmedik.
- 201 Biz AKD ve DEV-KAD olarak yukarıda belirttiğimiz gibi, kadın sorununun sınıflar mücadelesinin başarıya ulaşmasıyla çözümleneceği bilinciyle pratik devrimci politikayı hayata geçirmek için var olduk ve daha önce saydığımız nedenlerle mücadeleye katılmayan onbinlerce kadının örgütlenmesinde de gerektiği zaman bu 'pratik devrimci politikanın' hayata geçirilmesini savunuyoruz.
- 202 Ayrı örgütlenme, kadınları zorunlu çıkar ve istekler çerçevesinde örgütleyerek, faşizme karşı aktif mücadeleye çekme olanağı verir.
- 203 İlk başlarda toplantılarımızı yöneten bir erkekti. Biz yetkinleştikçe o devreden çıktı. Yönetimdekilerin çoğu öğrenciydi, bir tane çalışan kadın vardı. Dernek içinde lise birimi ve üniversite birimi oluşturulmuştu. Evli kadınlar çok aktif olarak katılmazlardı. Zaten onların kocaları bu örgütlenme içindeydi. Bekar kadınlar daha aktif olarak katılırdı. Çok hanım hanımcık tipler de vardı; onlar seyrek gelirdi. Ama akrabaları (erkek akrabaları) olan kadınlar daha çok korunurdu.
- 204 Diyarbakır'da biçki-dikiş, okuma-yazma ve resim kursu açıldı. Dernekte kadınlarla ilgili seminerler veriliyordu. Evdeki konumları sorgulanıyordu kadınların. Bu seminerlere 300-400 kadın katılıyordu. Kadro eğitimi sadece yönetimdekilere veriliyordu. Ayrıca 8 Mart'ta bir 'gece' düzenledik. Afişler, bildiriler hazırladık.

- 205 DDKAD'a geldikten sonra geleneksel ahlaktan 'sol ahlak'a kaydım. Erkek arkadaşım, o da aynı örgüttendi, gizli gizli buluşurduk. Erkek arkadaşım benden daha çok korkuyordu. Onlar daha hırslıydı çünkü onlar yönetimdeydi. Beraber görülmekten daha çok korkuyorlardı. Dernekte eşitlik tartışması olurdu. Oradaki erkeklere neden karılarınız gelmiyor diye sordüğümüzda, onlar okumamış derlerdi. Feminizm hiç tartışılmazdı. Bu konuda Rosa Luksemburg ve Klara Zetkin okurduk.
- 206 Kadın hareketinin birliğini ve yığınsallaşmasını sağlama iddiasıyla kurulan bu örgütün kapıları, emperyalizm ve faşizm gibi temel kavramları genel çizgileriyle aynı biçimde anlayan, bağımsızlık ve demokrasi mücadelesinde yeralmaya kararlı herkese, hangi siyasal eğilimden olursa olsun herkese açık tutulacaktır. (...) Türkiye'de bugün solun bölünmüşlüğü bir gerçekliktir. Bu olgunun, örgütün çalışmalarını olumsuz biçimde etkilememesi için azami dikkat gösterilecektir. Dar grupçu, fraksiyoncu tutumlardan kesinlikle kaçınılacak, bunlara meydan verilmeyecektir. (...) Örgütün işleyişi demokratik merkezîyetçilik ilkelerine tam uygunluk içersinde olacaktır.

CHAPTER IV

- 210 komünist kadınların öncülüğünde kadınlar örgüt kuruyor
- 219 Deniz Türkali bizim şubeye gelir giderdi. Tiyatro çalışmaları yapmakla ilgili birçok öneri getirirdi. Biz önerilerini dinlerdik ama kendi aramızda konuşurken çok uçuk şeyler önerdiğini düşünürdük. Bizim sanatla ilgilenmekten daha önemli işlerimiz vardı. Bizim tavrımız onu dernekten uzaklaştırdı. Ayrıca şimdi adını hatırlayamadığım bir seramik sanatçısı da gelirdi ve birşeyler yapmak isterdi. Biz onu o kadar dışarıda bıraktık ki, onun uzaklaşmasına neden olduk
- 223 Türk kadınına tanınmış sosyal ve ekonomik hak ve özgürlüklerin kağıt üzerinde kalmaması, günlük yaşamda somut olarak uygulanması ve geliştirilmesi için yasaların tanıdığı tüm olanakları kullanarak uğraşmaktır.

Dernek özellikle:

a) Tüm kadınların, en başta emekçi kadınların, toplum ve aile içinde kanunların kendisine tanıdığı yeri alması,

b) Mevcut yasalardaki kadın hak ve özgürlüklerini zedeleyici hükümlerin Anayasa'nın eşitlik ilkesine uygun şekilde düzeltilmesi,

c) Eşit işe eşit ücret ilkesine uygun olarak fabrikada, tarlada, büroda kadın emeğinin savunulması,

d) Kadının kendi haklarını savunabilmesi, yurt ve dünya sorunları ile ilgilenmesi ve giderek bunların çözümüne katkıda bulunabilmesi için eğitilmesi, yurt ve dünya barışının ve ulusal çıkarlarımızın etkin savunucuları arasına katılması,

e) Analığın topluma sosyal bir katkı olarak tanınması, için çalışır.

224 ... Ne var ki, yasal olarak kadın erkek eşitliğini kabul etmiş zengin kapitalist ülkelerde bile fiilen gerçekleşen bir kadın erkek eşitliği yoktur, gerçek ve yaşanan bir eşitsizlik sözkonusudur. Bu tip ülkelerde demokratlar, devrimciler ve ilerici kadın hareketlerince verilen uzun mücadelelerle kapitalist toplum içinde bazı yasal sonuçlar elde edilmişse de, kadın eşitliğinin insalcıl hedeflerine ulaşmak olanağı bulunamamıştır. Bugün hâlâ kadınlar bir yandan bu üretim düzeni içinde en düşük ücretlerle, en kalitesiz işlerde çalıştırılarak erkeklerden de fazla sömürülürken, öte yandan analık gibi ikinci toplumsal görevi yerine getirmekte, yorucu ev işlerinin çilesini tek başına taşımakta, eğitimde, aile, toplum ve politik yaşamda süregelen olumsuz ayırımın acısını çekmektedir.

225 Kadınların ekonomik, politik, toplumsal kurtuluşu uzun süren sabırlı bir mücadele ile kazanılacaktır ve esas itibariyle sömürünün ortadan kaldırılmasına bağlıdır. Öte yandan, nüfusun yarısını oluşturan kadınların aktif ve bilinçli katkısı sağlanmadan toplumun gerçek

kurtuluşu ve bu sömürü düzeninin değiştirilmesi mücadelesi başarılmaz.

- 237 Dernek, aile sorumluluğuna sahip, başarılı ve mesut anneyi topluma kazandırmanın yollarını arayacak; sosyal, kültürel ve mesleki faaliyetlerde Türk kadınına rehberlik yapacaktır. Ayrıca kadınlarımızın anayasa ruhuna uygun sosyal ve siyasi haklarını kullanışında uyarı yapılacaktır.
- 238 Çalışma koşullarının mükemmelleştirilmesi, kadınlarımızın daha iyi şartlar altında çalıştırılması derken, yine anayasamızın 'Kimse yaşına, gücüne ve cinsiyetine uygun olmayan bir işte çalıştırılmaz. Çocuklar, gençler ve kadınlar, çalışma şartları bakımından özel olarak korunur" diyen 43. maddesinden kuvvet alarak çalışan kadınlarımızın, eşitlik haklarından başka ayrıca özel şartlarla korunmasını istiyoruz
- 239 Çalışan Türk kadınlarının sorunlarına eğilerek bunları çözümlene amacıyla örgütlenen ilk millî dernek olma mutluluğunu duyuyoruz
- 240 Adımızı 'Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği' koyarken bunda güdülen gaye, bazı kimselerin sandığı gibi diğer kadınlarımıza nispetle biz 'ileriyiz' anlamında değildir. Ve zaten böyle bir iddia, sosyal amaçlar güden ve ve 'çalışan Türk kadınlarının haklarını savunmak' ereğinde olan hiçbir derneğin tekelinde de kalmaz.
- 241 Cumhuriyetimizin toplumumuza getirdiği mutlulukların başında kadınların sosyal ve siyasal haklara kavuşturularak uygarlaştırılması gelir.
- 242 ... Oysa kadınlarımızın eylemini önleyen tutucu engeller, feodal düzen artıklarının yarattığı baskılar, devrimleri tam işlemekten alıkoymaktadır. Devrimlerin tam işlemesi son kalıntıların da köklü reformlarla temizlenmesine bağlıdır.
- 243 Kadın konusundaki pek çok sorunların çözümlenmesi ancak kadınlarımızın siyasal güce sahip olmasıyla mümkündür.
- 244 Kadın bekar olduğu zaman tam bir istismar konusu, evli olduğu zamanda özgürlüğünü kaybetmiş,

- bağımlı bir zavallıdır. Eşinin tam egemenliğine tabi, insan hak ve hürriyetleri, onun iznine bağlı bir tutuklu gibidir.
- 245 bağış toplamak ve üç beş yoksula yardım etmek
- 247 Kadın erkek ayrımı yapmak ortaya soyut, var olmayan bir sorun atmaktadır.
- 248 Kadın-erkek ayrımını yasalarımız var saymıştır.
- 249 Bu bilinçlenmeyi Sosyalizmin kurulmasından sonraya bırakmak, günümüzün toplumsal koşulları içinde olanaklı değildir.
- 250 Sayın Beria Onger'in kanısınca, eğitimle ulaşılabileceğini ileri sürmek pek eskimiş bir hayaldir.
- 251 ... ne Amerika'nın ne de Moskova'nın uşağı olmadan Mustafa Kemal kuşaklarına yaraşır, haysiyetli, güvenli, milliyetçi bir sosyalist düzeni sağlamamız gerektiğini açıkça anlamalıyız.
- 252 Eşitlik ve insan hakları bakımından, erkeğin özgürlüğünü baltalamayan davranışlar, kadınınkini de baltamaz ... Bütün uygar evrende kadın hakları savaşı, teorik olarak erkekler ve aktif olarak da kadınlar eliyle yapılmış; haklar bunun sonucunda elde edilmiştir.
- 253 Aralarında bir hukukçu bile bulunmayan bu komisyon (il ve ilçelerde kadınların 'genel kadın' olup olmadığını belirleyecek idarî komisyon), ancak hakimin takdir yetkisi içinde olması gereken bir yetki ile bir kadının şüpheli gizli inceleme ve buna dayanan müsbet delil yoluyla 'genel kadın' vasfına sahip olduğunu meydana çıkaracaktır. (... ..) Bir toplumda kadın hak ve özgürlüklerini daraltan, onu toplum önünde 'namuslu kadın' niteliğinden bir anda 'genel kadın' durumuna indirgeyen bundan daha kötü ve bundan daha hukuk dışı bir tutum ve davranış olamayacağı kesindir. Bir idare adamı, bir polis, bir belediye tabibi ve çoğunlukla bunların bile bulunmadığı ilçelerde alelade memurların itimad verici olmayan kanaatleriyle kadınlar toplatılmakta ve şehirdeki genel evlere sevk edilmektedir.

- 256 Beria Onger İKD içinde rolünün önüne geçemedi. Kişilik olarak da o kadar aktif kadının içinde gölgede kaldı. Ama bundan dolayı hep eziklik duydu. Aslında simgesel bir başkandı. Hazırlanan metinleri okurdu ama kürsüde çok düzgün bir diksiyonla okurdu. Bir burjuva kadın derneğinde olsaydı daha eşit olabilirdi ama İKD'liler zeki, militan ve yetenekliydi. Kendine güveni olan ancak "tek başına" bir kadındı. Etrafında bir kabuk vardı. Biz de bu kabuğu delmeye çalışmadık, ortam nedeniyle.
- 257 Kuruluş çalışmalarına katılanlar arasından, adı hiçbir sol politik akımla özdeşleşmemiş ve ilerici çevrelerde tanınan yeni bir başkan adayı saptanmalıydı. Bunun üzerine, 60'lı yıllarda *Akşam* gazetesinde kadın sorunu üzerine yazıları yayımlanan ve 1965'te, sonradan kadrosuzluktan kapanmış olan İleri Kadın Derneği adlı bir örgütün kurucusu olan Avukat Beria Onger'e başkanlık teklif edildi, o da kabul etti.
- 259 Kopenhag'da tek odalı bir lojmanda oturuyordu. Bir tek oda olmasına rağmen düzenli, mis gibi, gösterişli bir evdi. Çiçeklere çok iyi bakardı. Çok kitap okurdu. Günlük gazeteleri düzenli olarak takip ederdi. Mavi gözlü, alımlı, güzel ve karizmatik bir kadındı. Karşı cinsle rahat ve iyi ilişkiler kurardı. Çok düzgün bir Türkçesi vardı. Düzenli ve planlı biriydi. Yatış, kalkış saatleri belliydi. Kopenhag sokaklarında uzun yürüyüşler yapmayı severdi. Yürüyüşe çıkarken bile en güzel kıyafetlerini giyerdi. Evinin içinde bile her zaman bakımlı ve düzgündü. Canlı ve yaşam dolu bir kadındı. Özel yaşamına başkalarını sokmayı sevmezdi ve yalnız olmaktan mutluydu. Ancak biz onu hiç yalnız bırakmazdık. Yurtdışında ve yurtdışında biz onu hep el üstünde tuttuk, onu hep koruduk. Her zaman saygın bir yeri olmasına dikkat ettik."
- 260 Beria Onger'le Danimarka'da 8 Mart kutlama toplantısında birlikteydik. Sosyalist, komünist ve feminist kadınlar görüşlerini dile getiriyordu. Toplantıdan sonra Beria Hanım şöyle dedi: Feministler benim daha önce yazdıklarımı dile getiriyorlar. Ben bunları daha önce söylemiştim.

- 261 Yurtdışında bir toplantı için gittiğimizde aynı odada kaldık. Ben toplantıdan on dakika önce hazırlanmaya başladım. Beria Hanım ise bir saat önceden. Acil toplantılara yetişmesini sağlamak için, onu hazırlasın diye genç arkadaşlardan birini gönderirdik.
- 262 Gerçekten onu çok militan bulmazdık. Ama hep saygın bir yeri oldu. İKD merkez yönetimi zaten bize biraz uzaktı ve hiç kimse Beria Hanım'ı ve konumunu sorgulamadı. Demek ki öyle uygun görüldü diye düşündük. Dış görünüşü bize çok yakın gelmezdi ama demek ki farklı derinlikleri olan bir kadın diye düşündük. Ayrıca onu her toplantıda, her mitingde yanımızda görürdük. Mahallere de gelirdi. Biraz mesafeli ve uzak dururdu, eylemlere son anda gelirdi ancak hep yanımızda olurdu. Ayrıca o dönemde yabancı ülkelerin kadın kuruluşlarından gelenler de bize göre daha yaşlıydı, yani Beria Onger'in yaşına yakındılar, bazısı çocuklarıyla birlikte gelen kadınlardı. Ancak İKD çok genç bir kadroya sahip olduğu için Beria Hanım bize yaşlı gelirdi.
- 265 Özellikle geceleri dolaşmaktan hoşlanıyorum Yapayalnız ve korkusuz ... Karşı kaldırımdan biri geçiyor; başını çevirip bakmıyor bile. Garipsiyorum ama aslında doğal değil mi? Nasıl da rahatlıyorum. ... O günler geride kaldı diyorum kendi kendime. Değil geceleri, gündüzleri bile sokağa çıkmaktan sakındığım, insanlardan kaçtığım günler ... Yeraltı yaşamı. İçimi bir burukluk kaplıyor. Adımlarımı hızlandırıyorum, otelime, odama dönüyorum ... Telefonda kızım ile konuşuyorum, bunca yıl ayrılıktan sonra ... Hâlâ beni arıyorlar mı? Hayır, bir süredir gelmiyorlarmış. Gelirlerse burada olduğumu söyle diyorum, adresimi ver ki, seni rahat bıraksınlar ... İçim yanıyor. Benim yüzümden hayatını altüst etmediler mi? O da bir sakıncalı oldu, işini gücünü kaybetti. Kolay mı sakıncalı yaşam... Yapayalnız...
- 266 Başka biri hiç düşünülmedi. Dirençli ve aklına koyduğunu yapan bir kadındı. Ayrıca ciddi bir denge unsuruydu bütün hareket için. Karizmatik kişiliğiyle bulunduğu yeri dolduran biriydi. Ayrıca parti için de denge unsuru oldu hep. Beria Hanım olmasaydı başkanlığı isteyen çok kişi vardı. Kapışma olabilirdi. Kısacası bu hareket için çok yararlı oldu, birçok olanak ve yol açtı.

- Kimsenin HAYIR diyemeyeceği bir unsurdu. Parti için bir platformdu. Yurtdışındaki Türkiyeliler ona saygı duyuyordu. Bu başkanlık ona 'yakıştı'.
- 267 Önemli olan şudur ki, yaşamlar model oluşturmaz, yalnızca öyküler model oluşturur. ... Bu öyküler hepimizi yoğurmuştur; yeni kurmacalar, yeni anlatılar oluştururken kullandığımız işte bu öykülerdir.
- 268 Oysa "erkek iktidarı belli öyküleri düşünülemez duruma getirmiştir." İktidar, kendi öykülerini yaratır ve kahramanlar onların öykülerinden seçilir; bu niteliklere sahip olmadığı düşünülen kadınlar ise iktidarın gözünde pek de değerli değildir. Bu nedenle, sayısız kadın öyküsü metne dönüşemiyor ve yeni anlatılar ortaya çıkmıyor.
- 270 Başbakan Ecevit, 13 ilde sıkıyönetim ilan edilmesi kararına varılırken, 'Hilal içindeki illerle, Yozgat, Tokat, Çorum gibi ülkücülerin kümелendiği illerde de bu uygulamanın yaygınlaştırılmasını' ister. Kenan Evren ise, bu isteğe, 'O kadar kuvvetimiz yok 'diye karşı çıkar.
- 271 Ordu, parlamenter sisteme yapılan saldırıları yok edecek güçtedir.
- 272 Ordu ve hükümet bu oyuna gelmeyecektir.
- 273 Temel olarak kadın örgütlenmesi çok önemsenmiyordu; İKD güçlendikten sonra da, sadece kadınların oluşturduğu bu yapı görece daha demokratik ve bağımsız davranıyordu, merkezden gelen birçok karara karşı çıkılıyor ve bu kararlar uygulanmıyordu.
- 275 Derenin (Kurbağalıdere) pisliği, sivrisineği, mikrobu, semtte dispanser olmadığı
- 276 Hergün saatlerce minibüs ve otobüs bekleyen emekçiler
- 277 Çömlekçi çukurunun çamur bataklığı
- 278 Eşit işe eşit ücret! Evlat acısı son bulsun! Gündelikçi kadınlara, eve iş alan kadınlara sigorta hakkı! Ev kadınlarının sigorta primini devlet karşılasın! Doğum izinleri birleştirilsin,

uzatılsın! Analara iş, çocuklara kreş, yuva, okul, süt!

- 290 İKD içinde olup bitenleri hepimiz biliyoruz. Bu örgütte benim dediğim olur, benim sözüm geçer, diye diğer çizgileri tasviye eden İKD yönetimi sonunda derneği yalnızca bir çizginin yandaşlarını toplayan bir örgüt haline getirdi, kitlelerden koşturdu. Ben kadın hareketinin temsilcisiyim diye artık kendini avutuyor. Bugün demokratik kadın hareketinin karalı bir sesi var. Kadın dayanışması sömürücülere ve her türlü grupçu, bölücü tavırlara karşı kararlılıkla mücadele etti ve mücadelesini sürdürüyor. Kadın Dayanışması, biz kadınların dertleri ortaktır diyor, bunlara karşı hep birlikte mücadele etmeliyiz, demokrasiden yana bütün kadınlar birlikte hareket etmeliyiz diyor. Demokrasi saflarında yeralan çeşitli çizgilerden kadınlar bir örgüt çatısı altında birleşmelidir diyor. Ve hergün daha çok sayıda kadın Kadın Dayanışması'nın bu doğru, bu haklı sesine katılıyor ve onun öncülüğünde örgütlenen kadın hareketinin sesi her gün daha bir güçlü duyulacak. Barış için, Demokrasi için, Eşitlik için verdiğimiz mücadele elbet bir gün başarıya ulaşacak.
- 291 DKB'nin içinde Cumhuriyet Halk Partili ve Adalet Partili kadınlar da vardı. Dernekte çalışmak isteyenlere sınır getirmedi hatta onları derneğimize biz davet ettik. İşte, İKD'den fark buydu. Sosyalizmi telaffuz etmeden, feminizmden yoksun söylemlerle dile getirdik kadın hareketini.
- 292 Birleşeceğiz. Hangi görüşten olursa olsun, demokrasiden yana bütün kadınlar bir olacağız. Çünkü dertlerimiz ortaktır, çünkü sıkıntılarımız ortaktır, hak ve çıkarlarımız ortaktır. Bunların çözümü de bizim elimizdedir" denmektedir.
- 293 Yasalarla bir ölçüde geliştirilmiş olan kadın-erkek eşitliği hayata geçirilmemiştir. Kaldı ki yasalarda bu ilkeye aykırı hükümlere rastlanmaktadır. Çalışma kadınların iş şartları, aile yükümlülükleri ve çocuk sorumluluğuyla uyumlu değildir. Yüzbinlerce kadın ana ve çocuk sağlığına aykırı koşullarda çalıştırılmaktadır. Araştırmalar aynı işi yapan kadın işçilerin

erkeklerden düşük ücretlendirildiğini göstermektedir. Milyonlarca kadın her türlü sosyal güvenlik mahrum bırakılmıştır. ... Kuşkusuz bu sorunların kaynağı yaşadığımız hayatın baskı ve sömürsü üzerine kurulmuş olmasındandır. Ama unutulmamalıdır ki mevcut demokratik haklar demokrasi güçlerinin ve kadınların geçmiş mücadeleleriyle kazanılmıştır.

- 294 Ancak Demokratik kadın Birliği demokratik kadın örgütlenmesinin taşıması gereken işlevi yerine getirirken demokratik kadın hareketinin birliğini de savunmaktadır. DKB, demokratik kadın hareketi içindeki ayrılıkçı tutumları gidermeye ve mevcut kadın örgütlenmelerini tek bir yığinsal kadın örgütünde birleştirmeye çalışacaktır ... DKB kadınların uluslararası dayanışmasını çok önemli buluyor. Örgütümüz çalışmalarını UDKF'nin çalışmaları ışığında düzenliyor. Önümüzdeki günlerde UDKF'ye üye örgütlerle ilişkilerimizi sıklaştıracamız ve diğer ülkelerin kadınlarıyla dostluk ve dayanışmamızı geliştireceğiz.
- 295 DKB, 8 Mart Uluslararası Emekçi Kadınlar Günü kampanyası sırasında pek çok salon toplantısı yapacaktır. Ayrıca Kadın dayanışması gazetesinin düzenlediği <Birinci 8 Mart Yarışması> (yapılacaktır) ... "1979 Uluslararası Çocuk Yılı DKB'nin önümüzdeki faaliyetleri içesinde önemli bir konudur. Önümüzdeki önemli örgütsel çalışmalardan bir diğer, 1 Mayıs İşçi Sınıfının Birlik ve Dayanışma Günü hazırlıklardır. DKB üyeleri 1 Mayıs törenine coşkuyla ve gelecek güzel günlere olan derin inancıyla katılacaktır.
- 296 Anadolu'da örgütlendiğini, İstanbul'da çok geniş bir örgütlenmeleri olmadığını
- 297 MADDE:1 – Bütün insanlar hür, onur ve haklar bakımından eşit doğarlar. Akıl ve vicdana sahiptirler ve birbirlerine karşı kar-deşlik düşüncesiyle hareket etmelidirler. (İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyannameesi)."
- 298 Kadın hareketinin yol gösterici, güven verici, derleyip toparlayıcı, ayrılıkçı tutumlardan uzak, birleştirici bir örgüte ihtiyacı vardır. Ancak gerçek bir demokratik kadın örgütü, kadın kitlesinin mümkün olan en geniş kesimlerini kurtuluş mücadelesinde başarıya ulaştırabilir.

İşte DEMOKRATİK KADIN BİRLİĞİ bu amaçla kuruldu. Demokratik Kadın Birliği (DKB), kendisini böyle bir göreve hazırlarken;

-Tüm kadın kitlesini demokrasi mücadelesine hazırlamaya,

-Kadınların toplumsal hak ve çıkarlarını savunmaya,

-Demokratik kadın hareketi içindeki ayrılıkçı tutumları gidermeye,

-Mevcut kadın örgütlenmelerini tek bir yığınsal demokratik kadın örgütünde birleştirmeye,

-Barış, Demokrasi, Eşitlik mücadelesini azim ve fedakarlıkla üstlenmeye çalışacaktır.

Demokratik Kadın Birliği (DKB) bu amaçlar için tüm kadınları mücadeleye omuz vermeye ve çatısı altında toplanmaya çağırıyor.

Kadın hareketimizin talepleri:

Demokratik Kadın Birliği, ülkemiz kadınlarının, kadın olmaktan doğan özgül sorunlarının çözümü için, ekonomik, demokratik, siyasal, kültürel haklarını ve çıkarlarını korumak ve geliştirmek için mücadele verir. Bu Mücadelenin hedeflerini, kadın kitlemizin genel taleplerine ve değişik toplum kesimlerinde yer alan kadınlarımızın çıkar ve istemlerine göre tayin eder.

Kadının çalışmasını kocasının iznine bağlayan Medeni Kanun'un 159. maddesi başta olmak üzere, kadının üretime ve toplumsal hayata katılmasını engelleyen her türlü yasa maddesi kaldırılmalıdır.

Kadını aile ve toplum hayatında erkekten geri planda gören ve aynı zamanda Anayasa'nın kadın - erkek eşitliği hükmüne de ters düşen yasa maddeleri kaldırılmalıdır.

Kadınlarımızı okur yazar kılmak, eğitim düzeylerini yükseltmek, eğitimde fırsat eşitliğini sağlamak ve mesleki eğitimin çağdaş koşullara uygun düzenlenmesi ve geliştirilmesi için gerekli tüm tedbirleri öncelikle alınmalıdır.

- 299 Fuhuş kesin olarak yasaklanmalı, teşvik edenlerin cezaları ağırlaştırılmalıdır.
- 300 Gazetemiz, demokratik kadın hareketinde yanlış eğilimlerin belirlediği günümüz koşullarında demokratik kadın hareketinin güçlendirilmesi ve geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunmak için çıkmaktadır. Bunun için, gazete olarak bir yandan İKD içindeki demokratik kadın hareketimize zarar verici, yanlış eğilimlerin üzerine giderek düzeltilmesi için çalışılacak, diğer yandan da kadınların genel toplumsal çıkarlarının gerçekleştirilmesi yolunda çaba gösterecektir. Bu anlamda gazetemiz kadın hareketimizde önemli bir boşluğu dolduracaktır.
- 302 Usulsuz bir yeterlik önergisiyle konuşmalar kesilmiş, önergeden önce konuşmak için adını yazdıran üyelere söz hakkı verilmemiştir.
- 303 kendi siyasi çizgisinin dışındaki kadroları üyelikten ihraç etmeye başladığı
- 304 Bugün Türkiye'de çeşitli kesimlerin kadın dernekleri vardır. Kurulan ilk kadın dernekleri, vakitlerini boşa geçirmemek için kurulan masa başı dernekleridir. Tabii bu arada çaylı, içkili toplantıları düzenleyen hep bu masa başı dernekleridir. Yerel planda kurulan kadın dernekleri ise çizgi örgütleri olarak kurulmuş ve bu niteliğinden dolayı demokratik kadın hareketini geliştirici olamamışlardır. 1975 yılında kurulan İlerici Kadınlar Derneği (İKD) demokratik kadın derneği konusunda ilk ciddi adımı atarak, kadın kitlelerini bünyesinde toplama yolunda çalışmalar yaptı. Bunda da belli ölçülerde başarılı oldu. Ne var ki kadın örgütlenmesinin demokratik kitlesel özünü kabul ettiklerini savunan İKD merkez yöneticileri, pratikte hiç de böyle davranmadılar. Merkez yöneticileri, İKD içinde kendi görüşlerinde olmayanlara karşı itici ve sekter tavırlar almışlar, böyle bir yaklaşım onları şube feshetmeye ve kadın potansiyelinin var olduğu yerlerde "bizim görüşümüzdekiler yok" diye şube açtırmamaya kadar götürmüştür. Bütün bu olumsuzluklarına rağmen biz Kadın Dayanışması gazetesi olarak İKD içinde çalışmalarımızı sürdürerek, İKD Merkez yöneticilerinin kadın örgütlenmesinin demokratik, kitlesel niteliğine

ters düşen bu eğilimleri ve genelinde kadın hareketimizin güçlendirilmesi yolunda çaba sarfetmeyi demokratik kadın hareketimiz açısından yararlı görmekteyiz.

CHAPTER V

- 305 Kadın hareketi de yeni bir atılım içindedir. Partimiz, bu hareketi her yönüyle desteklemekle görevlidir, sorumludur. İlerici kadınlarımız büyük savaşıma atılıyor. Çok çetin bir savaştır bu. Toplumun yarısı kadın. Ezici çoğunluğu korkunç ezgiler altındadır. Burjuva anayasasına bakmayın, somut durum kadının eşitsiz durumda olduğunu ortaya koyuyor. Komünistleri, partimizi bu alanda büyük savaşım bekliyor. Partimize, atılgan, aktif, bilinçli kadın yoldaşlar, komünistler yetiştirelim.
- 306 Kadın işçi ve emekçilerin sorunları genel olarak erkek işçi ve emekçilerin sorunlarından ayrılmaz. Ama kadın emekçilerin de kendilerine özgü sorunları olduğu açıktır. Bu düzeydeki savaşım birbiriyle bağlı olarak yürütülmektedir. Kadın işçi ve emekçilerin başta gelen sorunları: eşit işe eşit ücret uygulanmasını sağlamak, analık hakkını korumak, harbe, militarizme, faşizme karşı savaşmaktır. Kadın emekçilerin, bu gibi genel ve kendilerine özgü sorunları etrafında özerk derneklerde ve sendikalarda örgütlenmelerini, onların savaşımını desteklemek partimizin amaçlarından biridir. TKP, kadın emekçileri parti saflarından örgütleme sorununu daha önemle ele alacaktır.
- 307 Kadın hareketi genel bir yükselme, hızlı bir örgütlenme ve bilinçlenme süreci içindedir. Bu oluşum, işçi sınıfı hareketindeki gelişmelere yol açan yasallıklarla, nesnel koşullardaki değişimlerle ve TKP'nin son yıllardaki atılımlarıyla sıkı sıkıya bağlıdır. ... Daha düne kadar kadın hareketi sayıları 20'yi aşkın örgütte sözde temsil ediliyordu. Ama bu örgütler, burjuva kadınlarının elinde balocu, kermesçi, "hayırsever" örgütleri olmanın ötesine geçmemişti. ... Kadın hareketindeki gelişmenin en iyi ölçütlerinden biri kadınların örgütlülük düzeyidir. Kadın işçilerin sendikalara girmeleri, aktif görevler almaları hızlı bir gelişim gösteriyor. Özellikle son yıllarda, bu gelişme

bağımsız, yığınsal bir kadın örgütlenmesine de yol açtı. Bu örgütlenme, ülkenin birçok bölgesine hızla yayılıyor; fabrikalarda, bürolarda ve emekçi mahallelerinde örgütler oluşuyor. Örgütlü kadınların çoğu işçi ve emekçi ücretlilerdir. Eve iş alan, evlere işe giden kadınların yanı sıra işçi ve emekçi eşleri - ev kadınları arasında örgütlere katılma oranı yükseliyor. Milyonlarca köylü kadın için de, yani emekçi kadınların en çileli, en ezilen, en örgütsüz kadın yığınları arasında da örgütlenmenin ilk adımları atılıyor. Bu alanda daha yapılması gereken çok şey vardır.

308 Türkiye kadın hareketinin içinde yer alan birçok kadın örgütü arasında, İKD, RPP kadın kolları, legal sosyalist partilerin tabanlarındaki kadın üyeler arasında sürekli bir eylem birliği oluşturma çabaları beliriyor. ... Türkiye kadın hareketi, bir yandan uluslararası kadın hareketinin örgütlerinden, DDKF'nun çalışmalarından, deneyimlerinden esinleniyor. Bir yandan da başta Sovyetler Birliği olmak üzere reel sosyalizmde kadınların elde ettikleri kazanımlar kadın hareketinin gelişmesinde başlı başına olumlu rol oynuyor.

309 Türkiye kadın hareketinin örgütlenmesinde bir dizi zorluklar da vardır. Tarihsel, toplumsal birçok neden, kadın hareketinin gelişmesinde zorluklar yaratıyor. Emperyalizme bağımlılığın, foedal kalıntıların sonuçları sonuçları kadınların üzerinde bir kat daha etkili oluyor. İşsizlik, eşitsizlik ve eğitimsizlik olguları kadınların sırtına bir kat daha büyük bir ağırlıkla çöküyor. Gelenekler, kör inanışlar, yüzyılların baskısı sonucu doğan bağımlılık ve yükümlülükler, kadınların toplumsal yaşamdaki aktifliklerini köstekliyor. Bunların yanı sıra, kadın örgütlenmesi konusunda kalıcı ve başarılı deneyimlerin olmaması, bazı pratik zorluklar da gelişmenin daha hızlı olmasını engelliyor. (...) Kadın hareketinin gelişip güçlenmesindeki engeller yalnızca bunlarla sınırlı değildir. Kadın sorunu ile ilgili yanlışlar ve kadın hareketinin örgütleri karşısındaki ters tutumlar gelişimi engelliyor. Kadın sorunu karşısındaki yanlışları iki grupta toplayabiliriz: Birinci, kadın sorununu yok sayan, küçümseyen, işçi ve emekçilerin savaşını "böleceğini" savunarak kadın örgütlerine karşı

çıkan sol sekte görüştür. Bu görüşe karşı savaşım verildi ve verilmektedir. İkincisi, kadın sorununu kabul etmekle birlikte, onu sınıfsal temelinden koparan yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşım, kadın-erkek karşıtlığını temel alan burjuva feminizmini ve kadın sorununu sömürü düzenine dokunmadan yapılacak düzenlemelerle çözme yanlısı her çeşit oportünist, reformist görüşü içeriyor. Komünistler bu iki yanlıyla savaşıyorlar. Kadın hareketinde Marksçı-Leninçi görüşleri egemen kılıyorlar. Kadının kurtuluşu, işçi ve emekçilerin, genel olarak tüm halkın kurtuluşundan ayrı düşünülemez; aynı zamanda tüm halkın kurtuluşu da nüfusun yarısını ve çalışanların büyük bölümünü oluşturan kadınların örgütlü katkısı olmadan başarılabilir. Kadın sorunlarının çözümü, savaşımı ulusal bağımsızlık, ileri demokrasi savaşımından ayrı olarak ele alınamaz. Bununla birlikte, ancak somut ve dirimsel, ertelenemez istemlerden yola çıkan bir örgütlenme ve eylem programı ile güçlü bir kadın hareketi yaratılabilir. Ve ancak, böyle somut istemler uğrunda savaşan kadın yığınları çözümün köklü toplumsal değişimlere, siyasal egemenlik sorununa bağlı olduğunu kavrayabilir.

- 310 Kadın hareketinin yığınsal olarak örgütlenmesi sorununda da temelden yanlış eğilimler vardır. Kimi legal sosyalist parti yöneticilerinden, her boydan ve soydan sapık akımlara kadar uzanan çevreler, kadın hareketinin bağımsız örgütlenmesine karşı çıkıyorlar. Bu örgütleri kendi partilerinin ya da fraksiyonlarının bir uzantısı durumuna getirmeye çalışıyorlar. TKP üyelerinin, örgütlerinin savaşımı sonucu bu amaçlarına ulaşamayınca da, kadın hareketinin özerk, yığınsal örgütüne karşı antikomünizme, anti-sovyetizme başvuruyorlar.
- 311 Sosyalizm doğrultusunda ülkenin demokratikleştirilmesi ve emperyalizmin geriletilmesi için yapacağı mücadeleyi parti, aşağıda somut öneriler biçiminde somutlaştırır
- 312 Yasalardaki antidemokratik hükümlerin kaldırılarak kadınların yaşam ve çalışma koşullarının kolaylaştırılmasını, çalışan kadınların ana olma durumlarından doğan zorlukları karşılayıcı, işlerliği olan etkin tedbirlerin alınmasını, emekçi kadınlar için eşit

iş e eşit ücret kuralının titizlikle uygulanmasını, kadınların kamu işlerinin her kademesinde, toplum hayatında yer alıp toplumun gidişinde aktif rol oynamalarının sağlanmasını, emeklilik süresinin kapitalizmin kadını yıpratıcı yaşam koşulları dikkate alınarak yeniden saptanmasını öngörür.

313 Maalesef hayır. TİP'de özel bir çaba harcanarak kadın üye sayısında bir artış sağlanıyor. Aday üyeler arasında kadınların oranı üyeler arasında olduğundan daha yüksek. Ancak biz, kadın koluna gerek görmedik ve kurmadık. Görseydik kurardık. Kadınlar arasında örgütlenmelere gerek vardır. Bu bakımdan parti içersinde bir iş bölümüne gidilebilir; parti ekipler halinde çalışıyor, kadın üyeleri kadın meseleleriyle ilgilenmeye görevlendirebiliriz. Ama evvela iyi bir parti kişiliği kazandırmak gerekir. Bunun için de kadın kolu yerine aday üyeleri doğrudan partinin eğitim çalışmalarına dahil etmek yoluna gidiyoruz.

314 Doğumdan iki ay önce başlayıp iki ay sonrasına kadar her anneye tam ücretli izin hakkı tanınacaktır. İşçi kadınların altı yaşına kadarki çocukları için kreşler ev çocuk yuvaları açılacaktır.

...
İşe alınmada ve ücret almada cinsiyet, yaş, din, dil, ırk, mezhep, politik inanç ve sabıkalı ayrımı gözetmek yasaklanacaktır.
Eşit iş e eşit ücret ödenecektir.

315 Kadın sorunu, toplumsal yapıya bağlı ve bu yapının değişmesiyle, genel olarak sömürü düzeninin kalkmasıyla çözüme kavuşturulabilecek bir sorundur. Böyle olmakla birlikte, kadının sınıfsal konumundan doğan sorunları yanında, bir de kadın olmasına özgü sorunları bulunduğundan, kendi özel sorunları ve çıkarları için kendi aralarında örgütlenmeleri ve toplumsal mücadeleye girişmeleri hem doğal, hem de gereklidir. ... Sınıflı toplumlarda kadının toplumsal statüsü, hak ve özgürlükleri sorunu, cinsler arasında biyolojik ayrımların bir sonucu değil, sömürü düzeninin sonucudur. (...) kapitalist toplumlarda ve bu arada ülkemizde kadınların sorunlarının ve isteklerinin neler olabileceğini ve olduğunu da açıklıyor: Eşit iş e eşit ücret; iş'te, meslekte ilerleme olanaklarında eşitlik; ev ve çalışma

yaşamı dışında kamusal faaliyetlere, politikaya katılma haklarına sahip olma; ev yaşamında da işleri erkeklerle paylaşma ve erkeklerle hak eşitliğine sahip olup ona bağımlılıktan kurtulma, gibi.

316 Bu bakımdan, bu sorunun çözülmesi mücadelesi, kadınların kurtuluşu hareketi, doğru çizgide, işçi ve emekçi sınıfların demokrasi ve sosyalizm mücadelesiyle uyumlu, onunla bütünleştirilerek yürütülürse ancak olumlu ve verimli sonuçlar elde edebilir. Ayrıca, kadın kitlesi eş türden bir kitle olmadığı için, sınıfsal ayrımlar bu kitleyi de ayrıştırdığı için, asıl işçi ve emekçi sınıflardan kadınların, özellikle çalışan kadınların bu mücadelede yer almasının önemi büyüktür.

317 İlerici kadın hareketi, burjuva ve küçük-burjuva kadın hareketlerinden temelden ayrılır. "Feminist" adıyla bilinen bu hareketler, kadınların mücadelesini politik olmayan, ev işleri, çocuk bakımı, kadın-erkek ilişkileri gibi alanlarda sınırlanmış taleplere indirger. Bu hareketler, sosyalist ülkelerde bu sorunların nasıl çözüldüğünü gözardı ederler, sosyalist ülkelerin bu konuda kazandıkları başarıları özellikle gizlemeye çalışırlar. Sosyalist ülkelerde tüm emekçiler üzerindeki sömürü ve baskı ortadan kaldırıldığı için, kadınlar gerçekten eşit ve özgürdüler. Kadın emeğinin katmerli sömürsü yok olmuş, öğrenimde eşitlik sağlanmış, ana ve çocuk sağlığı güvence altına alınmıştır. Sosyalist düzenin yetkinleşmesi sürecine uygun şekilde, aile ilişkilerinde, kadın-erkek ilişkilerinde varolan sorunların çözümlenmesinde gelişme gözlenmektedir. Kadın, politik hayata, toplumsal hayatın bütün alanlarına katılma olanağını rahatça bulabilmektedir. Toplumda tüm emekçilerin hak ve özgürlükleri için verilen demokrasi mücadelesi ile uyumlu, onunla bütünleşerek verildiği sürece, kadınların kurtuluş mücadelesi de sonuç verici olacaktır. Sorunun bütünüyle çözümlenmesi ise, işçi sınıfının ve onun politik örgütünün tüm çalışanları sömürü ve baskıdan kurtarmak için verdikleri mücadelenin başarıya ulaşmasıyla olacaktır. Temel toplumsal sistem bir kez değiştikten, sömürü düzeni ortadan kalktıktan sonra, toplum yapısının bütün kesimlerinin, bütün

kurumlarının tam sosyalistleşmesi bir süreç içinde gerçekleşecektir. Sosyalist sistemin kökleşmesi ve gelişmesiyle birlikte insanların sosyalist kişiliği de gelişip güçlenecektir. Böylece kadın hakları ve özgürlüğü sorunu bütün boyutlarıyla tam bir çözüme kavuşacaktır.

- 318 İşçiler ve tüm çalışanlar arasında cinsiyet, yaş ve bunun gibi ayrılıklardan doğan ücret farklılıkları aynı işte aynı ücret şeklinde giderilecektir.
- 319 Kadın ve çocuk işçilerin çalışma şartları her bakımdan kolaylaştırılacaktır.
- 320 Sömürücü toplumların yarattığı kadın-erkek eşitsizliklerinin giderilmesi ve kadınların ev hayatının köleleştirici etkisinden kurtarılıp yaratıcı güçlerin geliştirilmesi sağlanacak organizmasına zararlı alanlarda çalışmalarını önlenecek ve kadın - erkek ayrımı gözetilmeden, eşit işe eşit ücret prensibi uygulanacaktır. İnsanlık onurunu ayaklar altına alan fuhuş kesin olarak yasaklanacak, fuhuşun tuzağından kurtulan kadınların onurlu bir hayata kavuşmaları için iş sağlanacak, fuhuşu yaratan maddi şartlar kaldırılacaktır.
- 321 Kadın sorunu da diğer sorunlardan soyutlanamaz. Böylesine zorbaca; insanlıkdışı horlamanın, sömürünün nedeni nedir?.. Görüldü: kapitalist üretim biçimidir. Öyleyse bütün ezilen, sömürülen tüm insanların kurtuluşu gibi kadının kurtuluşu da <üretim araçlarının toplumsal mülkiyete dönüştürülmesinde> yani, <sosyalizmin kurulmasında>dır. Öyleyse kadınlara, ama en çok ta işçi kadınlara düşen acil görev sosyalizm mücadelesine katılmaktır. Sosyalizm, işçi sınıfının ve tüm emekçilerin kurtuluşunu sağlarken, kadınların kurtuluşunu da sağlayacaktır.
- 322 ev yaşamında da işleri erkeklerle paylaşma ve erkeklerle hak eşitliğine sahip olup ona bağımlılıktan kurtulma
- 323 Tüm kadınların çıkarları için vereceğimiz her örgütlü ve tutarlı mücadele, bizi burjuvazi ve onların reformist uzantılarıyla karşı karşıya getirecektir. Bundan dolayıdır ki kadın-erkek tüm

çalışanların ortak çıkarları ve birliğini zedeleyecek davranış ve eylemlerden kaçınmak dikkat edeceğimiz en önemli nokta olmalıdır. ... Dünyada ve yurdumuzda gerici güçler, gerçek kadın eşitliği için verilen ve verilecek mücadelelerin kendileri için zararlı olacak sonuçlarını çoktan farketmiş ve çift yönlü bir karşı mücadeleye girişmişlerdir. Bir yandan kadınların toplumdaki geri ve eşitsiz durumunu meziyet gibi göstermek için gazete,dergi, roman, radyo ve televizyon gibi kitle haberleşme araçlarını alabildiğince kullanırlarken, öte yandan kadınların bu geri ve eşitsiz durumunun vazgeçilmez olduğunu ücretli bilim adamlarına sahte teorilerle ispat ettirmeye çalışmaktadırlar. Bunlarla da yetinmeyip en son tutunacak bir dal daha bulmuşlardır. Kadın sorununa sınıf açısından bakmayan, soyut "kadın hakları" ve "kadın-erkek" eşitliği savunucusu hareketler ve dernekler işte bu gayretlerin sonucudur.

- 325 Yüzyıllardır her türlü eğitimden, öğrenimden yoksun bırakılmış emekçi kadınlar, halkımızın kara gününde canını bile esirgemezken, hakim sınıfların kadınları işgal kuvvetlerinin düzenledikleri balolarda boy göstermişlerdi. Balkan ve I. Dünya savaşları sırasında kadınların çalışma hayatına girmesi, Kurtuluş Savaşında erkeklerle omuz omuza mücadele etmesi, yeni kurulan Cumhuriyet'te kadınlara bazı haklar verilmesini sağladı.
- 326 20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren ve özellikle Cumhuriyetten günümüze kadar çok sayıda kadın derneği kurulmuştur. Bunların büyük bir çoğunluğu kısa ömürlü olmuştur. Ancak hepsinin ortak özellikleri şunlardır: Bu derneklerin yöneticileri, kurucuları ve yöneldiği kitle istisnasız egemen sınıfların kadınlarından oluşmaktadır. Bunlardan hiçbiri yığınsal bir nitelik kazanamamıştır. Bugün hala faaliyet göstermekte olan 27 kadın örgütünün, geçmişteki benzerleri gibi eylem ve felsefesinin özü, gelişmiş kapitalist ülkelerde görülen burjuva feminist akımıyla aynıdır ... Ancak yıllardır sürdürdükleri mücadelenin temel niteliği, kadınların eşitlik için verdikleri mücadeleyi, toplumsal ve ekonomik temelinden soyutlamak olmuştur ... Yaptıkları çalışmaların çoğunluğu, son derece az sayıda gence burs, kredi bağlamak,

fakir çocuklara ve kadınlara elbise, yiyecek vermek ve daha çok da lüks otel salonlarında çaylar, balolar düzenlemek olmuştur.

- 327 Kapitalizmin insafsız sömürüsüne tabi olan kadın, her zaman kapitalizme karşı haklı potansiyel tepki taşımıştır. Kadının duyduğu bu tepkiden önceleri gelişmiş birçok kapitalist ülkede olduğu gibi öncelikle burjuvazi ve onun reformist uzantıları yararlanmış, kadınların örgütlenmesinde bugün feminist dediğimiz kadın örgütleri ve hareketleri doğmuştur.
- 329 Bu tip örgütlenmeler aslında egemen sınıfların yüzyıllardır ileri sürdükleri 'kadın kadındır' gibi onu bambaşka bir yaratık olarak görme, kadını ayrı ve aşağı bir cins olarak gösteren düşünce ve eylemlerine haklılık kazandırmıştır. Feminist kadın hareketi ve örgütlenmesi de kadın-erkek eşitliğini, erkeğin yaptığı herşeyi kadının da yapması gerekir gibi basit ve kaba bir eşitlik düzeyine indirgediği için, kendisine yandaş alacağı yerde, hedef hatta düşman olarak erkekleri seçmiştir. Böylelikle kadınların sosyal kurtuluşları için biraraya gelerek örgütlenme isteğini çarpıtmakta, ona yanlış hedefler göstererek, bu mücadeleyi toplumdaki diğer ilerici ve sosyal güçlerin mücadelesinden soyutlamaktadır. Bu yüzdendir ki feminist anlayıştaki bu tip örgütlenmeler gerek ülkemizde olsun, gerekse bütün dünyada olsun, elle tutulur hiçbir ciddi başarı ve kazanım elde edememişlerdir.
- 330 Kadınlar arasındaki örgütlenme, onların somut ve acil gereksinimlerine cevap verebilmelidir. Eşit işe eşit ücret, her işyerinde kreş, vb., pek çok talep, yalnızca bir takım genel isteklerin papağanca tekrarlanması şeklinde değil, somut içeriği ile anlatılmalıdır. Kadınların bu düzende ne denli ezildiklerini, aşağılandıklarını söylemek yeterli olmayacağı gibi, onları yalnızca mücadeleye çağırarak da yetmez. Bugün kadınların pekçok haklı talebini, burjuva reformistlerinin de sözde savunmaları, bizi bu taleplerden vazgeçmeye itmemelidir. Tersine bugün bir talep, yarın bir başka ilkesi ile mücadele eden kadın kitleleri kimin kendilerinden yana olduklarını kendi deneyleri ile öğrenecekler ve

reformist ve feministlerin maskelerini düşüreceklerdir.

- 331 Bu, mevcut devlet ve toplum düzeni zemininde, kadınların erkeklerle eşitliğinin, yani kadının gücünün ve yeteneklerinin yettiği tüm alanlarda faaliyetinin ve erkeklerle medenî, hukuksal ve politik açıdan tam eşitliğinin söz konusu olduğu tüm alanlar için geçerlidir. ... Bunun yanı sıra proleter kadın dünyası, proleter erkek dünyası ile el ele, çalışan kadını fiziki ve ahlaki dejenerasyondan koruyan ve anne ve çocukların eğiticisi olarak yeteneklerini güvenceye alan tüm önlem ve kurumlar uğruna mücadele etme özel çıkarına sahiptir. Ayrıca proleter kadınlar, erkek sınıf ve kader yoldaşları ile birlikte, iki cinsin de tam ekonomik ve düşünsel bağımsızlığını uygun sosyal kurumlar aracılığıyla olanaklı kılan bir durum yaratmak için, toplumun temelden temelden değişimi için mücadeleye yükümlüdür.

Yani, sözkonusu olan yalnızca burjuva kadın hareketinin hedefi olan kadının erkekle eşitliğini mevcut devlet ve toplum düzeninde gerçekleştirmek değil, bunun ötesinde, insanı insana, yani aynı zamanda bir cinsi diğerine bağımlı kılan tüm engelleri ortadan kaldırmaktır. Kadın sorununun bu çözümü, sosyal sorunun çözümüyle denk düşer.

- 332 Oysa, kadınların kurtuluş mücadelesi, genel olarak toplumun kurtuluş mücadelesinden ayrı ele alınamaz. Kadın ve erkeğin sömürden kurtulması, sömürünün ortadan kalkmasına sınıksız bağlıdır. Bugün sömürünün kalktığı ülkelerin kadınlarının durumu da bunu doğrulamaktadır. Tüm çalışan sınıf ve katmanların mücadelesinin başarıya ulaşmasının temel koşulu olan, işçi sınıfı mücadelesinin doğrultusunda, onunla uyum içinde olması şartı, kadın örgütlenmesi için de doğrudur. İşçi sınıfı hareketinden ayrı düşmemek, kadın örgütlenmesinin ve hareketinin doğru yolda olmasının ve başarıya ulaşmasının güvencesidir. Ancak bu örgütlenme, ezilen ve sömürülen milyonların örgütlenmesinden farklı bir nitelik taşıyor. Kadınların yüzyıllardır süren edilgenliği, toplum hayatından uzaklığı, içine kapanıklığı, sessizliği, aile ve ev hayatının dar sınırları içinde kalmış yaşamı, onun örgütlü mücadeleye çekilmesinde özgül yöntemler geliştirilmesini zorunlu kılıyor.

- 333 Neleri talep etmemiz kadar nasıl ettiğimiz de önemlidir. Böylelikle kadınlar bu talepler için mücadelede, yeni haklar elde edemeseler bile mücadele yöntemlerini öğrenecekler ve toplumsal-politik yaşamda daha etkin olacaklardır. Kaldı ki, bu haklar kararlı bir mücadele ile elde edilebilir de. Böylelikle, kadının toplumsal yaşama katılması ve ilerlemesi için daha geniş olanaklar yaratılabilir. Kadınların örgütlenmesini reddetme, bu alanı, kadınları bütünüyle egemen sınıfların eline, terketmek demektir. Üstelik kadınların mücadele içine çekilmesi, kadın-erkek emekçilerin birliğini sağlamada, işçi sınıfının mücadelesinde kadın emekçilerin deneysiz ve ürkekliğinden patronların yararlanmasını önlemede, emekçi eşlerinin toplumsal mücadeleye çekilmesinde önemli bir rolü vardır. Kadınların sosyal kurtuluşu elbette salt kadın örgütlerinin mücadelesi ile olacak değildir. Onlar yer alabilecekleri tüm ekonomik, demokratik ve mesleki örgütlerde görev üstlenmeli, bu örgütlerde kadınların daha aktif olmaları için gerekli tedbirleri almalıdırlar. Doğru bir kadın örgütlenmesi, çalışan çalışmayan tüm kadınları içermelidir. Nihayet, doğru bir kadın örgütlenmesi bir yandan kadınların özgül taleplerini savunurken bunun sömürüye karşı ortak mücadelenin bir parçası olduğunu hiç akıldan çıkarmamalıdır.
- 334 Onun [kadın örgütlenmesinin] yerini ve görevini ne küçümsemek, ne de büyütme gereklidir.
- 335 Pahalılık ve enflasyona karşı mücadelede geniş kampanyalar düzenleyerek onları seferber etmek; pahalılığın nedenlerini sergilemek; ucuz ve elverişli gıda pazarlarının açılmasını teşvik etmek; mahalle pazarlarının ve et tanzim satış yerlerinin belediyenin etkin kontrolü altında daha ucuz ve kaliteli gıda satışı yapmalarını sağlamak, bakkaldan bakkala , semtten semte ve şehirden şehire değişen yiyecek ve giyecek fiyatlarının ve kiraların dondurulması ve bunlar üzerinde etkin fiyat kontrolü yapabilmek için kadınları örgütlemek; onları, günümüz Türkiye'sinde acil bir sorun olan çocuklarının can güvenliğini sağlamada, giderek faşizme karşı mücadelede aktif kılmak.

- 338 Çalışan kadınların, anne ve emekçi olarak topluma iki yönlü katkıda buldukları göz önüne alınarak bazı haklar ve ayrıcalıklar tanınmasını kabul eder görünenler bakın nasıl da lütuflarda bulunuyorlar. Çalışma kadınlar , isterlerse 20 yılda emekli olabilecekler, AMA...
- 5000 iş günü prim ödemiş olmak kaydıyla,
 - 18 yaşından önceki çalışma süreleri gözönüne alınmaksızın, -%70 yerine, %60 oranında emekli maaşı almayı kabul etmeleri şartıyla...
- ... Eskisi gibi 25 yılda emekli olmayı tercih ettirecek biçimde kanun değişikliği yapmak düpedüz aldatmacadır, göz boyayıcılığıdır.
- 339 Ev hizmet işçilerinin, ücretli izinleri, yaşlılık, sağlık sigortaları olmadığı gibi ayrıca bir günde 10-12 saat çalıştırılıp bir haftalık işi yapmaktadırlar. Karşılığında ise bir günlük masraflarını bile karşılayamayacak kadar düşük bir ücret almaktadır ... Öğle tatilleri bile olmayan, yemek arasında fazla oturduğu takdirde akşam eve her zamankinden daha geç gitmek zorunda kalan bu emekçi kadınların sorunları çözüm bekliyor.
- 340 - Sigorta hakkının verilmesi
- Kadınların iş kanunu kapsamına alınması
 - Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu yasasının değiştirilerek eve işe giden kadınların sağlık, analık, kaza, ihtiyarlık sigortası kapsamına alınması,
 - Sigortalanmak için eve işe giden Kadınların yerel emek kooperatiflerinde örgütlenmesi.
- 341 Üniversitelerde okuyan öğrencilerin %50 si kadındır. Çalışmada da öyle..Fabrika ve büro emekçilerininin %51'i kırsal kesimde ise çalışanların %52'si kadın. Artık kadının yapamayacağı herhangi bir iş olmadığı gibi kadına karşı da önyargı kalkmıştır ... Çalışma yaşında olan sağlıklı kadınların % 92'si aktif olarak ülkenin gelişmesinde katkıda bulunabiliyor ... Sovyetler Birliği'nde kadın bir yandan dünyanın ilk kadın kaptanı, ilk sefiresi ve ilk kadın kozmonotu gibi özellikleri kazanırken ... Devlet,

kadına toplumda gereken yeri verebilmek için ev işlerini hafifletmekte, çocuk bakımını üstlenmekte ve bu toplumsal işlevinde kadına yardımcı olmaktadır. Artık ev işleri elektrikli aletler ve ortak lokantalar yoluyla ileri derecede kolaylaştırdığı için kadının bütün gücünü almıyor.

- 342 Ellerin vefalı türküsünü duyan avuçlar
Ellerini bir daha unutamaz bacım
Ellerin büyükçe biraz
Ellerin bir hayli yıpranmış,
Yani en akıllı alınlar gibi geniş
Kırışik ve harikulade güzel,
...
Sofran açık bütün halkları
Ekmeğinden , şarabından tatmayan var mı?
Senin gibi ev hanımı dünya dünya olalı görülmedi
Geç endam aynasının karşısına
Seyret bacım tepeden kendini
Göreyim yılbaşı ağacı gibi süslendiğini
- 343 Çeşitli kesimlerden gelen kadınları çatısı
altında toplayan böyle bir derneğin temel işlevi
kadınları demokrasi mücadelesine katılma
doğrultusunda eğitmek, bilinçlendirmek, diğer
yandan da kadınların toplumsal hak ve çıkarları
doğrultusunda mücadele etmektir. Dernek
kadınların (analığın korunması, eşit işe eşit
ücret, kreş, vb.) sosyal hakları için doğrudan
yönlendiricilik yaparken, ekonomik hak ve
çıkartlarını savunmaları için işçi kadınları
sendikalarına, emekçi kadınları mesleki
demokratik kitle örgütlerine yöneltir.
- 344 Kadını ezilen cins yapan sömürü düzenidir.
Kadınların sorunlarını düzenin koşullarında
aramayan bazı yanlış görüşler 'erkeklere savaş'
ilan ediyorlar. Oysa mücadele edilmesi gereken
sömürü düzenidir, sömürücülerdir. Çünkü sömürü
düzeninde kadın-erkek bütün emekçiler ezilir. Tek
fark kadınların çifte sömürü altında olması, daha
fazla ezilmemesidir. Hayatın her alanında kadın-
erkek eşitliği ancak sömürsüz bir toplumda
sağlanabilir.
- 345 Kadınlar biliyorlar ki, işçiler ve emekçiler
sadece emeğin kurtuluşu, insanlığın barış ve
kardeşliği için savaşmakla kalmıyorlar. Onlar
yürüttükleri bu savaşla kadınların özgürlüğü için

gerekli şartları da hazırlıyorlar. Bu nedenle, işçi sınıfının ve emekçi halkımızın verdiği BARIŞ, DEMOKRASİ, EŞİTLİK mücadelesi, kadınların ilgisini çekiyor. Demokrasiye yönelik kadın hareketi şekilleniyor ve güç kazanıyor. Bunun nedeni ise açık; sınıflı toplumlar kadının insanlığına ve onuruna büyük zararlar verdi. Onlara kölelikten, ezilmişlikten ve acıdan başka bir şey vaatmeyen sömürü düzeni ve emperyalizm kadınları tüketmeye, onları bedeni ve ahlaki çöküntüye sürüklemeye devam ediyor. Haksız savaşlar kadınların maddi ve manevi bütün değerlerini gaspediyor, yutmaya devam ediyor. Savaşlar onların kocalarını, çocuklarını, kardeşlerini ellerinden alıyor. Savaşların açtığı yaraları sarmak kadınlara düşüyor. Babasız çocukların yetiştirilmesi, yıkılan dünyanın onarılması kadın emeği ve onun sonsuz fedakarlığı üzerinde mümkün olabiliyor. Kadınların kurtuluşunun, emekçilerin kurtuluşundan ayrı olmadığını söyledik. Bunun için kadınlar, kadınlıklarından doğan sorunlarını çözmek üzere bir araya gelmelidirler. Barış için, özgürlük için, eşitlik ve kardeşlik için mücadelede "varım" diyen tüm kadınlarımızın tek bir çatı altında toplanmaları gerek. Güçlerini birleştirmeleri ve bu birlikten doğan güçlerini işçilerin, emekçilerin güçlerine katmaları gerek...

346 Her şeyi alınır satılır mal haline getiren sömürü düzeni, iffet ve onuru da «pazara sürüyor." Her şeye bir fiyat biçen bu düzen analığa, kadınlığa onun iffetine ve namusuna da kendince bir fiyat biçiyor. Yoz ve gerici kültür bu batağı derinleştiriyor. Ve içine sadece emekçi kadınları değil, genel olarak tüm çalışan kadın kitlesini çekmeye çalışıyor. Nice genç kız ve kadın, kendi geleceğinin onurlu savaşçısı olmak yerine düzenin kuklası ve parlak vitrinlerin devamlı seyircileri olarak şartlandırılıyor.

347 Son yıllarda kadınlar, ekonomik-demokratik mücadeleye büyük ölçülerde katılıyorlar. Ev işlerinin ve toplumun diğer her alanda yüklediği baskılar altında ezilen kadınlar, işyerinde de patronlar tarafından sömürülüyorlar. Kadınların toplum içinde bulunduğu farklı konum, onların kapitalist toplumda verilen ekonomik-demokratik mücadelede erkeklerden daha geride olmalarını getiriyor. Bu farklı durum da kadınların ayrı

örgütlenme gereksinimini doğuruyor. Bu koşulların ortaya çıkardığı, kadınların demokratik, kitlesel derneği, kadın-erkek ezilen kitlelerin daha iyi bir yaşam kurma uğraşlarını da güçlendiriyor. Genelde verilen demokrasi mücadelesini bölücü değil, tam tersine, ileriye götürücüdür. Demokratik planda kurulan bir kadın derneğinin gözetmesi gereken en önemli noktalar; hayatın her alanında kadınların acil sorunlarına eğilmek ve derneğin demokratik yapısı ve kitleselliğini korumaktır. Dernek, anti-faşist olan ve demokrasi saflarında yer alan tüm kadınları bağırında taşımalıdır. Bu durum, aynı zamanda derneğin kitleselliğini getirir. Yoksa salt belli görüşlerdeki kadınlara açık olan, diğer görüşlere karşı itici tavırlar alan dernek yöneticileri, özünde demokratik kadın hareketinin gelişmesine sekte vururlar.

- 348 1- 8 Mart Uluslararası Emekçi Kadınlar Günü olarak yasallaştırılmalıdır.
- 2- İşçi memur ayrımı yapılmaksızın tüm çalışanlara grevli toplu sözleşmeli sendikalaşma hakkı tanınmalıdır.
- 3- 8 saatlik iş günü her yerde uygulanmalıdır.
- 4- Hafta sonu tatili her yerde iki gün olmalıdır.
- 5- Zorunlu olarak fazla mesai yasaklanmalı, adil bir ücret sistemi getirilmelidir.
- 6- Kadın - Erkek ayrımı yapılmadan eşit işe eşit ücret ödenmelidir.
- 7- Kadın sağlığına zarar veren alanlarda kadınların çalıştırılması yasaklanmalıdır. Bu alanlar saptanırken bilimsel ve teknik gelişmeler dikkatle gözönünde bulundurulmalı ve konuyu düzenleyen mevzuat sık sık yenilenmelidir.
- 8- Kadınların gece çalıştırılmaları yasaklanmalıdır. Gece çalışmasının zorunlu olduğu alanlarda çalışma koşulları iyileştirilmelidir.
- 9- Kadınlara doğum öncesi 6 haftalık, doğum sonrası 6 aylık ücretli izin hakkı tanınmalıdır.
- 10- İş yerlerinde ve her belediye sınırı içerisinde çalışanların okul öncesi ve okul

çağındaki çocukları için yeteri kadar kreş, ana okulu, eğitim ve bakım merkezleri açılmalıdır.

11- Asgari ücret, işçinin kendisinin ve ailesinin bilimsel olarak tespit edilmiş yaşam düzeyini karşılayacak şekilde belirlenmelidir.

12- Asgari ücret her belediye sınırlarına göre ve işçi temsilciliklerinin etkili bir şekilde katılacakları yerel komisyonlar tarafından her yıl yeniden tespit edilmelidir.

13- Asgari ücretten vergi alınmaması bir an önce yasallaştırılmalıdır.

14- Ne sebeple olursa olsun, işçi ücretlerinden kesinti yapılmamalıdır.

15- İşsizlik sigortası kurulmalıdır.

16- Grev hakkı üzerindeki bütün kısıtlamalar kaldırılmalı, genel grev ve dayanışma grevi yasallaşmalıdır.

17- Lokavt yasaklanmalı ve suç sayılmalıdır.

18- Mevsimlik işçiler sosyal güvenliğe kavuşturulmalıdır.

19- Çalışma hayatını ilgilendiren bütün yasalar demokratikleştirilmelidir.

20- 1 Mayıs İşçi Günü olarak kabul edilmeli ve yasallaştırılmalıdır.

349 Ev kadınlarımız, başta üretim hayatının dışında olmalarından dolayı genel toplumsal hayatın da dışında kalmakta ve bundan ötürü alışılmış ev işlerinin sürekli tutsağı olmaktadır. Hayatın canlılığından ve dinamiğinden uzak kalan ev kadınlarımızın ekonomik sorunları yanında kültürel gelişmeleri de başlıca sorunlardan biri olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, kadınların çalışma hayatına katılmalarını kısıtlayan yasal engellerin aşılması için mücadelenin yanında, gerici egemen kültürün baskı ve tahakkümünden kurtarılmaları da önem kazanmaktadır. O halde;

Ev kadınlarının çalışma isteklerinin her türlü sınırlamadan kurtarılması, çalışmalarının teşvik edilmesi ve iş bulmalarının güvenceye bağlanması,

sağlanmalıdır.Ev kadınları sosyal güvenlik kapsamına alınmalı, sosyal güvenlik primleri devlet ya da eşinin işvereni tarafından ödenmelidir.Eve işe giden kadınlar sigortalanmalıdır. Eve iş alan kadınların emeği kooperatifleşme yoluyla değerlendirilmelidir.

Eşit işe eşit ücret ilkesi tarım alanında da uygulanmalıdır.

- 350 Sorun, temelinde toplumsal yapının değişmesi sorunudur diye, kadın sorunu üzerinde ayrıca durmaya ve kadınların kendi aralarında örgütlenip mücadeleye girişmelerine gerek yoktur gibi bir görüş yanlıştır. Ne var ki, kadın kitlesi kendi içinde eştürden olan bir kitle değildir. Sınıfsal ayrımlar bu kitleyi de ayrıştırır. Kadın hakları için mücadeleyi asıl, işçi emekçi sınıflardan kadınlar, özellikle çalışma hayatında yer alanlar, doğru çizgide, işçi ve emekçi sınıfların demokrasi ve sosyalizm mücadelesiyle uyumlaştırıp bütünleştirerek yürütebilirler. Kadın hareketi böyle yürütülürse ancak olumlu ve verimli sonuçlar elde etmeye doğru ilerler.
- 351 Türkiye’de ne güçlü bir burjuva feminist Hareketi, ne de onun dışında işçi, emekçi kadın kitlesini kapsayan güçlü ilerici, sosyalist kadın hareketi vardır. Mevcut örgütler dar kapsamlı, genellikle biçimsel örgütlenmelerdir. Az bir istisna ile, genel olarak, Cumhuriyet devrinde kadınlara tanınan hakları övüp şükran belirtmekle, yılın anasını seçmek, bayramlarda çok az sayıda yoksul çocuklara giyim eşyası dağıtmak gibi yüzeysel “faaliyetler”le yetinmektedirler. Ancak son zamanlarda kadın sorununu daha geniş açıdan, Sosyalist ve politik açıdan ele alıp yorumlayan ve bu anlayış içinde çalışmaya yönelen girişimler de var.Son yıllarda kadınlar arasında, özellikle halk kitlelerinin kadınlar kesiminde artan bir politikleşme görülmektedir. 1973 ve 75 seçim dönemlerinde bu açıkça belirmiştir. Ayrıca kadınlar direnişlerde, grevlerde, yürüyüşlerde yer almakta, aktif rol oynamaktadırlar.
- 352 Sosyalist toplumlarda kadın sorunu esas itibarı ile çözüme kavuşturulmuştur, çünkü kadın sorunu yukarıdan beri açıklamaya çalıştığım üzere, toplum sistemi, sınıfsal yapı sorununa

ilişkindir. Ama sosyalizmin kuruluşuna geçmekle tüm sorunlar ve bu arada kadın sorunu hemen ve otomatik olarak bütün boyutlarıyla çözüme ulaşmıyor. Eski düzenin sosyal değerleri, aile ilişkileri düzeni bir zaman daha yaşıyor ve etkisini sürdürüyor. Daha genel ve soyut düzeyde söylemek gerekirse, alt yapının değişmesiyle üst yapı da hemen ona uyumlu biçimde değişmiyor. Arada bir zaman arası kalıyor. Kadın ve erkek; an, baba ve çocuk ilişkilerini düzenleyen kurallar ve değerler, pratikte, günlük yaşamda, henüz tam sosyalistleşmiş değil sanıyorum, özellikle kapitalizm öncesi geri bir toplumsal aşamadan sosyalizme geçmiş toplumlarda. Ama temel toplumsal sistem bir kez değiştikten, sömürü düzeni ortadan kalktıktan sonra, toplum yapısının bütün kesimlerinin, bütün kurumlarının tam sosyalistleşmesi bir süreç içinde gerçekleşecektir. Sosyalist sistemin kökleşmesi ve gelişmesiyle birlikte insanların sosyalist kişiliği de gelişip güçlenecektir. Böylece kadın hakları ve özgürlüğü sorunu bütün boyutlarıyla tam bir çözüme kavuşacaktır.

353 İleri kapitalist ülkelerde kadın hareketi (feminist hareket) daha ziyade küçük ve orta burjuva kadınlar arasında gelişti. Seçimlerde oy hakkı elde etmek için uzun mücadeleler verildi. Bugün de söz konusu toplumlarda feminist hareket aynı tabakalarda yaygındır. Bu hareket ekonomik ve sosyal alanda somut hak taleplerini az çok ikinci plana itip, kadını daha "aşağı", öncelikle bir seks objesi gibi gören sosyal değerlere yönelmiştir. Hem seks alanında erkeklerle eşit özgürlüğe sahip olmayı istemekte, hem de kadının bir insan olarak değil, bir seks objesi olarak görülüp muamele edilmesine karşı çıkmaktadır. Ev işlerine ve çocuk yetiştirmeye inhisar eden bir yaşam tarzının günün kadını tatmin etmediğini, kişiliğinin gereksinimlerine cevap vermediğini, onu ruhsal bunalımlara ittiğini vurgulamaktadır.

354 Gelişmiş kapitalist ülkelerde bu burjuva feminist hareketin dışında, işçi, kol ve kafa emekçisi kadınları kapsayan, politik bilinç düzeyine ulaşmış, işçi sınıfının politik hareketiyle paralel ve uyumlu çizgide hareket eden, ilerici, demokratik, sosyalist kadın örgütleri ve hareketi vardır. Ve, gerek kendi ülkelerinin kamuoyları, gerek Dünya kamuoyu üzerinde etkilidir.

355 Üretim araçlarında özel mülkiyetin oluşmasıyla belirlenen işbölümü sisteminde kadın bu mülkiyetten ve onun sağladığı üretimi yönetme, kontrol etme ve hasılanın kullanımını belirleme işlevlerine sahip olmaktan yoksun kaldı. Ya evin dört duvarı içinde mahsur bırakılıp ev işlerini yüklenmekle yetindirildi, kamu yaşamına katılmaktan ve kamusal haklara sahip olmaktan uzak tutuldu; ya da, üretime katıldığı hallerde - özellikle tarımda - üretim araçlarına sahip, aile işletmesinin "patronu" erkeğin "işçisi" durumuna sokuldu.

Üretimde, işbölümü sisteminde kadınlar aleyhine oluşan bu durum sosyal değerler düzeyine de yansıyor, kadın erkekten daha yeteneksiz, beceriksiz ve güçsüz sayıldı; erkeğe "itaat etmek" baş görevi yapıldı. Daha geniş toplumsal yaşama katılma ve katkıda bulunma, hele politik alanda faaliyet gösterme olanakları kadından esirgendi.

Kapitalizmin gelişmesiyle birlikte kadın üretimde ve hizmetler kesiminde çalışmaya başlayınca da erkek çalışanların sahip oldukları hak ve çıkarları elde edemedi. Kadını daha "aşağı" gören sosyal değerler, çalışma hayatında da etkisini göstererek patrona kadın işçiyi erkek işçiden daha fazla sömürebilmek olanağını verdi. Daha yüksek statüdeki mesleki alanlarda çalışan kadınlar dahi maaş, kariyer yapma ve mesleklerinde ilerleme açısından eşitsiz zorlu durumlarla karşılaştılar. Çalışan kadın ikili bir yük altına girdi; hem üretimde veya mesleki hizmetlerde eşitsiz şartlar altında çalışma, hem de ev işlerini yapma ve çocuk yetiştirme durumunda kaldılar. Aile ilişkileri içinde kadının erkeğe bağımlılığı, eşitsiz durumu sürdü gitti. Kadının çalışması, para kazanması aile içi ilişkilerde köklü bir değişiklik yapmadı.

CHAPTER VI

356 aktif olmak, verilen her görevi kabul ederek çok çalışmak, sınıf mücadelesine yürekten inanmış olmak ve güvenilir olmak

358 TKP üyesi kadınların sayısının oldukça az ve partili olabilmek için beklenmesi gereken sürenin kadınlar için çok daha uzun" olduğudur.

- 359 Nedense, kadınlar hep kendilerini 'ispat etmek' zorundadırlar; ispat edene dek 'burjuva'dırlar ve bu da onlardan kuşku duyulması için yeterli gerekçedir.
- 360 Birincisi, kadınlara güvenilmediği, onların daha 'zayıf ve dayanıksız' olduklarının düşünülüşü yönünde, diğeri ise özellikle evli olan kadınların kocalarının görevleri 'daha önemli' olduğu için kadınlarla ilişkilerin sürdürülmesinin kocalarına zarar vereceği yönünde
- 361 feminist akımlara karşı ilkesel ve ideolojik savaşımın önem kazandığı
- 362 İGD'den İKD'ye transfer edilen kadınlar iki gruba ayrılıyor: İGD içinde "çok işe yaramadığı düşünölenler" ya da "İKD'ye geçmek için çok ısrar ederek sorun yaratanlar".
- 363 Bu gelişmeden önce hiç memnun olmuyorlar, çünkü İKD'yi kendileri de daha az ciddiye alıyor
- 364 Erkek yöneticilerin yüzlerinde tebessüm belirlediği ancak sendikal örgütlenme veya gençlik örgütlenmesi gibi 'daha ciddi' konulardan bahsedildiğinde yüzlerdeki tebessümün kaybolduğu
- 365 İKD'nin örgütlenme çalışması yaptığı bazı fabrikalarda çalışan işçi kadınların günün modasına uygun giyindiklerini, kendilerinden daha şık ve bakımlı olduklarını, mesai saati bitiminde makyaj yaparak çıktıklarını
- 366 ... Kadınların 'proleter mücadeleye' katılımları 'burjuva' kadınların dışarıda bırakılmaları anlamına gelir ... Solcu kadınlar, küçük burjuva erkek solun, proleterler karşısındaki vicdan rahatsızlıklarını kendi karma olmayan grupları içinde taklit ederler ... Bu özdeşleşme sayesinde, kadınlar kendilerini 'imtiyazlı ve dolayısıyla 'suçlu' hissedebilirler.
- 368 Kadınların "aile ve baba baskısından kurtularak daha aktif çalışmasını sağlamak için, çalışmalarını engellemeyecek 'ilerici,devrimci' bir erkekle evlenmelerine" destek veriliyor.
- 370 grevci erkek işçiler grev çadırlarında sohbet ederken, yemek yapma görevini İKD'li kadınlar üstlenmiş

- 371 köleler kölelikten kurtulunca, kendi kölelerini de özgür bırakırlar
- 373 Tüm toplumsal kesimleri kucakladık. Üyelerimiz arasında Adalet Partili ve Cumhuriyet Halk Partili kadınlar vardı. Demokratik kitle örgütü olabilmek için çok uğraşıyorduk.
- 374 ... erkek egemen bir parti değildi... Partideki kadın üyelerin sayısı ve örgütün genel merkezinde bir çocuk odası bulunması kadınların kendi düzenlerini partiye getirdiklerinin göstergesidir.
Tomris Uyar, Ayşe Düzkan, Sibel Özbudun ve Nermin Meriç o zamanlar DKB'yi destekledikleri söylenen tanınmış kişilerden bazılarıdır. 1970'lerde, birçok yazar, sinema ve tiyatro sanatçısı ve şarkıcı sosyalist kadın örgütünün etkinliklerine katılmaktaydı ve o zamanın coşkulu atmosferi birçok farklı sosyal kesitten insanı etkilemişti.
- 375 Sanırım, 1979 sonu 1980 başlarında ilk defa kadın konusu parti gündemine geldi. Barış Derneği'nin Dünya Barış Kongresi hazırlıkları çerçevesinde yapacağı etkinlikleri, Barış Derneği kongresi ve delege seçimleri söz konusuydu. Farklı kesimler, örgütler ve görüşler bu çerçeve içinde birlikte temsil edilecekler ve etkinlikler düzenleyeceklerdi. TİP yanlısı bir kadın örgütü yoktu. Diğer kadın örgütleriyle yapılacak işbirliği ve etkinliklerin koordine edilebilmesi, TİP'li kadınların katkı ve temsillerinin sağlanması amacıyla TİP Genel Merkezi'nde Nermin Aksın'ın sekreterliğinde bir Kadın Seksiyonu kuruldu. Buna paralel olarak İstanbul İl Örgütü'nde Belkıs Kiroğlu sekreterliğinde, Zerrin Sakalsız ve isim ve sayısını hatırlayamadığım arkadaş ya da arkadaşlardan bir il kadın seksiyonu oluşturduk.(...)1965 yılından o güne kadar partide kadın konusunun herhangi bir biçimde ve düzeyde ele alındığını sanmıyorum. TİP kadın seksiyonları, bir TİP'li kadınlar hareketi, organizasyonu değildi. Bir kümelenme söz konusu değildi. Kadın üyeler, bağlı oldukları temel birimlerdeki yerlerindeydi. Aksi düşünülemezdi. Öyle birşey , hemen hemen hiç bir kadın üyeye de gönüllü olarak kabul ettirilemezdi
- 376 Partide kadın konusunun herhangi bir biçim ve düzeyde ele alındığına rastlamadım ve ele

alındığını sanmıyorum. 1965 öncesinde de söz konusu olup olmadığını, olduysa hangi temelde olduğunu bilmiyor ama olduğunu da sanmıyorum.

- 377 Konu, TİP'e göre kadının çalışma ve toplumsal hayattaki eşitsiz konumu demekti ve işçi-emekçi kitlelerin sorunlarıyla birlikte çözülecekti. (...) Kısacası, kadın sorununa cinsiyet temelinde değil, sınıfsal açıdan bakıyorduk. Bu nedenle partide ayrıca ele alınıp tartışılmadığı gibi, ayrı örgütlenme ihtiyacı da duyulmuyordu.
- 378 TİP'li kadınlar, 1975 yılında (İKD kuruluşu öncesi) diğer kadınlarla birlikte toplantılar yaptılar ve girişimlerde yer aldılar. Ancak TİP'in .yeniden kuruluş çalışmaları sürecinde TKP'nin TİP'e karşı faaliyetlerde bulunmama diye özetleyebileceğimiz tutumunda meydana gelen değişiklik sonucu, TİP'li kadınlar bu girişimden uzaklaştılar. Zaten daha sonra kurulan İKD'nin ele alınışından da anlaşılacağı gibi, bu girişim de cinsiyet temelinde bir kadın hareketi değildi. ... İKD kurulduktan sonra partinin yandaş bir kadın örgütü kurulmasına yönelmemiş olmasının iki temel nedeni olduğu kanısındayım. Birincisi, kadın sorununu cinsiyet temelinde görmeyişi, hatta cinsiyet temelinde ele alınmasını reddedişidir. İkinci nedeni, üç ayrı partiye bölünmüş işçi ve emekçi sınıfların politik hareketinin yürümeyeceğine, bu sorunun çözülmesi gerektiğine yönelmiş olmamızda aranmalıdır. Parti kuruluşundan kısa bir süre sonra, her türden rekabetçi tutumu gidermeye önem vermeye başlamış, politik hareketin birleştirilmesine yönelmiştik. Bu ikinci nedeni tam olarak anlayabilmek TİP'in birlik politikalarına, diğer hareketlerle ilişkilerinin ve kendi iç hesaplaşmalarının, ayrışmalarının izlenmesiyle mümkün olacağı kanısındayım.
- 379 Biz Pravda ya da İzvestia 'nın kuruluş yıldönümlerini kutladık. Ancak, 8 Mart'ı biz kendi aramızda bile kutlamazdık.
- 380 İKD'li kadınlar derneklerinde çiğ köfte partisi yapar, mahalleli kadınlarla oynar, göbek atarlardı. Biz onları seyrederek ve bu uygunsuz davranışların bir sosyalist kadına yakışmadığını düşünürdük.

- 381 Sosyalizmi telaffuz etmeden, feminizmden yoksun söylemlerle dile getirdik kadın hareketini.
- 382 Kemalist geleneğin kadın konusundaki duyarlılığından yararlanabiliyordu.