BLACK BOOK

on the militarist "democracy" in TURKEY

INFO-TÜRK

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Brussels, June 1986

INFO-TÜRK is a working group founded in 1974 by a number of progressive people with a view to informing world opinion of the political, economic, social and cultural life of Turkey and of Turkish immigration.

Denouncing the repression in that country, it contributes also to the struggle for democracy in Turkey.

INFO-TÜRK has the honour of publishing the only bilingual periodical on Turkey which has been appearing abroad without interruption for more than ten years: The monthly newsletter INFO-TÜRK.

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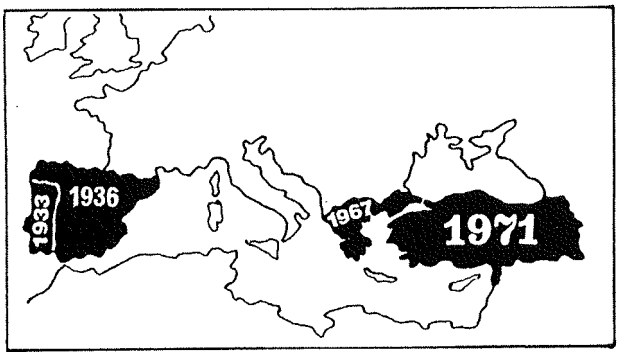
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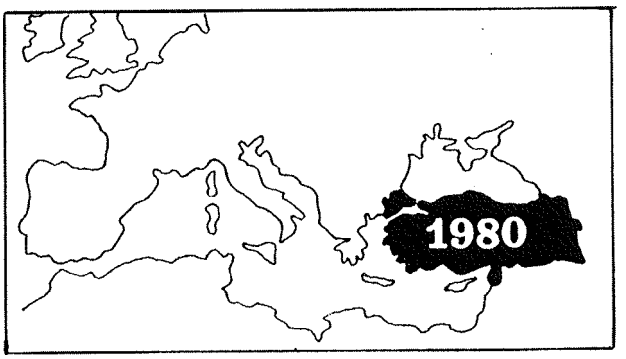
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PREFACE





The Republic of Turkey today figures within the Western European family as the only country ruled by an authoritarian regime. After the collapse of dictatorships one after the other in Greece, Portugal and Spain, Turkey has remained the only worry to European democratic institutions and after the military coup of 1980 has become the shame of the European democracies.

The state terrorism which turned this country into a huge concentration camp is mainly marked by:

- Arrest of more than 200 thousand persons for political reasons,
- Systematic torture and ill-treatment of prisoners,
- Mass trials in which over 50,000 people have been brought before military tribunals,
- Execution of 27 political activists while more than 6,000 face the same inhuman punishment,
- Dissolution of all political parties existing prior to the military coup and a restriction on the new founded parties' activities,
- Suspension of progressive trade unions and dissolution of all progressive associations,
- Censorship and self-censorship imposed on the Press and systematic persecution of journalists, writers, translators, artists and all anti-establishment intellectuals,
- Ideological conditioning of cultural, educational and academic life,
- Discrimination, repression, extermination and deportation in the Turkish Kurdistan,
- Deprivation of Turkish nationality for the regime's opponents abroad.
- Suppression of all means of defending social rights that were previously obtained, causing a 50 percent fall in the wage earners' purchasing power.
- Adoption of a new Constitution which lay down the foundations of a constant repressive regime and enabled General Evren, who masterminded the coup, to occupy the post of the "President of the Republic" for seven years.

Although the military announced a "return to democracy" in 1983 by organizing a sham election, the state of emergency has been made constant since then by creating a police state which replaced martial law. So a militarist "democracy" has been established in the south-eastern flank of Europe.

Paradoxically, the lands ruled today by the Republic of Turkey figure in ancient history as the cradle of democracy and the scene of numerous civilizations which lay down the cultural, moral, social and even political foundations of the present European community.

The soils of this country are full of remnants of the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Ages when Man made his earliest appearance in Anatolia. Since then, the Trojans, the Early and Late Hittites, the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Lycians, the Ionians, the Greco-Romans, the Urartus, the Armenians, the Assyrians, the Kurds, the Arabs and many others have contributed to the rising of world civilization. Many of the intellectual, political and artistic qualities that improved man's life originated there.

Thousands of years after, on the same lands, in Anatolia and in Eastern Thrace, a repressive regime reigns without attaching any importance to these gains and qualities of humanity.

What is worst, this betrayal of the historical values of the country is made in the name of "westernization" and "Europeanization" and, to the great astonishment of the country's oppressed people and European democratic forces, with the benediction of some Western governments and institutions.

In fact, the Republic of Turkey is a founding member of the Council of Europe, of the North Atlantic Alliance, of the OECD, an associate member of the EEC and a signatory of the Helsinki Final Act. Beginning with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Turkey has been engaged in all international and European acts meant to protect fundamental human rights and freedoms. But in a 40-year span of time, the same Turkey has thrice undergone military interventions and subsequent violations of all human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the declarations and acts signed by Turkish rulers. And this is tolerated by the other signatories of the same acts.

If you lend an ear to some simplistic arguments raised to justifiy this benediction, the Turkish presence in these lands and consequently in the European family is a historical mistake, but also a *de facto* situation. No one should expect from this Asiatic originated people a democratic regime entirely conforming to European standards, because "Turks are violent by nature and are not

entitled to democracy." Since it is not possible to remove Turks from these lands or to adapt them to European standards, why should the Western World endanger its strategic and economic interests in the area by angering Turkish rulers for the sake of defending these standards.

Let us take torture, one of the daily practices of the Turkish military regime. The Washington-based *Helsinki Watch Committee,* in its latest report on Turkey, exposes in the following terms American diplomatic approach to this issue:

"We wonder if anyone at the U.S. Embassy has ever interviewed Turkish torture victims, or sat, as we did, in rooms full of relatives of political prisoners, listening to their descriptions of prison conditions. If they had, they would realize that torture not only continues, which they now admit, but that it remains widespread, which they deny. By coming face to face with torture victims, by witnessing the pain and outrage with which they recount their experiences, they would be able to determine, as we did, that these are not fabrications thought up by prisoners 'who know how sensitive we foreigners are to torture stories,' as we were told by one Embassy officer. That recurrent abstraction about the 'violent nature of the Turkish people' would seem irrelevant. To be sure, not every member of the diplomatic staff believes that abstraction. An officer in Istanbul assured us that: 'Based on my experience, the Turkish people are not used to, or even resigned to any use of torture.' Yet others, both in Washington and in Ankara, expressed the belief that Turks were violent by nature as if this somehow explained away the use of torture in Turkish society." (*Freedom and Fear - Human Rights in Turkey,* March 1986, Washington-New York)

Such a lombrosian approach by U.S. diplomacy could be convincing for some ready made recipe addicts, if U.S. history had not been full of shameful episodes of witch-hunting, lynching, Indian genocide, Hiroshima, Nagazaki, Vietnam, Chile, and if it had not been put in evidence that chief torturers of the allied countries such as Turkey are systematically trained in the United States with the most sophisticated methods.

And European adherents of this lombrosian approach could be excused on grounds that many painful souvenirs of the Turkish occupation lasting for centuries still remain vivid in collective memory, if European history itself had not been stained with the Inquisition, massacres and tortures perpetrated by European rulers against their own European subjects even in the last few decades in Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Whatever their origin, their historical background and their national characteristics, all peoples are equal before international conventions on human rights and shoud in no way be discriminated against.

It should be added that the people of Turkey, rebelling very often against tyranny and struggling for justice, freedom and human dignity, has proved that they deserve a true democracy, not a militarist "democracy".

It is a fact that Turks are an Asian originated people who adopted Islam before their arrival to Anatolia. When they entered Anatolia in 1071 they found a population which was the amalgamation of different races already mentioned above, dominated by the Christian Byzantine Empire.

The Altai Mountains on the western edge of the Mongolian plateau are thought to be the original home of the Turks. Their conversion to Islam dates from about A.D. 970. Renowned for their fighting prowess, thousands of them served the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad as mercenaries.

Seljuk, a Turk of the Oghuz tribe, gave his name to the first of these Turkish tribes to gain historical prominence. In 1055 the Seljuks took Baghdad. Christian Armenia fell to the Seljuk Turks in 1064. By 1070 they were moving through the area of Syria and Palestine. Anatolia fell to the Seljuks following the battle of Malazgirt (Manzikert) in 1071. Shortly thereafter, the Seljuks established the Sultanate of Rum (derived from Rome) with its capital at Konya. After a gradual decline, the Sultanate finally submitted to another Turkish tribe, the Ottoman Turks in the late 14th century.

Founded in 1299, the Ottoman State turned into a three-continent empire within a very short time. The process of Ottoman expansion was interrupted by the Mongol invasion of Anatolia led by Tamerlane in 1402, but restored again within a few decades, After the fall of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, Sultan Mehmed II and his successors guided the Ottoman Empire to its zenith.

The Ottoman Empire's expansion was carried out, without any doubt, at the expense of lives, welfare and liberties of the peoples of the occupied lands. The highest price was paid without a doubt by the Christian communities. But the Turkish peasants and handicraftsmen too underwent curelty from the Ottoman dynasty when they revolted against the pillage of the cavalrymen and the Janissaries.

Nevertheless the Seljuks and the Ottomans contributed one after the other to the mosaics of civilizations of the lands they occupied with an amazing creativity tempered with the influence of Persan and Arabic culture.

The period of the Seljuk Empire stands out as times of prosperity, in which Anatolia was provided with a convenient road system, with solid and well-designed stone bridges and lordly caravanserais, with hospitals, schools and obervatories. Seljuk monuments, decorated with fascinating architectural ornamentation, are still numbered among the best works of art found on the Anatolian peninsula.

The mighty Ottoman Empire, in its years of glory, enjoyed the same prosperity and the same high level of culture and science, combined with lively commercial activity, as in the Seljuk period. The Turks of the Ottoman period developed an architecture that is one of the great artistic achivements of mankind, while their artistic activity in other spheres produced some of the loveliest objects of that time.

To be just, neither the Turks of the Ottoman Empire nor those of the Republic of Turkey have an outlook identical to that of the turks who came out from Central Asia. In the course of their occupation, the Turks have mixed with other races, either by mixed-marriages or by converting the latter to Islam. The population of Anatolia, except the Kurds, the Armenians, the Greeks, the Assyrians and some other minorities who have survived and kept their national and religious identity, is a blend of different races assimilated to Turkish identity and to Islamic beliefs.

However, the bourgeoisie and the high bureaucrats of this Turkish-Islamic society have been attached since the beginning of the 19th century to the dream of "westernization" or "Europeanization". To turn this dream into reality, the rulers of the country have resorted to numerous reforms, very often applied by force, and have not missed any occasion to affiliate with European institutions. To be identified as "European" is an obsession of the Turkish bourgeoisie and bureaucracy. To a certain degree, this dream has been substantiated. The Republic of Turkey is already a member of many European organizations. Although still deprived of many standards of the European way of living and still considerably influenced by the Islamic world, the outlook of the Turkish society, especially in the urban zones, can be identified with European rather than Asian or Islamic outlooks.

This process of "westernization" or "Europeanization" is a very painful one.

The Turkish bourgeoisie and its bureaucrat allies have taken this process as a means of capitalist development, closer collaboration with foreign capital and a fashionable way of living.

But the same alliance has consciously and deliberately managed to elude class struggles which had marked the western world's history, as well as the existence of left-wing political parties and progressive trade unions, all characteristics of the West.

Alongside the Turkish bourgeoisie's double-faced attitude, there are also historical and structural reasons for the slow-progress to westernization.

First of all, the structure of Ottoman society was very different from that of western societies. Modern western society has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society which led to a capital accumulation, necessary for passing to the capitalist stage. In the same period, the centralized despotic structure of the Ottoman society and its mode of production was far removed from the western model.

In the Ottoman society all lands belonged to the State and were attributed for exploitation to the *cavalrymen* (sipahis) who formed the bulwark of the nascent empire. The sipahis were not owners of these estates, named *timars,* but administrators on behalf of the *Sultan* (Chief of State). The sipahis rented the estates to the *reaya* (subjects) and in exchange collected a very high tax to finance the military expenditures of this martial empire.

Since imperial ownership of estates did not give the sipahis the possiblity of capital accumulation and the reaya the possibility of leaving the lands and becoming "free laborers," the very first

prerequisites of a capitalist development did not exist. Although big cities had manufacture and commerce, this centralized despotic system prevented them from turning to capitalist enterprises.

Besides, external factors also prevented the Ottoman Empire's development into a capitalist society. At first the Ottoman Empire dealt with European states from a position of strength. But in the 16th Century, the Empire entered its period of decline. The lack of internal dynamics was accompained by the gradual loss of commerce as Europe turned to South Asia for its trade with the Far East. While the influx of gold and silver was enriching Western Europe as a result of new explorations, an Ottoman Empire, losing all its resources of income, found itself in a financial crisis. The lack of tributes led to unrest and revolt in the *Janissary* corps which had been the mainstay of the Ottoman expansion. So, military superiority gradually shifted to Western Europe which set up more powerful armies and equipped them with all the technological innovations.

On the other hand, all the privileges granted to Western countries during the growing period of the Ottoman Empire as a sign of friendship later became an impediment for the latter. In 1525 the Ottomans responded to an appeal from Francis I of France to aid him against the Hapsburgs. Subsequent French influence in the Ottoman Empire was marked by a treaty in 1535. What began as a concession from an Empire at the height of its powers evolved into the extensive system of capitulations that was to trouble Ottoman-European relations. These capitualtions gave the European powers commercial and financial privileges that in time were extended particularly to Great Britain (1579), Austria (1615), Holland (1680), and Sweden (1737). In 1830 the United States and Turkey signed a treaty containing a "most favored nation" clause.

A series of Turkish defeats in the latter half of the 17th century stimulated Ottoman interest in Europe. By the beginning of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire was considered the *"Sick Man of Europe"* by the European powers. Territorial loss followed territorial loss. Throughout the 19th century and in the early 20th century, Russia, Great britain, Germany, France and Austria-Hungary were concerned with the Eastern Question. In essence, the Eastern Question involved the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the anticipated benefit that each western state expected to derive from the steady weakening of the Ottoman state.

In fact, in the second half of the 16th century, under the disintegrating effects of western industry and commerce, the Ottoman society structure began to change. As the financial crisis deepened, the system of taxation completely altered and the system of public property of the estates collapsed. So, the timars turned into private estates and the bureaucracy happening to own the states gained power before the Sultan's despotic rule. On the other hand, the young bourgeoisie rising in non-moslem populations of the Empire began to act more daringly thanks to its close collaboration with powerful Western capitalism.

By the second half of the 18th century, the changes of social structure and the succession of failures, primarily military, convinced the Ottoman rulers of the necessity for reforms with the Empire.

Reforms in the Ottoman Empire really began with *Sultan Selim II* and his successor *Mahmut II* who instituted a number of innovations. The western powers supported these reforms because they would prepare the necessary infra-structure and legal framework for exploiting the country's manpower and economic resources and would further the disintegration of the Empire, mainly thanks to national rights to be given to numerous ethnic and religious components of the society.

The Baltalimanı Commerce Treaty, signed between Great Britain and the Ottoman Sultan in 1838, subjected the Empire to the economic interests of Europe. As a result of this submission, all sectors of the Ottoman manufacture collapsed within a few decades and the Empire turned into an open market for British industry and commerce.

This treaty was followed by the *Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu* (Noble Edict of Gülhane) in 1839. Drawn up by Grand Vizier *Mustapha Resit Pasha*, this edict promised the Western powers further reforms to guarantee western interests and to increase the immunities of the Christian minorities.

This process led in 1876 to the proclamation of the first constitutional regime, *Mesrutiyet I*, and to the setting up of a Parliament in which all minorities had their representatives.

However this balance of power could last only for two years. Increase of foreign debts and economic dependence on Europe resulted in aggravating the people's impoverishment. For the masses under the influence of the conservative moslem clergy, this impoverishment was the out-

come of the western-type reforms. Referring to this discontent, *Sultan Abdülhamit II* abolished the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament and cracked down on the intellectuals sponsoring western-type reforms and parliamentary system. Yet, during his 33-year reign, the collapse of the Empire did not stop but, on the contrary, accelerated.

In 1881, *Düyunu Umumiye* (Administration of the Ottoman Public Debts) composed of the representatives of six European states, acting like the IMF of our epoch, took the whole economic life of the country under its control. Just before World War I, Ottoman debts totalled more than 700 million dollars. In 1912, a third of the imperial budget was allocated to payments of public debts. In the same period, the Germans obtained a 99-year concession for *Berlin-to-Baghdad railroad* construction.

The despotic rule of Abdülhamit II gave rise to reaction in the country and abroad. European powers particularly disliked his pan-islamic methods of dealing with nationalist currents among the christian minorities, of which the most tragic example was the extermination of Armenians. As for the rising military and civilian bureaucracy, represented by the *Young Turks Movement,* they were discontented since they had lost material benefits under the Sultan's monarchy. In 1908, the Young Turks, heading all discontented components of the society, including the Christian minorities as well, revolted and established the *Mesrutiyet II,* constitutional regime.

The Young Turks' primary concern was to strengthen the Empire and to stop territorial losses. This concern led to an emphasis on *Ottomanism,* aimed at keeping all nationalities within the integrity of the Empire. But the rising nationalist movements of different components of the society led the Young Turks to a nationalist, even a racist attitude. Their political organization, *Ittihad Terakki* (Union and Progress) attempted to raise a western-type national bourgeoisie to replace the non-moslem one. To provide them with cheap manpower and to eliminate the non-moslem bourgeoisie's competition, the Young Turks, betraying their promise of freedoms, banned all political and democratic organizations of the working class and the national communities. Strikes were crushed by using the armed forces. Doing it, the new rulers of the country wished to convince the western powers that it would be more beneficial for them to have the Turkish and Moslem bourgeoisie as collaborator rather than the non-moslems.

This research of collaboration led the Young Turks to fall under the influence of German imperialism and to enter the First World War at the side of German armies. This brought about the tragic end of the Ottoman Empire. In 1918, almost all territories of the State fell under the occupation of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Greece.

Although the monarchy in Istanbul surrendered to western powers, the workers, peasants and tradesmen of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, and young army officers organized guerilla warfare in a short time against the occupation forces. This popular resistance was later supported by the national bourgoisie with the hope of replacing the non-moslem bourgeoisie after the victory.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, one of the heroes of the First World War, joined the resistance forces on May 19,1919, and led them to the constitution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara and to setting up a regular army. Thanks to material and diplomatic support from the young Soviet Republic, this regular army routed the occupation forces in 1922 and took back the territories which figure in the present map of Turkey.

Following the victory, the national bourgeoisie and the military, in alliance with the big landowners, proclaimed the Republic of Turkey to replace the Ottoman Empire. The caliphat was abolished and a series of western-style reforms were put in practice one after the other -from the abolition of many religious institutions to the adoption of western alphabet, calendar, writing, dress and civil codes.

As the founder of the Republic, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* announced just at the beginning that Turkey was to renounce all its traditional ties with the Islamic world and to turn into a European state with all the living standards of the West.

Under the one-party dictatorship of the *Republican People's Party* (CHP) many steps were taken in this sense, but all of them remained within the limits of superficial reforms. Perhaps the country's outlook considerably changed in comparison with the period of the Ottoman Empire, but neither the economic infrastructure nor the political regime changed accordingly.

Already in 1921, while the Turkish socialist movement was active in the national liberation

war on many fronts and Soviet Russia was supporting this war, the Ottoman *pashas* leading the National Assembly and the resistance forces clamped down on left-wing organizations, suppressed popular guerillas ans assassinated 15 leaders of the new founded Communist Party of Turkey.

After eliminating organized social forces, the Economic Congress held on February 17, 1923, announced that the new state was to adopt a capitalist development line, and accordingly would grant full control of the country's economy to the alliance of the new rising national bourgeoisie and big landowners. Such an economic policy attaching no importance to the needs of the working people led only to the enrichment of a handful of capitalists and the Army and Party chiefs who, thanks to the advantages granted by the State, became capitalists or managers of State enterprises.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was later given the surname *Atatürk* (father of the Turks) and the title of *Eternal Chief,* was confronted with popular opposition in spite of his charismatic personality, because of the anti-labour policies of the party he headed.

The Kurds who had actively taken part in the liberation war and had never raised a national independence question, realized in a few years that the chauvinist stand of the new political power was to deprive them of their most fundamental rights such as education in their mother tongue. As a result of this repression the Kurds had to revolt against the Ankara Government several time: 1924 Nasturi, 1925 Raman and Rackoyan, 1925 Sheikh Sait, 1926 Koçusagı, 1927 Bicar, 1930 Zilan, 1927, 1930-32 Agrı and 1937-38 Dersim revolts. All of them were brutally suppressed.

Using the Kurdish revolts in 1925 as a pretext, the Kemalist power, adopting exceptional laws, outlawed all left-wing organizations and publications as well.

Even a fraction of the ruling classes opposing the Kemalist power could not escape from the repression. Two political parties founded by close friends of Atatürk, the *Progressive Party* (TF) and the *Liberal Party* (SF), were closed down respectively in 1925 and 1930, for fear of seeing discontented popular masses reassembled around them.

Under internal and external pressure, President Inönü had to announce the passage to a multi-party system and four leading deputies of the CHP founded the Democrat Party (DP), representative of own interests of the alliance of the bourgeoisie and big landowners. It was within this opening to "democracy" that the working masses began to express their opposition to the one-party dictatorship and created their trade unions and political parties. But after a short period, both the CHP and the DP agreed to crush these first attempts at opening to the left; two new-founded socialist parties and trade unions were closed down by martial law and the socialist intelligentsia once more found itself in prison.

In the 1946-50 period, the US influence over Turkey rapidly increased. On May 22, 1947, the Law of "Aid to Turkey and Greece" came into force and on July 12, 1947, the United States and Turkey signed the "Agreement on Aid to Turkey." One year later, Turkey was included in the *Marshall Plan* and the Economic Aid Agreement was signed on July 4, 1948, between Turkey and the United States. The aim of this agreement was to turn Turkey into a raw material and food resource for Europe and into a market for the industries established in Europe with US capital. For these reasons, the US economic aid foresaw only the development of the Turkish agricultural sector, not the industrial. So, Turkey fell this time under the economic, ideological, political and military hegemony of the United States.

Exploiting the dissatisfaction of the peasants and workers, unconscious of their class interests, the DP gained an overwhelming electoral victory in 1950. During the 10-year period of DP rule, US hegemony on Turkey was consolidated. Just after coming to power, the DP sent a Turkish brigade to the Korean War, which cost Turkey 717 deaths and 2,246 wounded. As a reward for this sacrifice, Turkey was accepted to NATO in 1952 and all the Turkish armed forces were placed under the Pentagon's control. More than a hundred US military bases and installations were established on Turkish territories.

Defending US positions in all international forums, participating in all pro-American treaties such as the Baghdad Pact, afterward renamed CENTO, and the RCD, adhering to the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, allowing the US war planes to take off from Turkish airports to intervene in the Lebanon Crisis in 1958, Turkey became completely isolated from the Third World and entirely dependent on the United States.

In the ideological plan, anti-communism was adopted as a state policy. The Turkish press

and the state-owned radio provided most vulgar examples of *McCarthyism*. Not only socialists, but also liberal-minded citizens who dared to criticize the US hegemony were exposed to police terrorism.

Foreign capital was given many concessions with the adoption of the laws for the Encouragement of Foreign Capital Investment and for the Oil Exploration and Production in 1954.

Parallel to the capitalization, shanty towns began to appear on the outskirts of big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Adana. To keep the growing working class under control, the existing company unions were grouped within the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (Turk-Is), subsidized and guided by the US trade union centers.

Nevertheless, the ultra-liberal economic policies of the DP led to chronic foreign deficits, increase of foreign debts and to uncontrollable inflation. As popular unrest spread, the DP Government resorted to more repressive measures, jailing intellectuals, students, workers,peasants, even Army officers. In April 1960, the majority of the National Assembly officially suspended many fundamental rights and freedoms and banned the activities of the CHP, the principal opposition party.

The DP period ended with the first military intervention of the Republican era, on May 27, 1960. During the past ten years, the DP had brushed aside bureaucratic barriers for the sake of a ultra-liberalism and the military had seen their prestige diminished. The living standards of the military had declined to a great extent and army officers had shared the growing discontent of the working people.

It is obvious that the United States was very well aware of the Army's intention to overthrow the DP Government, but gave it the go-ahead, being sure that Army officers were not opposed to NATO and the US presence in Turkey. In fact, under the influence of Cold War brainwashing, the army officers could not see the United States' important responsability for the country's troubles and contented themselves with accusing only the DP leaders. On the very first day it took power, the *National Unity Committee* (MBK) reaffirmed Turkey's interests in maintaining such pacts as NATO and CENTO. They even signed a series of bilateral accords with the United States, to reinforce military and economic dependence on the latter.

Another reason for the US green light for the coup was Prime Minister Menderes' announced intentions to improve relations with the USSR and to visit Moscow soon. When the country fell into a deep economic crisis, Menderes had asked for credits from the IMF and other international monetary institutions. They had imposed many drastic measures in order to furnish credit. Although the government had put many of these measures in practice, including a sharp devaluation, in 1958, these efforts were not rewarded with the expected credits. Disappointed with the West's attitude, Menderes began to seek relations with socialist countries. The USA would not forgive this.

Although dependent on the USA, the Turkish Military, with the purpose of satisfying social opposition, put a new Constitution in force guaranteeing fundamental rights and freedoms. So, a relatively democratic period began in Turkey. It is in this period that, for the first time in Turkish history, a socialist party, the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP), was legally founded and all left literature began to appear in book-stores. Reviews such as *Yön,* Ant, Türk Solu, Aydinlik, spread socialist views. And a new trade-union confederation, *DISK,* defied American style trade unionism and engaged an important section of the working class in the fight for social rights. Even Kurdish intellectuals, despite legal obstacles, began to raise their voices and to found their own organizations.

Again it is in this period that Turkey took the most important step in the process of "westernization" or "Europeanization", by signing the Association Agreement with the European Economic Community in 1963, to become effective in 1964.

During the Cyprus crisis in 1964, President Johnson's letter to Prime Minister Inönü, reminding him that Turkey had no right to use US given military material without US permisssion, gave rise to anti-american protests. The government itself, reacting against the US insolence, made an ouverture to socialist and Third World countries and concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in 1964.

Concerned by this anti-American atmosphere in Turkey, the United States launched new ma-

nœuvres to replace Inönü's coalition goverment by a pro-American one. Just before the Congress of the Justice Party (AP), heir to the dissolved DP, Engineer Süleyman Demirel, contractor of the US Morisson Company, was put forward by the pro-American mass media as the main candidate for chairman. Demirel's photos with President Johnson was largely used during this campaign.

Financially supported by big business and landowners, Demirel's AP obtained an absolute majority —52.87 percent— in the 1965 elections and the Turkish right's restoration opened.

When the Right came back to power, a well-planed trap to tame the Armed Forces had already given its fruits and the army officers had already been integrated in the capitalist class. In addition to salarial advantages considerably higher than those of the civilian public servants, army officers had been made shareholders of OYAK, a mutual assistance fund for the Armed Forces, which was dealing with foreign and local capitalists with a view to increasing officers' profit shares.

When Demirel announced that the 1961 Constitution did not conform to the realities of the country and it should be modified in a way to restrict fundamental rights and freedoms, the author of this constitution, the Armed Forces preferred to remain silent.

What is more, the Chief of General Staff began to issue circulars to all army units, calling upon them to be ready to fight the danger of communism.

A special war department at the Turkish General Staff, commonly known as the *Counter-guerrilla Organization* was already charged with the preparation of the plans to set up subversive forces against the eventuality of the formation of a left-wing government.

After the 15 socialist deputies' entry to the National Assembly in the 1965 elections and the CHP's adoption of a center-of-the-left policy in 1966, such an eventuality became a nightmare for the United States and its local allies in Turkey.

While the AP was enforcing anti-democratic measures one after the other and reinforcing police repression, another right-wing party, Ex-Colonel Turkes' *Nationalist Action Party* (MHP) began, for its part, to train para-military terror groups, *Grey Wolves.*

When the country once again underwent an economic crisis in 1969 and the AP Government failed to apply the drastic measures imposed by the IMF and other international monetary organizations, in the fear of an eventual rise of the leftwing alternative, all subversive materials in the arsenal were pushed forth and Turkey found herself in the ferment of political violence triggered by Grey Wolves. While big business' appeals for political stabilization and for restoration of law and order were coming one after the other, the military hierarchy intervened on March 12, 1971, and forced the National Assembly to institute a "national coalition" government charged with stopping political violence, restoring law and order, putting in practice the economic propositions of the IMF and the big business and modifying the 1961 Constitution.

Law and order was restored by the proclamation of martial law in 11 important provinces of the country and the subsequent arrest of tens of thousands left-wing militants, intellectuals and trade unions officials. The Counter-guerilla Organisation tortured many of them at special interrogation centers. Thousands of people were tried and condemned by military tribunals for their opinions, and three young socialist leaders were executed though they had not committed any act punishable by capital punishment.

Conforming to the desire of big business and Army commanders, the 1961 Constitution was modified twice to restrict fundamental rights and liberties.

But after a 2-year repression it became evident that the military had not been well prepared for establishing a long-term militarist "democracy". Pressures from world opinion on the one hand and growing resistance from the democratic forces of the country, on the other hand, forced the military to withdraw to their barracks, at least for a few years.

The background of this military intervention and the subsequent state terror were exposed in detail in *File on Turkey, Man-hunts in Turkey* and *Turkey on Torture,* published in 1972 and 1973 by the *Democratic Resistance of Turkey.* These and other documents clearly showed that fundmental rights and freedoms were constantly violated by either "parliamentary" or military wings of the fascist rule in Turkey, although this country was one of the signatories of all international documents for protecting human rights.

Despite these human rights violations, international bodies such as the Council of Europe and the EEC, which declared the protection of these rights and freedoms as their "raison d'être," never adopted any effective stand against the Turkish regime. Although a handful of socialist deputies raised the Turkish question at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the majority of the representatives prefered to remain silent. "The Council's problem (if it had one) would be to find whether or not there were people who wanted to drop Turkey as Greece had been dropped. Turkey was a young democracy and there were problems in maintaining such a position. It was impossible to demand that a young democracy behave in the same way as Norway, Sweden or Switzeland," said Swiss representative Reverdin on October 23,1972. Belgian representative Leynen justified this attitude by referring to his talks in Turkey between April 20-25, 1972: "In all the talks we have had with political leaders in Ankara we have been struck by the fact that practically everybody thinks that the intervention by the army chiefs was necessary."

According to an argument shared by right-wing politicians, as long as any parliament exists in a country, democracy also exists; if the army chiefs had intervened in politics, it was necessary to protect young democracy!

However, before the undeniable reports and documents exposing constant violation of human rights, 20 European deputies brought a motion for a resolution to form a sub-committee with the charge of investigating the allegations.

But this proposal was turned down at the Florence meeting of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on July 5, 1973, on grounds that such an intervention at a time when Turkey was about to hold a general election would endanger the restoration of democracy in Turkey. The main factor leading to this decision was social-democrat leader Ecevits's last minute intervention in the debates. On his behalf, CHP deputy Mustafa Ustündag said: "The general election will be held soon. There is important progress towards the restoration of democracy. In such a period, it is not useful to form a sub-committee for Turkey. Bülent Ecevit, too, shares this opinion."

Although a general election was held in 1973 and Bülent Ecevit came to power twice with the promise of putting an end to the Counter-guerilla Organization's subversion and the Grey Wolves' terrorism, and of establishing a new order based on national independence, social justice and full respect for human rights and freedoms, the situation deteriorated, rather than ameliorated. Ecevit himself, forgetting his promises, bowed before the IMF and the USA. When anti-democratic forces resisted against the reopening of the US military bases and the application of the IMF's drastic economic measures, Ecevit's Government did not hesitate in resorting to arrests and bans on organizations, trade unions and publications.

The failure of Ecevit's policies, the subsequent rising of fascist terror and all the dirty manœuvres by the United States administration and its local collaborators leading to the 1980 Coup are expounded in a chronological order in the following pages.

After a new 10-year experience, it became evident that a return to true democracy depended on full respect to all criteria of the European Convention on Human Rights. The slightest exception leads in the end to suspension of all rights and freedoms. In 1973, Turkish social democracy and the Council of Europe committed an error which facilitated the preparation for a new coup d'état, more brutal than the previous.

There is no doubt that defense of human rights, struggle for democracy, national independence and human dignity is first of all the task of the people of Turkey. The democratic forces of the country, at the expense of thousands of victims, carry on this lofty struggle.

This is also a task for all democratic forces of the world, especially for those of Europe, because Turkey is member of the European family, and to defend democracy in this country without applying double standards is a matter of defending democracy for the whole of Europe. If the Council of Europe or the European Parliament or other European institutions consider Turkey as a country deserving a "second class democracy", this south-eastern country will remain as a shame in the family of European democracies.

This book is a documentary work edited with the purpose of exposing the reasons of the 1980 coup, the anti-democratic and inhuman practices of the military, the real truth of the so-

called "return to democracy" and the contradictory attitudes of European institutions vis-a-vis this militarist "democracy".

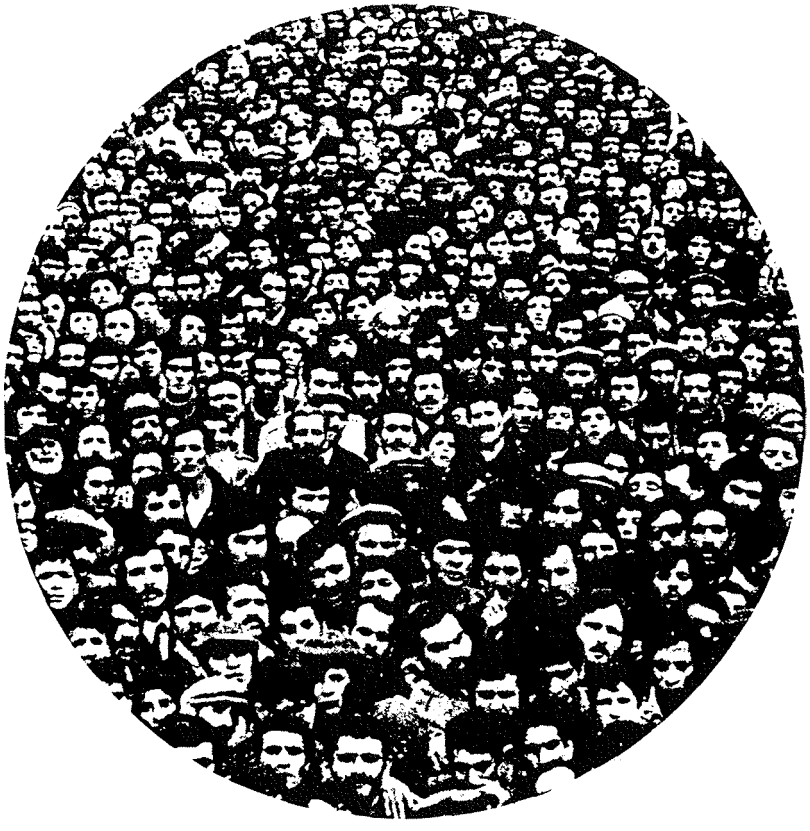
Many facts expounded in the following pages had already appeared in the monthly newsletter INFO-TURK, the only periodical appearing abroad for ten years without interruption , in order to inform the world of the social and political life of Turkey.

We expound them again in a chronological order to draw attention to Turkey. It is a chronicle rather than a systematically edited socio-political book. For this reason, the reader can find in it some repetitions and different styles of editing.

All the facts expounded in this work lead to the conclusion that Turkey, for deserving the status of a European democracy, should agree the legalization of all working class and community parties, of the progressive trade union center DISK, should respect national rights of Kurdish people and Christian minorities, should recognize full liberty for expression, association, education and artistic life. To guarantee all these rights and freedoms, the 1982 Constitution should be modified in conformity with the European Convention of Human Rights.

We are sure that reading this document you too will agree with Arthur Miller that there is either democracy or none of it. The people of Turkey do not deserve a second-class democracy.

INFO-TURK



DATA ON TURKEY

COUNTRY: Republic of Turkey. Title adopted in 1923 after former name, Ottoman Empire, was abolished. Capital: Ankara.

AREA: 779,452 Km2. (Anatolia situated in Asia: 755,688 Km2 - Thrace situated in Europe: 23,764 Km2). Roughly in the form of a rectangle: 650 Km. in width and 1,565 Km. in length. A natural passage between Europe and Asia.

BORDERS: 877 Kms with Syria, 610 with the USSR, 454 with Iran, 331 with Iraq, 269 with Bulgaria, 212 with Greece; Total: 2,753 Kms.

COASTS: Aegean Sea: 2,805 Kms, Mediterranean: 1,577 Kms, Black Sea: 1,695 Kms, Marmara: 927 Kms, others: 927 Kms; Total: 8,372 Kms.

TOPOGRAPHY: Five natural regions: The Aegean Coastlands, densely populated plateau in European Turkey; the Black Sea Region, steep and rocky coast covered with lust vegetation; Mediterranean Coastlands, plains rich in agricultural resources; Central Plateau, arid grazing area, and Eastern Highlands, rugged country with severe climate.

CLIMATE: Contrasting climates: warm temperate Mediterranean, cold rainy Caucasus, and the desert and steppe running from the Sahara to Central Asia. The East Anatolian and the interior parts of Turkey are subject to cold winters because they are shielded from the moderating effects of the sea breezes by the coastline mountains.

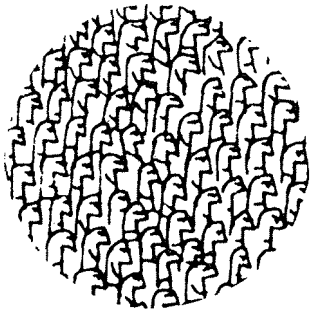
PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS:

Agriculture: Wheat, cotton, tobacco, raisins, hazelnuts, other cereals, pulses and fruits; livestock.

Mining: Coals, lignite, chrome ore, copper, iron ore, petroleum.

Industrial products: Automobiles, cement, cotton fabric, cotton yarn, electricity, fertilizer, paper, steel ingot, sugar, PVC, tractors, textile.

POPULATION (1985)	51,400,000
Urban (47,5pc)	24,385,000
Rural (52.5 pc)	27,015,000
Inhabitant per Km2	65
Most populated provinces:	
Istanbul (more than half in shanties)	5,856,745
Ankara (more than half in shanties)	3,462,885
Izmir (more than half in shanties)	2,316,843

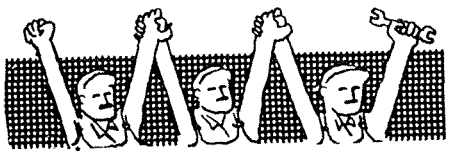


COMPONENTS OF THE POPULATION: Mainly Turks, Kurds (more than 10 million); Greeks, Armenians, Assyrians, Jews (All non-moslims together about 100,000).

SPOKEN LANGUAGES: Turkish (also official language of the State), Kurdish (of which teaching is forbidden), Armenian, Greek, Jewish, Aramaean, Arab.

EMPLOYMENT

Manpower (15-64 years)	18,493,000
Working people	13,461,526
Unemployed people	4,031,474
Unemployment rate	21.8 pc



WORKING PEOPLE'S DISTRIBUTION TO SECTORS

Agriculture	60.4 pc
Industry	12.8 pc
Construction	3.8 pc
Trades	4.9 pc
Transports	3.4 pc
Services	13.6 pc

STATUS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Homework	45.2 pc
Wage-earners	27.2 pc
Self-employed	25.6 pc
Employers	0.8 pc
Unknown	0.7 pc

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFECTORS . . 5,732,830

Proportion to the working people	31.0 pc

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Hope of longevity	62 years
Annual rate of birth	3.72 pc
annual rate of mortality	1.08 pc
annual rate of increase	2.64 pc
Rate of infant mortality	12.30 pc
ILLETRACY RATE	24.60 pc

SCOLARIZATION

Population at the age of education	15,600,000
Those provided with schooling	8,919,000
Those deprived of schooling	6,681,000
Rate of schooling in primary	85.0 pc
Rate of schooling in secondary	50.8 pc
Rate of schooling in high schools	31.9 pc
Rate of schooling in higher education	8.2 pc

INDICATORS OF LIVING STRANDARDS

	FRG	Greece	Turkey
GDP per capita (in Dollars)	10,025	3,380	970
Consumption per capita ($)	6,287	3,570	769
Passenger cars, per 1000 hab.	412	108	18
Telephones, per 1000 hab.	598	336	55
Television sets, per 1000 hab.	367	158	110
Doctors, per 1000 hab.	2.4	2.6	1.5

MIGRANT POPULATION FROM TURKEY (1983) 2,404,031

Migrant workers	1,015,544
Spouses	652,059
Children	736,428
0-6 years	187,460
7-18 years	548,968

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT POPULATION

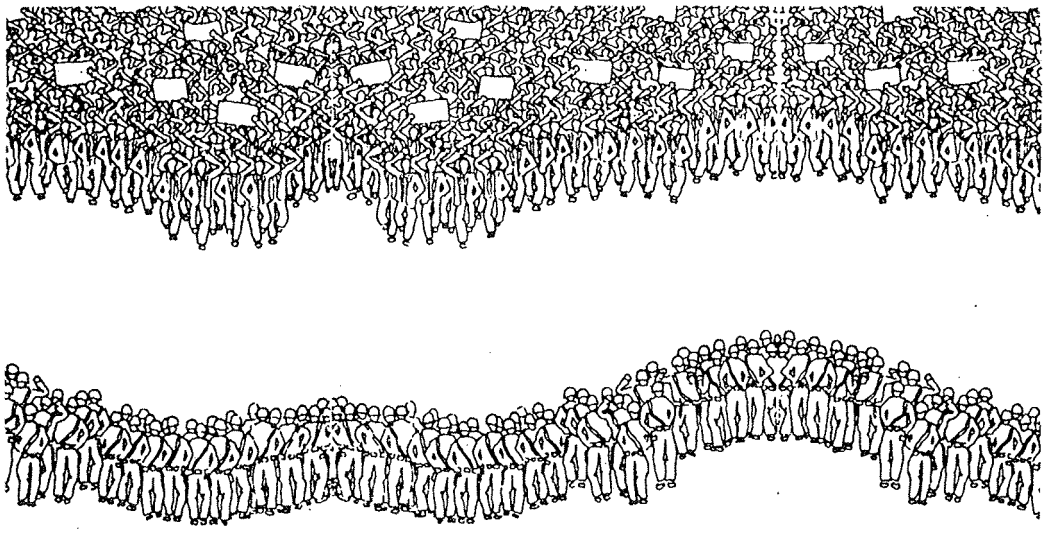
FRG	1,552,000
France	144,000
Holland	154,000
Belgium	70,000
Austria	52.000
Libya	80,000
Australia	60.000
Other countries	291,531



PRIOR TO 1980

BACKGROUND OF THE 1980 COUP

Turkey, in her modern history, has undergone military interventions three times. The first, in 1960, led to a relatively democratic regime. The second, in 1971, was a revenge of the ruling classes, but was not well prepared. Failing to establish an authoritarian regime, the military, after a 2-year crackdown on democratic forces, were obliged to hand over political power to civilians. During the six years prior to 1980, Turkey suffered from unprecedented political violence, instigated and tolerated by the military to justify a new coup d'état which would lead to a well-planned militarist "democracy".



The new dark period started on September 12th, 1980, with the military coup d'Etat led by *General Kenan Evren*, Chief of General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces. When he appeared on the TV screens as the new "strong man" of Turkey, he was flanked by the four other members of the Junta, *General Nurettin Ersin* of the Land Forces, *General Tahsin Sahinkaya* of the Air Force, *Admiral Nejat Tümer* of the Naval Forces and *General Sedat Celasun* of the Gendarmerie.

General Evren, who had already hinted at a possible military move in January, 1980, by addressing an ultimatum to the President of the Republic, said in his first public speech that he decided to act now because "*democracy could not control itself.*" Hence, a new era of "dictatorship" started in the south-eastern flank of the Atlantic community.

The very first communiqués of the military junta made it clear that the main reason behind the coup lay not in the internal instability of the country, but rather in the instability of the Middle East region. In his personally delivered message on the day of the coup, General Evren pledged Turkey's continued loyalty to NATO and this loyalty was confirmed later on in all texts issued by the new regime.

The Times of September 13th said: "The message and its timing were well received by the Allies who had become increasingly worried about the chaotic political situation in this exposed but vital area on NATO's south-eastern flank."

The International Herald Tribune of the same day shared the same opinion: "Military coups rarely contribute to international stability, but Turkey may prove to be the proverbial exception."

The same newspaper reported also that "one of the key leaders, *General Haydar Saltik*, who was named secretary general of the new ruling security committee, has attended numerous seminars and planning sessions of the NATO Command and was described by one NATO source as a 'familiar figure'. NATO officials also said that manoeuvres in Turkish Thrace by 3,000 soldiers from six NATO countries would proceed as planned. The manoeuvres, code-named *Anvil Express 80*, are scheduled for later this month and are designed to test NATO response to a possible attack on Western Turkey from Warsaw Pact forces in Bulgaria."

A visit just before the coup was also very significant. The Commander of the Turkish Air Forces, General Sahinkaya (a graduate of a U.S. Air Force School and a member of the 5-member junta) had left for the United States only a few days prior to September 12. After consulting with U.S. officials, General Sahinkaya returned home on the 11th and a couple of hours after his press conference at the airport relating his "very positive meetings with U.S. officials", the coup operation began.

In a statement given to *Newsweek*, Turkey's counselor at the United Nations, Coskun Kirca said: "Turkey contributes to the interests

of the West in the Middle East, and strengthens the U.S. presence in the region."

In view of all this information, can it be considered a coincidence that both these NATO manoeuvres and the military coup were put into practice on the same day? Another remarkable point is that senior officials in Washington had advance knowledge of the coup and that the western press agencies were informed of the coup by these sources.

Neither was it an odd coincidence that General Evren's first ultimatum was put forward just after the release of information about US plans to set up a new pro-american military alliance in the Middle East with Turkey, Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia taking part. The developments in Iran and Afghanistan were used as a pretext to revive the defunct pact of CENTO under a different name and with new partners. The only partner of the USA who had been a member of the earlier pact and was to be involved in the new one was Turkey.

Therefore, it cannot be denied that the military coup of September 12, 1980, was a further step in the military escalation particularly in Turkey and, more generally, in the Middle East area as a whole.

This military escalation had already started early in 1980 with the conclusion of the Turkish-American *Defense Cooperation Agreement* of which the details will be given in the further chapters.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of the September 12, 1980, military coup in Turkey is that it was "*expected*". It was neither an overnight seizure of command by a few fanatical generals nor a sudden reversal of the current principles and policies. It represents more of the same. It was carried out not "to save democracy" as it is being sold to the domestic and international public opinion, but to suppress what was left of democratic rights and national independence. The timing and the logic of the coup can best be explained by the economic and political developments in Turkey in the 1970's, which have precipitated the crisis, affecting every section of the social fabric of the country.

The economic, social and political crisis of Turkey was the outcome of its position as a backward and dependent capitalist country.

The industry, which had undergone a relative development throughout the years 1960-1970 was confronted with the prospect of a double-noosed hang-rope: a lack of finance sources and tightness of the market. The interior market cannot absorb all the industrial produce. The great inegality in the distribution of revenues and the weak buying power of the masses did not permit this. Strong price increases rapidly cancelled out increases in salary and in the State's buying price for agricultural products. In matters concerning exportation, Turkish products given their quality and their cost could not compete on the international market.

In its quest for markets for its industrial products, Turkey could have turned to the Middle-East or to other Third World countries, but this was not done. It was not a matter of costs or quality which prevented this action from being taken. It was clear that the governments of Turkey were failing to promote a coherent and efficient trade policy.

Turkey's own resources could not cover its industrial investments. For its part, the credit system favoured trade more than industry. Banks preferred short-term credit with high interest rates assigned to the commercial sector. The lack of bank credit specifically geared to industry incites the latter to resort to commercial credit, and this of course was reflected in the cost of industrial products and in the fact that it was one of the first sources of inflation. In 1975, and especially after the right-wing "*Nationalist Front*" Government's takeover of power, imports enjoyed a spectacular rise, a large portion of which served to finance speculative stocks.

The distribution of bank credits provoked clashes between industrialists and bankers - clashes intensified by the competition between these two divisions of the capital in their attempts to lay their hands on the people's savings. In order to obtain funds, industry issued shares and bonds at high interest rates for several years. Thus, it was hoped that the people's savings would be channeled directly to the industrial sector without having to go through the banks.

This same competition for sources of finance also exists between monopoly and non-monopoly sections of the industrial capital.

As for exterior resources, they were far from capable of covering the needs in foreign currency. Loans from international institutions were plainly insufficient. The foreign currency thus obtained and the funds sent by the Turkish

workers abroad were far from able to cover the 2 and a half billion dollar trade deficit.

In the 70's, workers and wage-earners were crushed under high inflation rates (10% in 1975, 74% in 1979 and 95% in 1980), declining real wages (which dropped 15% between 1976-78) and severe unemployment (about 15%).

Turkey's annual trade deficit, which was 769 million dollars in 1973, reached 4.04 billion dollars in 1977, and the foreign debt, which was 2.62 billion dollars in 1973, exceeded 16 billion dollars in 1979 (exclusive of services).

At the beginning of 1978, the gold and convertible currency reserves were at an all-time low. As its repayment capacity was greatly exhausted by this outstanding debt, Turkey's creditors, among them all the major Western governments, international financial organizations and over 200 private banks, began a rescue-operation focused around IMF's "austerity measures".

These "austerity measures" and the short- and medium-term economic plan, long advocated by the IMF and the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Union (TUSIAD), were put into effect by the Demirel Government on January 24, 1980. It was designed to find a way out of the worst economic crisis in Turkey's history by changing Turkish economic policy from industrialization through import-substitution to development based on an export-oriented economy.

With import-substitution, certain labor-intensive consumer goods industries which provide low rates of profit in industrialized nations are adopted by underdeveloped nations. In such underdeveloped economies, production is geared to domestic consumption and the industry is heavily dependent on expensive intermediary goods and raw materials which must all be imported. As the revenue from exports often falls short of what is needed to purchase necessary but expensive imports, import-substitution results in chronic and sizeable balance of payment deficits.

In 1979, the share of intermediary goods in all imports was over 60% (2.8 billion dollars) and the deficit had grown to over 21% in comparison to 1978. This chronic deficit necessitated constant borrowing from European and American official and private financial institutions. Turkey's foreign debt surpassed 20 billion dollars in the first six months of 1980 (inclusive of services).

As a result of worldwide *stagflation* and the economic crisis within the industrial countries, Turkey's dependent economic structure suffered severe blows with much worse proportions. An acute shortage of foreign currency and high prices of petroleum and intermediary goods caused much of the Turkish industry to operate under capacity. Production fell in almost all sectors. Thousands of workers were laid off. The rate of growth per capita (which had been 3.9% on the average between 1973-78) fell below -0.8% for the first time in many decades. In 1979, the prices of industrial goods rose by 96% and that of foodstuff by 58% while real wages fell by 11% and salaries by 22%.

In the midst of this economic bottleneck, the IMF had been pressuring Turkey to accept a series of "austerity measures" and liberalize its economy along the lines of South Korea, Brazil and Chile. The January 24, 1980, economic plan of the Demirel Government, engineered by Turgut Ozal (who was the former president of the Metal Goods Industrialists' Union and a strategist at the World Bank), was designed to be a response to IMF's dictates to change the course of Turkey's economy from import-substitution to exportation.

The internal logic of this export-oriented model was first to increase production and then to increase the amount of it that can be exported. To serve this purpose, all price controls were lifted to stimulate the supply side of economy and create an exportable surplus. This would also eliminate double-pricing and speculation. However, given the dependent structure of the Turkish economy, production could only be increased by the injection of foreign capital and investments and the importation of intermediary goods. To secure this part of the plan, IMF and other banks have lent Turkey 2.76 billion dollars over the next three years and rescheduled one billion dollars worth of debt. To attract foreign capital, all areas of the economy (including the hitherto state-protected sectors such as petroleum, mining and agriculture) were opened to foreign investment. Customs tax was reduced from 25% to 1%. Foreign banks were allowed to open new branches in Turkey and repatriate their profits.

The 50% devaluation put into effect on January 24 was the sixth in the past three years (the Turkish Lira has lost 76% of its value against the Dollar since then) and was designed

to make Turkish exports more attractive. In order to reduce the effects of devaluation on the cost of production new arrangements in tax laws were being prepared. The plan also envisaged a long-term investment policy that would favor export-oriented sectors and increase their production capacity. New laws aimed to encourage exportation included easing up of export-license regulations, allowing a certain amount of foreign currency earned by exports to be kept abroad, increasing the amount of credits to exporters, and establishing an Export Encouragement Agency. The drive to increase the share of exportable production necessitated a massive reduction in domestic consumption. With the January 24 plan, price controls were lifted and prices were allowed to increase at astronomical rates — the wholesale price index rose by 29.3% during the month of February, 1980, alone. The base prices of agricultural products were also kept at a minimum at the expense of small growers.

The *State Economic Enterprises* (KIT), the economic remnants of Atatürk's *étatism*, had up until 1980 dominated about half the manufacturing and service sectors, and almost all of the mining and energy sectors. They were state financed, controlled, operated and heavily subsidized. After the January 24 plan, KITs were forced to operate under market conditions, their subsidies were severely reduced or eliminated, and decisions concerning prices, production levels, wages, employment capacity and investments would now be made not by governments but by the now-autonomous KITs themselves. This would not only allow the KITs to raise their prices, but also let the private sector be much more competitive with KITs and, indeed, move into areas which were so far the domain of KITs.

The Turkish exporters, inefficient as they are in technology, management, quality control, and market research, could only become competitive in the international markets by artifically keeping wages and salaries very low, and, thus, lowering the cost of production the only way they could. Frozen and reduced wages would also help restrict domestic consumption. To "deal with the problem of wages," attempts were made to eliminate collective bargaining by proposing to tie the salaries of millions of State employees to a sliding scale arrangement (which would reflect biannual consumer price indexes). "Single contract for every branch of the economy" became the motto of the majority of employers and industrialists. The establishment of a fascist type State-controlled union was proposed, and a Central Collective Bargaining Council was formed to exert pressure on the trade unions.

The effects of the January 24 plan were felt very strongly by the circles outside the industrial and financial monopolies — which are at the rein of Turkey's economy. The tight monetary control mechanism, the lifting of all control of interest rates, and the requiring of those who seek to benefit from the new export encouragements to have a minimum capital of 50 million TL forced (in the first six months of 1980) 515 businesses with a total capital of 50 million TL into bankruptcy. The number of defaulted promissory notes rose (in the first four months of 1980) by 74.2%, reaching 14 million TL. Despite all attempts, inflation hovered around 120% and production fell in most sectors.

After the initial period following January 24, most of the provisions in the IMF-dictated plan were put into effect. Since foreign capital was secured by new agreements, the remaining crucial link in the chain of necessary steps which would make or break the plan was to maintain wages and salaries at a bare minimum.

A massive campaign was started against workers and wage-earners. Thousands of workers were sacked, thousands were forced to leave their jobs, and countless State employees were exiled to remote corners of the country. The placing of fascist militants and sympathizers into factories, workplaces and government offices simply to replace or intimidate democrat workers did not help raise production levels either.

During the first eight months of the Demirel Government, 77 strikes involving 122,140 workers were postponed (cf. during 1977-79 only 71 in total) and there were 54,000 workers on strike in 215 workplaces in August 1980.

In addition to numerous popular protests in almost every city and town against inflation, anti-democratic measures and tortures, strikes and work-stoppages all over the country were becoming increasingly political in motivation, and the strikers were beginning to join forces with nearby students and people in surrounding shanty-towns.

The *TARIS events* in Izmir, which took the Armed Forces a whole week to subdue and in which thousands of workers were arrested, was the best example of this growing solidarity between the various sectors within the popular opposition. Progressive forces organized people in Shanty-towns and in rural areas in "democratic committees" on an anti-fascist and democratic platform. The success of these committees and the determined struggle of the people, armed in self-defense, made the fascist forces even more bloodthirsty. Many large scale massacres, including those in Kahramanmaras, Çorum, Ordu, Tarsus, Izmir, Merzifon and Aybasti, followed one another.

It is just after the massacre of more than a hundred progressive people in Kahramanmaras at the end of 1978, that the social-democrat government of Ecevit proclaimed martial law in the most important provinces of Turkey and ceded authority on security matters to the Army chiefs. But the martial law commanders, instead of pursuing extreme-rightist killers, launched an intimidation and persecution operation against the democratic and progressive forces of the country.

In this atmosphere of intimidation and bloodshed, all democratic institutions and mass-organizations, all left-wing papers and publications which would reflect the voice of the growing opposition were closed by the martial law commanders, while the Grey Wolves were enjoying a great tolerance and support. After the proclamation of martial law in December, 1978, within a 20-month period, the military had already made the dress rehearsal for its future repression by taking into custody more than 46,000 people, of whom the majority was from the Left.

On the other hand, torture had become so rampant throughout the country that Amnesty International, in its July, 1980, report on Turkey, declared that "torture and human rights violations had become systematic".

Prior to the military coup, the last large-scale military operation was carried out in Fatsa. In a war-like operation involving 10,000 troops, tanks and helicopters, this small Black Sea town (which had become the best example of local popular administration) was encircled and occupied by the Armed Forces in order to "*bring the State authority*" into the city. Despite the joint declaration of a broad spectrum of the townspeople with various political convictions, including the official representative of the then ruling Justice Party, pleading that Fatsa was a town with no violence or political strife, the town was attacked by the military on July 11, 1980. The mayor, Fikri Sönmez, was tortured, 400 people were arrested, and in the days following, fascists were brought back to the town. After the operation, in two months, more than 20 people were murdered and an atmosphere of terror and intimidation was introduced into the region. The Fatsa incident is the most instructive example of showing the purpose and the scale of the civil and official fascist terror in the country.

On September 12, 1980, General Evren attempted to justify the military takeover as the means of preventing political violence which claimed 5,355 lives since 1975. Considering especially the number of political terror victims within the last 10-month period of the Demirel Government which had reached about 500 per month, one can say that he is right.

But behind this violence was none other than the Army itself. The Armed Forces were already in a position of controlling the most sensitive areas of Turkey, thanks to the martial law proclaimed in 20 provinces since December, 1979. Yet, despite this direct control, the political terror, instead of decreasing, showed a considerable increase.

It is this "Wait and See" position of the Army commanders and the provocations carried out by the *Counter Guerrilla Organization*, a secret military organization, that gave rise to the political violence which would later on become the justification for the military takeover.



ARMY OFFICERS' CLASS POSITION

What are the real reasons for the Army commanders to intervene so often in politics? According to some observers, "it is because the Armed Forces have always played the role of arbitrator in Turkish politics. When the country finds itself faced with any external menace or any internal crisis, it is the Army that can defend national sovereignty or restore law and order."

As a matter of fact, during the period of the collapse of *the Ottoman Empire*, the predecessor of the present Republic of Turkey, the Turkish Armed Forces was one of the principal motivating forces of the Turkish society. For example, a progressive "*Young Turks*" movement in the 19th century found its most ardent supporters and militants among the young army officers. This was because the army officers represented an important part of the well-educated élite of the population and because they considered the Ottoman Empire's "*sick-man*" position a shame for the traditionally conqueror Turkish Army. Their primary concern was to strengthen the State and to prevent territorial losses. This concern led them to an anti-imperialist attitude on the one hand, and on the other, to a bourgeois-revolutionary stand.

The bourgeois revolution of 1908 (Mesrutiyet), *the National Liberation War* (1919-1922) and *the proclamation of the Republic* (1923) all have been led by army officers.

Thanks to this leader position, the Army generals, after the foundation of the young Republic, became the political rulers of the country and the most distinguished one among them, *General Mustafa Kemal*, was elected life-term President of the Republic and later on named "*Atatürk*" (Father of the Turks).

Although the main burden of the National Liberation War was on the shoulders of workers and peasants, the military, with the purpose of granting all possibilities to the developing local bourgeoisie, took every measure to prevent the working class from gaining conscience, organizing political parties and trade-unions and being represented in Parliament. It is the alliance of the military and the rising local bourgeoisie which caused the assassination of 15 leaders of the newly formed *Communist Party of Turkey*, outlawed this party and suppressed all trade-unions and democratic organizations. Besides, adopting a chauvinist ideology which was corresponding to the ambitions of the rising local bourgeoisie, the military put the Kurdish nationality of Turkey under national repression.

The dual character of the bourgeois progressiveness was always manifested in the course of the republican period of Turkey. While carrying on an anti-imperialist stand in order to safeguard the states's political sovereignty, the army commanders, in the internal plan, always kept their concern to strengthen the local bourgeoisie at the expense of the working masses.

After the Second World War, the grand bourgeoisie which had grown up, thanks to the support of the Armed Forces, found then a new powerful ally: the United States of America which intended to include Turkey and Greece in their military camp. On May 22, 1947, *the Law on "Aid to Turkey and Greece"* and on July 12, 1947, *the Accord on "Aid to Turkey"* came into practice. Later *the "Foreign Aid Law"* of 1948 and *the "Mutual Aid for Defence Law"* turned the Turkish Armed Forces into mercenaries in charge of defending the US interests in the area. And one more step in this way was *the Turkish affiliation with the NATO Alliance* in 1952.

Despite this dependence on the USA, some elements of the Turkish Armed Forces maintained a counter position against US domination and the government of the collaborating bourgeoisie for two reasons.

First, the great majority of army officers then had a poor peasant background and saw themselves close to the people. This position was strengthened also due to the unfaithfulness of the collaborating bourgeoisie who ignored the welfare of its former ally and even caused the army officers to be poorer than ever.

Second, almost all of the army officers considered themselves the sole guarantee for national independence and were discontented with the augmentation of US control and influence on the Armed Forces.

It was under these circumstances that the Turkish Armed Forces, being encouraged by the popular mass resistance against the authoritarian regime of the center-right *Democrat Party*, realized *the May 27th, 1960*, coup d'état and put into force a new constitution guaran-

teeing human rights and fundamental liberties as well as some social security measures.

A WELL-PLANNED TRAP: OYAK

Although very well aware of the preparations for the coup d'état, the USA did not make any intervention to prevent it. Because, if the Armed Forces had not intervened, the discontentment of the masses could lead to a real popular uprising. But just after the changing of power, the US advisors imposed on *the National Unity Committee* (military junta at the time) the project of a sui-generis fund which aimed to tame the army officers.

At the beginning, this project seemed very innocent and it was impossible to notice the notorious trap behind it. In accordance with the law adopted by the junta on March 1st, 1961, *the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund* (OYAK) aimed some social activities such as supplying the army officers with cheap consumer goods, providing credits with low interest-rates and constructing low-cost residences for army officers and sergeants who had materially suffered very much during the 10-year period of the Democrat Party.

By force of law, all army officers and sergeants were obliged to be affiliated to the OYAK and to contribute 5% of their salaries. Those contributions totalled 20 million dollars a year. The fund was to be managed by an administrative board formed by army generals and officers elected among the commanding body of the Turkish Armed Forces. Once a year the representatives of military shareholders were to hold a meeting to verify the accounts,

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS OF OYAK

FIRMS	CAPITAL	OYAK's % in CAPITAL
OYAK - Investment and Holding Co. (Principal company controlling others)	13,500,000 dollars	100 %
OYAK - Renault Automobile Co.	16,700,000 dollars	42 %
TOE - Automotive Industries Co.	5,700,000 dollars	86.97 %
PETKIM - Petrochemicals Co.	100,000,000 dollars	9.33 %
Türkiye Petroleum Co.	135,500,000 dollars	3.86 %
Goodyear Tires Co.	5,400,000 dollars	23 %
Motor Vehicles Production Co.	10,000,000 dollars	99.98 %
Motor Vehicles Trade Co.	2,700,000 dollars	77.26 %
Çukurova Cement Industry Co.	4,140,000 dollars	48.39 %
Unye Cement Industry Co.	8,400,000 dollars	45.20 %
Mardin Cement Industry Co.	11,700,000 dollars	48.22 %
Bolu Cement Industry Co.	8,400,000 dollars	30.05 %
Hektas Trade Co.	2,000,000 dollars	39.66 %
OYAK - Insurance Co.	400,000 dollars	66 %
TUKAS - Turgutlu Canned Foods Co.	1,000,000 dollars	58 %

Furthermore, four of these 14 companies were among the top 100 Turkish firms in 1975.

RANKING	ANNUAL TURNOVER	ANNUAL PROFIT	EMPLOYMENT
5. PETKIM - Petrochemicals Co.	143,000,000 $	21,400,000 $	2.693
6. OYAK - Renault Automobile Co.	142,200,000 $	470,000 $	2.688
36. Goodyear Tires Co.	38,000,000 $	1,740,000 $	920
40. TOE - Automotive Industries Co.	33,500,000 $	1,270,000 $	1.029

(Source: *Economic Survey*, Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Istanbul, April 1977)

AUTO PRODUCTION IN TURKEY

Years	Total Production	Renault	Murat	Anadol
1971	13,000	12 %	59 %	29 %
1972	30,000	26 %	59 %	15 %
1973	47,000	32 %	53 %	15 %
1974	60,000	39 %	48 %	13 %
1975	67,000	46 %	44 %	10 %
1976	63,000	48 %	41 %	11 %

(Source : daily *Vatan*, Istanbul, October 8, 1977)

to determine the strategy and to decide how to use their funds.

Considering that the compulsory cotisations of Army officers had created an enormous accumulation of capital, the generals decided to use their funds for profit-making investments in industry and commerce. Today all officers and non-commissioned officers of the Turkish Armed Forces are shareholders in this giant holding company and get extra profits from it in addition to their salaries. Thus, the Armed Forces have become not only the guardian of big capital but also an integral part of it.

In order to have a clearer idea on OYAK, one must look at the statistical data concerning its investments in 1977. *(Page 24)*

Army officers' turning into capitalists in uniform has created an economic and social gap between them and the working masses. The growing contradiction was reflected during the mass strikes of industrial workers in June 15-16, 1970 and after the March 12th military intervention in 1971. The martial law regime practiced brutal pressures on the working class and all democratic forces for the sake of safeguarding the interests of finance-capital.

As for the army officers' investment in the automotive industries, *the OYAK - Renault Automobile Co.* had already turned into the most powerful in comparison with the two others: MURAT, Turkish version of FIAT, and ANADOL, two owned by the top finance holding KOÇ.

The competition between the OYAK and the other companies very often reflected on governmental decrees. In 1977, when the Ministry of Industry and Technology, under the pressure of *Koç Holding*, refused a demand to introduce new models of Renault cars, OYAK did not hesitate to blackmail the government by threatening to stop production. Thereupon, the government, under the pressure of the military, had to cede and give the permission.

Similar practices were witnessed when Renault demanded permission to increase the prices of cars, and the one who gained at the end was always OYAK.

At the OYAK-Renault Automobile Factory alone 2.688 employees worked in 1976. Taking into consideration the employees of other factories owned by OYAK, the total number of labourers exploited by the military, reached about 10 thousand.

So, the Armed Forces, not only as the means of repression of the dominating classes, but also being itself a contingent of capitalist class, has taken a position against the working class of Turkey.

Nevertheless, in view of the support the masses gave to the coup d'état, and whose actions had led to it, there can be no question of the progressive character of the coup of May 27th in the political field. *The Constitution of 1961* is its proof.

After the adoption of this constitution, the Armed Forces seemed to have retired from politics; in fact the high commanders remained in the middle of politics. According to the Constitution drawn up by the Army, the Chief of General Staff and the commanders of the land, air and naval forces are members of an advisory body, *the National Security Council*, determining national security policy and coordinating all activities related to national mobilization and total defense.

At first, the NSC was just an "advisory body." The commanders did not have any right to speak on the actual political problems. But in time the military members of the Council began to interfere in the function of the

government and parliament. Especially after *the Justice Party (AP)* came to power in 1965, Prime Minister Demirel established good relations with the high commanders and began to use them as a threat against his opponents. The main target of this threat was of course the growing left movement. After *the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP)* gained 15 seats in Parliament and the democratic movements grew stronger, *General Cemal Tural*, the Chief of General Staff, began to issue orders to the military units to undertake anti-communist education, and even published a book entitled *"Handbook for Anti-communist Action"* which accused all left-wing organizations and publications of being "enemies of the State".

This same commander fathered the idea of creating a *war industry* which, together with the OYAK, laid the foundations of *the military-industrial complex* in Turkey.

It is during the same period that a conspiring organization, which had already existed within the Armed Forces, began to stage sinister plots to provoke instability in the country. This organization was *the Special War Department*, commonly known as *the Counter-guerilla Organization*, which had been set up under a bilateral military agreement concluded in 1959 between Turkey and the United States. Concerned with developments in Lebanon, the United States had proposed to give Turkey special aid designed to prevent "communist infiltration".

The apparent aim of this department was to set up resistance forces in case of "uprising" or foreign aggression. But the application and training directives show that the organization could function against the domestic movements of social awakening. In various written official regulations of the Department, "uprising" was defined as "political and social opposition against the established order in the country."

The Special War Department had its headquarters in the building of the *U.S. Military Aid Mission* in Ankara. The training of the officers of this department was carried out by the U.S. Intelligence Services.

According to the official documents of this department, unveiled later by a fomer military judge, *Emin Deger*, "the social development in its natural trend will lead to an inevitable result. Thus it is necessary to infiltrate the ranks of social opposition and, through the activities of the provocators, lead opposition to terrorism and end up in military take-over."

The tools for these provocative actions were already on the political scene: *The Grey Wolves.*

Unable to suppress the resistance of the popular masses defending their constitutional rights, the Turkish bourgeoisie had already started to organize paramilitary right-wing bands with a view to wiping out the resistance. Prime Minister Demirel even dared to say in his official speeches that he would arm 200,000 *Justice Party* militants.

As for the extreme rightist organizations, they had been founded on chauvinist and fundamentalist ideologies. First, more than 40 thousand mosques had been turned into cells of the fundamentalist movement. Secondly, the neo-fascist movement had been organized by *the Nationalist Action Party* (MHP) headed by *Ex-colonel Turkes.* This party was tolerated by both the government and the Armed Forces and organized an armed and uniformed terror band, named *Ülkü Ocaklari* (Foyers of Ideal).

Aided and supported by the Special War Department, these armed bands, known as *Grey Wolves*, had already murdered 42 left-wing people during the 5-year period of Justice Party rule until 1971.

After preparing instability in the country, thanks to the political violence carried out by the Grey Wolves, the Armed Forces judged that it was time for directly intervening in politics and cracking down on all social opposition.

The first direct clash between the Armed Forces and the working class occured during the 1970 mass demonstrations in Istanbul where more than a hundred thousand industrial workers aimed to defend their progressive unions. Soldiers were brought in to crush the demonstration, and three workers were killed. Martial law was thereupon proclaimed in the districts of Istanbul and Kocaeli; the leaders of progressive unions and workers were arrested and many of them atrociously tortured. The economic reason behind this crack-down was only too clear because it was the army officers' OYAK which also was the employer of a certain number of the resisting workers. And ideologically, the Army officers were convinced that the workers' demonstration was a communist action.

The Armed Forces sought, in that period, to crush not only the working class but also the

Kurdish people living in the eastern part of Anatolia. In April, 1970, Kurdish villages were surrounded by thousands of gendarmes and military commandos with the support of the Air Forces, and all the houses and shops were searched and the people tortured.

After the end of the 5-month martial law, the political ambitions of the high-ranking commanders continued to increase. Form time to time, high commanders sent confidential memoranda to the President of the Republic and requested that all constitutional rights be abolished and an iron-handed regime established in Turkey. They were supported and encouraged by the most important industrialists who dreamed of huge profits from a war industry and of exploiting the workers to the utmost in an authoritarian regime.

Thus the functions of the military wing of *the National Security Council* shifted from being advisory to being political.

THE MARCH 12, 1971, INTERVENTION

The year 1971 marked the beginning of a 2-year period of State terror in Turkey. The Armed Forces intervened on March 12, 1971, and forced Parliament to proclaim martial law in the most important industrial cities and Kurdish provinces of the country. This was also a *coup de grace* to the last remnants of the progressive officers in the Army.

The corruption, speculation and collaboration of the high-ranking commanders also engendered opposition on the part of those officers who had not lost connection with their own poor backgrounds and who remained imbued with the ideals of national liberation. Hundreds of such officers had been liquidated from time to time, even before the coups d'état of 1971. But in spite of many liquidations, the ruling circles were not able to annihilate all resistance within the Armed Forces, and on March 8, 1971, the radical Army officers issued a communiqué denouncing the corrupt order and the hegemony of the United States and demanding radical reforms. This action by the radical Army officers dealt a heavy blow to the United States and its Turkish collaborators. All the secret intelligence services were immediately mobilized to play their traditional role of intrigue. Urged by them, the military members of *the National Security Council*, presenting an ultimatum to the President of the Republic on March 12, 1971, forced Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel to resign and the National Assembly to set up a "reformist" government. Thus they took the initiative into their own hands, pacified and later liquidated all radical officers. The military-backed government, under the pretext of putting an end to political violence, cracked down on the Left, and arrested, tortured, condemned or dismissed from their posts more than a hundred thousand progressive people; suspended the right to strike, banned left-wing publications and amended the democratic Constitution of 1961 so as to suppress or restrict many fundamental rights and freedoms.

It is during this 2-year period of repression that the existence of *the Special War Department* was brought to the fore. Commonly called "*the Counter Guerilla Organization*", the Special War Department carried out all arrests and torture practice in collaboration with the "Grey Wolves".

Although the 2-year State terror allowed big businesses to increase their profits, the military junta of that period was not well prepared for establishing a long-term dictatorship. Moreover, personal ambitions of some commanders led to contradictions within the commanding corps. For all these reasons, in 1973, the military was obliged to hand over power to politicians.

In this new and relatively "liberal" period, *the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation* (DISK) consolidated its influential position within the working class while all other democratic forces began to reorganize. Since amendments to the Constitution banned State employees from unionizing, striking and officially engaging in any political activity, they organized in the alternative "*democratic mass organizations.*" In addition to these, the formation of student organizations was accelerated. In time, all these organizations began to exert their political and ideological influence in the political arena, forming one of the basic building blocks of the popular opposition.

What is more, the results of the legislative elections of 1973 showed that the center-left opposition appeared as a "hope" for the masses

while the right-wing parties were losing their popular support.

In fact, even before the coup of 1971, the contradictions at the core of the coalition of the dominant classes had provoked the appearance of new right-wing parties opposite the most representative one, *the Justice Party* (AP).

However, the partial success of *the Republican People's Party* (CHP) in the legislative and local elections of 1973 led various strata of the bourgeoisie to temporarily put aside their differences. In order not to lose the support of the big landowners, the bourgeois parties blocked a reluctant and symbolic agrarian reform although it would be to the industrial bourgeoisie's advantage.

After the elections of 1973, although failing to obtain absolute parliamentary majority, *Bülent Ecevit*, leader of the CHP, formed a coalition government with the integrist *National Salvation Party* (MSP). But after the military operation in Cyprus in 1974, which increased the CHP's popularity, *Ecevit* and Erbakan, chairman of the MSP, could not get along well. Thereupon, three other right-wing parties, *the Justice Party* (AP), *the Nationalist Action Party* (MHP) and *the Republican Reliance Party* (CGP) drew the MSP to their side and formed a "*Nationalist Front" Coalition* with a government program inspired by the big bourgeoisie.

The rise of fascist terror gained impetus after the formation of this 4-party government in 1975.

In order to illustrate well the atmosphere which prepared the military coup d'état of 1980, we are reproducing in the coming chapters the extracts of *Info-Türk Bulletins* from 1977.

MARCH 1977

ESCALATING TERROR OF "GREY WOLVES"

While the AP is carrying on its efforts to hold general elections in June, five months too early, the "Grey Wolves" continue to kill anyone and everyone who has a progressive mind and to increase political tension just on the eve of a possible early election with the purpose of creating the convenient atmosphere, so that if the Nationalist Front loses the elections, military government can be installed.

"The role of the smallest government partner and its *Foyers of Ideal* (Ülkü Ocaklari) in political murders became obvious with irrefutable evidence and the *Justice Party* (AP) depends on political bandits in order to remain in power and to continue the ordering exploitation since it has cut all hopes of coming to power through popular votes," said CHP Chairman Ecevit. He claimed that the political murders in the country reached a level worse than in dictatorships "where people were imprisoned for their political ideas but not killed as in Turkey."

On the other hand, four CHP deputies held a common press conference on February 28 and claimed that the MHP and its side organisations organised 1,051 raids (including those on party meetings), killed 58 people and wounded 1,657.

Deputy *Süleyman Genç* said: "Multinational companies and the CIA have used paranoiacs as a legal indicator in continuing their activities and protecting their interests everywhere in the world. Türkes has *stuck* to our democracy, national peace, the future of our society, to the young bodies like a vampire and keeps gnawing."

Genç claimed that among the people killed were three MHP supporters who had refused to continue working within that party and were murdered in accordance with Türkes' order: "*Kill anyone who reneges on the movement!*"

He referred to an order by Foyers of Ideal Chairman *Ali Batman* who asked that members of the organisations be listed in two different books, one of them official and the other unofficial "because of certain hazards."

Genç, referring to the German daily *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, also claimed that Türkes had given untrue information to the Court of Constitution concerning MHP's activities in Germany. *Stuttgarter Zeitung* quoted the Interior Minister of Stuttgart as saying the MHP has no official organisations in Stuttgart but its organisations continue illegal actions.

This summer, the MHP was called on to testify at Turkey's Court of Constitution in connection with the party's activities among Turkish migrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany. The MHP informed the

Court that its branches and side organisations abroad were closed.

Also referring to the German left-wing publication *Konkret*, Genç claimed the police specially provided the MHP with automatic guns purportedly bought from Germany to equip Turkish police in "anarchist hunts" in 1976. *Konkret* said MHP's commandos were "quite well" supported by the Government and the police and received 300 LT from the MHP for each incident in which they were involved.

On March 8, the Foyers of Ideal Chairman issued a statement in which he said: "The idealist youth regards it a main duty to keep the Turkish State on foot. If the State forces close their eyes to this necessity, the idealist youth will bust its fist so hard on the head of traitors that, even Moscow and Peking units cannot prevent their fate. The head of the communist mob, the source of anarchy must be crushed."

Seeing the growing reaction against the MHP terror, the Chief Prosecutor's Office launched on March 9 an investigation into this party in connection with the killing of a MHP member in Istanbul. If the office determines that the MHP has violated the Political Parties Code, it will apply to the Court of Constitution to have the party disbanded.

MAY 1977

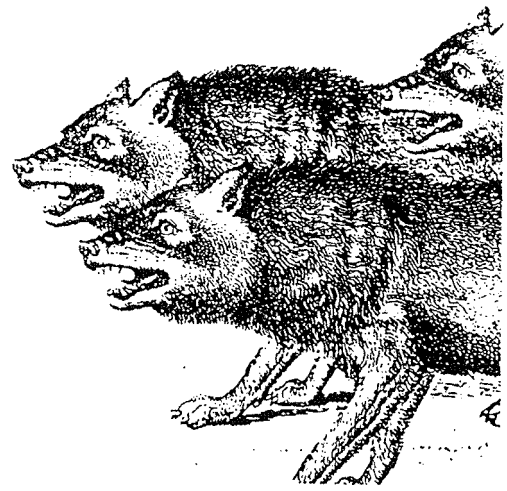
BLOODY INCIDENTS OF THE MAY 1ST AND THE JUNE 5 ELECTIONS

Thirty-four people were killed on May 1st 1977, in Istanbul during the outbursts at the end of the important May Day Rally organized by *the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions* (DISK).

The tragic incidents of May 1st just before the June 5 general elections, cannot be considered "accidental."

Turkish Prime Minister Demirel and his ministers, in order to cover their own responsibility, claim that the incidents are the result of internal conflicts of the Turkish Left.

On the contrary, these incidents are a new link in the succession of armed attacks provoked and supported by the Nationalist Front



Government who does everything to prevent the development of the working class movement and the constitution of a democratic government following the June 5, 1977, elections.

Eye-witnesses of the bloody incidents affirm that:

- Unknown persons shot the demonstrators from the roofs of the municipal Water Works Administration Building and the Intercontinental Hotel.
- Following these shots, a common panic started and two cars were seen to pass through the Taksim Square shooting at the demonstrators. Many people were crushed in this panic.
- On the other hand, the pro-government press had already started provocative publications before May 1st, affirming that the 1st of May would be the occasion for bloody incidents. The responsible State authorities also made statements in the same sense during the incidents.

It is probable that provocator-agents had been introduced under different covers and applied their provocations in accordance with the orders given by the authorities.

- The authorities claim that arms were found on the demonstrators after the incident is not convincing.

It is possible that certain people were carrying arms, but it is completely normal in such a country where about two hundred people had been assassinated by the fascist commando

units and where public order could not be assured by the state forces.

Furthermore, *Mr. Ecevit*, former Prime Minister of Turkey and the leader of the main opposition formation, is obliged to be escorted by armed body-guards, since he had been attacked thrice during his one-week electoral campaign.

From April 1st, 1975, the date when the Nationalist Front Government was formed, until May 7, 1977, within 25 months, more than 2,000 raids were made on meetings or on university campuses. These armed attacks have caused 228 deaths and wounded more than 3,000.

Leader of the CHP also under armed attacks

The *May Day Massacre* in Istanbul and armed attacks on Ecevit, leader of the CHP, during his electoral campaign in three towns, have been the most striking examples of security violation in the June 5 elections in Turkey.

While the identified provocators and executors of the May Day Massacre, who killed 34 persons and wounded hundreds, are still at large, the contents of a tape-recording of *Ecevit*'s comments during the assault on him in Siran were disclosed.

The followings are extracts from the tape recording:

"I want the security forces to do their duty... I am calling on the security forces. You cannot let the public be stoned and clubbed. Send them (assailants) away. If you don't, I'll come and do it. We will not leave the children and the country to those bandits. (Gunshots). Don't worry, don't be afraid ladies. I am here. If they are going to kill, they are going to kill me first."

(To the scattering gendarmerie soldiers):

"Commander... Your duty is to prevent those stoning these people. Do not let a handful of kids crush the Turkish soldier. Are you going to let the soldiers be crushed by a handful of kids?"

After his return from this campaign, in Ankara, Ecevit made the following statement on the assaults:

"The dangers I encountered during my trip are natural. When there is no security of life in Ankara, in the streets, in the schools, in the dormitories, I am not entitled to seek security for my life. Either our lives are ensured as a whole, for everyone, or nobody has it.

"I am glad to be among you again, but my mind is in those far, unreached parts of the country, where I left people, without security, without the State."

Furthermore, *ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes*, leader of the MHP and the Deputy Premier of the Nationalist Front Government has openly declared that the "*Grey Wolves*" Commando units would establish order at the polls without hesitating to shoot if necessary. The aim of this threat is to prevent the left-wing voters from going to the polls.

JUNE 1977

GROWTH OF THE MHP'S ELECTORATE

Because the June 5 elections did not give any party an absolute majority, those missing a one-party government for years were disappointed once again.

So, Turkey faces four more years of coalition governments and even the threat of a *military coup d'état*.

Meanwhile, just after the general elections, Republican People's Party Chairman Bülent Ecevit claimed that his party had won a minimum of 220 seats in the 450-seat National Assembly, and perhaps more. And so he caused the world press to make untrue comments saying that a social-democrat government was assured in Turkey.

He was so sure that he hoped to form a single-party government with the support of a few independent deputies. But this claim has been one of the gravest mistakes in Ecevit's political life because the official figures one day later showed that the CHP had failed to reach 220 and could gain only 213 seats, while the rightist opposition held 229.

The final results of the general elections announced by the Supreme Election Council showed that of the total 21,207,303 voters, only 15,358,210 went to the ballot box to submit their votes. The ratio of participation was determined to be 72.42 percent.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS OF THE 1973 AND 1977 ELECTIONS

Parties	Year	Valid Votes	Percent	Seats
REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (CHP)	1973	3,570,583	33.3	185
	1977	6,117,280	41.4	213
JUSTICE PARTY (AP)	1973	3,197,900	29.8	149
	1977	5,457,649	36.9	189
NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (MSP)	1973	1,265,771	11.8	48
	1977	1,271,620	8.6	24
NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY (MHP)	1973	362,208	3.4	3
	1977	942,606	6.4	16
REPUBLICAN RELIANCE PARTY (CGP)	1973	564,343	5.3	13
	1977	277,059	1.9	3
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP)	1973	1,275,502	11.9	45
	1977	273,426	1.8	1
UNION PARTY OF TURKEY (TBP)	1973	121,759	1.1	1
	1977	58,319	0.4	—
WORKERS' PARTY OF TURKEY (TIP)	1973	—	—	—
	1977	20,683	0.1	—
INDEPENDENTS	1973	303,218	2.8	6
	1977	367,172	2.5	4

The comparative results of the elections of 1973 and 1977 show that both *the Justice Party* (AP) and *the Republican People's Party* (CHP) managed to increase their votes, while the religious *National Salvation Party* (MSP) keeps the same number of votes, but loses half of its seats in Parliament. Two minor rightist parties, *Democratic Party* (DP) and *Republican Reliance Party* (CGP) lost their votes and seats in favour of big parties. As a surprise, the neo-fascist *Nationalist Action Party* (MHP) showed an important increase both in the number of votes and seats in Parliament.

Seeing the impossibility of forming a one-party government, Ecevit asked for support from the MSP. To obtain this support, he declared that he was an ardent anti-communist and said: "Fascism gives rise to communism as a reaction. In Portugal and Spain, years of fascist rule revealed bright red communism' when the lid of the pressure was lifted a little."

Thereupon, Turkish capitalists such as *Vehbi Koç, Sakip Sabanci* and *Feyyaz Berker* showed their support for Ecevit and asked for the formation of a one-party CHP government.

In spite of the fact that he repeatedly stated during his electoral campaign that the CHP would ask for accounts of certain deeds in the past, particularly of tortures and political assassinations, Ecevit gave up these promises and said: "asking for accounts of criminal deeds is not the business of our government."

In this spirit, *Ecevit* presented to Parliament on June 28, 1977, his government program which did not contain anything to annoy the capitalist circles. Despite these concessions, the Ecevit Government failed to get a confidence-vote.

A military coup d'état attempt averted

Seeing the unavoidable progress of the democratic forces during the electoral campaign, certain army officers attempted to stage a military coup d'état just before the elections. The Commander of the Turkish Land Forces, *General Namik Kemal Ersun*, was among those officers.

General Ersun is known as a fascist-minded officer and an ardent supporter of the neo-fascist MHP. During the military repression 1971-1973, as a martial law commander, he had exercised the most brutal methods: tortures, solitary confinements, etc.

However, thanks to the vigilance of some anti-fascist army officers, this attempt at a coup d'état was averted and General Ersun was retired earlier than his normal retirement date.

JULY 1977

TURKEY AGAIN UNDER THE REPRESSIVE RULE OF THE "NATIONALIST FRONT"

"The violent activities and anarchic incidents in our country are backed by the fights to destroy democracy. Our state is face-to-face with the assaults of international communism from various directions. Internal security, law and order will be established".

This quotation is the key-point of the government programme of the new 3-party "*Nationalist Front*" Coalition in Turkey. Like many other fascist-oriented predecessors, this government, too, started the second stage of the repressive "Nationalist Front" rule by declaring a total war against all forces of democracy, independence and socialism in Turkey.

After the failure of social-democrat Ecevit's Government, the new "Nationalist Front" Government of the center-right *Justice Party* (AP), religious *National Salvation Party* (MSP) and neo-fascist *Nationalist Action Party* (MHP), under AP Chairman Süleyman Demirel, managed to acquire the confidence of 229 out of 450 deputies in the National Assembly.

The coalition Demirel patched together is almost identical, except for the absence of a small fourth party, the rightist-kemalist *Republican Reliance Party* (CGP), to his previous government which ruled Turkey in a repressive manner for 26 months before the June 5 elections.

The new government's programme offers no radical changes from policies followed by the earlier coalition.

A two-week intense bargaining over cabinet portfolios demonstrated that Demirel's major partner, the religious MSP, did not mellow as a result of heavy losses at the polls, which reduced its strength in the Assembly from 48 to 24 seats. Demirel was obliged to salvage his coalition by giving the Salvationists eight ministries, as in the previous government.

The third partner, neo-fascist MHP received five cabinet posts in accordance with its significant gains at the polls, going up to 16 seats from three.

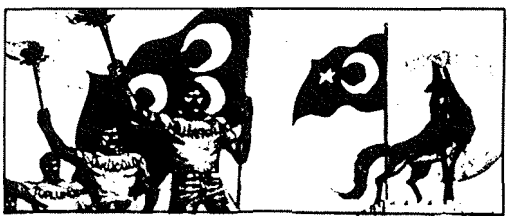
Salvationist leader *Necmeddin Erbakan* and neo-fascist chief *Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes* each received deputy premierships.

AP took 16 portfolios while it holds 189 seats in the National Assembly.

Just after the formation of the new "Nationalist Front" Government, there has been a significant increase in violent acts all over Turkey. Attacks on home-coming buses, pulling passengers down and shooting them dead, raiding coffee-houses and opening fire on people are the highlights of the last two months.

55 more political assassinations have been committed in one month, and the total number of murders since the formation of the first "Nationalist Front" Government in May 1975 has reached 334. Even the Interior Minister of the "NF" Government, *Korkut Özal*, was obliged to admit that the total number of political assassinations within the "NF" period is 288.

According to the official statement of Özal, the total number of political clashes and assaults within the same period has reached 1,552, explosions 700, attacks on political party centers 114 and wounded persons 4,113.



The great majority of the political assassinations are committed by the "Grey Wolves", a side-organization of *the Nationalist Action Party* (MHP), the neo-fascist partner of the "NF" Government. In addition to that, the other partner of the "NF" Government, pro-islamic *National Salvation Party* (MSP) has also initiated to form a proper para-military organisation under the name of *Warriors* and to train hundreds of young religious people in camps for armed struggle.

The increase in political assassinations committed by the neo-fascist and religious elements also has provoked retaliatory acts of ultra-leftist groups.

OCTOBER 1977

MHP: A MENACE ALSO TO ITS OWN RIGHTIST PARTNERS

The MHP which managed to obtain 16 seats in the National Assembly and 6 seats in the government has turned into one of the most controversial subjects of political struggle in Turkey.

Since the June 5 polls, Alparslan Türkes, leader of the neo-fascist party, in almost every statement, has made a call for peace, unity, togetherness and has particularly invited *the Republican People's Party* (CHP) to believe that his calls are sincere. Despite a tendency within CHP to welcome the calls of Türkes, Mr. Ecevit, Chairman of CHP, has not indicated that he confides in his calls.

Since the "Grey Wolves", the side organization of the MHP, is still carrying on political assassinations, the peace calls of Ex-colonel Türkes, also Vice-premier of the 3-party NF Government, is very far from being convincing.

On the other hand, the double-faced attitude of Türkes also has provoked uneasiness within the coalition itself. After obtaining six seats in the Council of Ministers, "Grey Wolves" are being placed in administrative posts of these ministries.

For example, a 26-year old "Grey Wolf", Faik Içmeli, who is still being tried for having borne fire-arms, was appointed chief advisory of the Ministry of the State Monopolies and Customs, held by a MHP-member minister.

Furthermore, since "Grey Wolves" are appointed instead of dismissed Justice Party men, the rank-and-file of the principal partner of the 3-party coalition, have started to manifest their reaction against the growing influence and authority of the MHP. *The Justice Party* (AP) deputies and local leaders accuse Prime Minister Demirel of having given many concessions to the neo-fascist party. Even some important figures in the party have proposed to withdraw from the 3-party coalition and to attempt to form a new coalition with the Republican People's Party (CHP).

DECEMBER 1977

LOCAL ELECTIONS LEAD TO A GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE

The returns of the December 11th local elections in Turkey, manifesting a further shift to the left, have been a blow to the "National Front" Government which has ruled Turkey for 31 months. As *Republican People's Party* (CHP) leader Bülent Ecevit said, these results will affect Turkey's general political atmosphere and Turkish democracy, creating important political consequences.

Republican People's Party which entered the polls controlling the municipalities in 33 provincial centers emerged with 42 mayorships in its portfolio. CHP won over the mayorships of Bursa and Aydin, traditional bastions of the *Justice Party* (AP). Although CHP lost Malatya and Diyarbakir to independents and Izmit (Kocaeli) to AP, the reason for these paradoxical losses is that, in the said provinces, the left-wing candidates of CHP had been vetoed by the party administration and therefore many progressive electors, protesting against this attitude, did not participate in elections and caused the CHP votes to fall.

Justice Party (AP), principal partner of the "Nationalist Front" Government, entered the polls with 22 mayorships in cities and emerged with only 15. *National Salvation Party* (MSP), pro-islamic partner of the government, could obtain only 3 mayorships in cities.

Nevertheless, of the three government parties, *Nationalist Action Party* (MHP), neo-fascist partner of the government, emerged with increasing gains from the local elections. MHP, which entered the polls without any municipalities, won mayorships of five provincial centers, three of them previously controlled by AP and two by CHP. And so, MHP became the third biggest party by having left behind MSP.

Totally, of the 1,712 settlement centers in Turkey, CHP won 715 mayorships; AP, 710; MHP, 58; MSP, 46; three minor parties, 12; and Independents, 172.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS OF THE LOCAL ELECTIONS OF 1973 AND 1977

Parties	Votes for local Elections 1973		Mayors 1973	Votes for local elections 1977		Mayors 1977
Republican People's Party	3,708,687	(%37.1)	533	5,065,753	(%42.09)	715
Justice Party	3,232,365	(%32.3)	658	4,477,018	(%37.18)	710
Nationalist Action Party	133,089	(% 1.3)	4	811,757	(% 6.73)	58
Nationalist Salvation Party	620,140	(% 6.2)	25	819,638	(% 6.81)	46
Democratic Party	1,075,304	(%10.8)	100	121,557	(% 1.02)	4
Republican Reliance Party	289,683	(% 2.9)	37	64,042	(% 0.53)	7
Workers' Party of Turkey	——	——	—	58,683	(% 0.51)	—
Union Party of Turkey	41,092	(% 0.4)	—	29,748	(% 0.28)	1
Soc. Workers' Party of Turkey	——	——	—	28,850	(% 0.23)	—
Socialist Revolution Party	——	——	—	2,982	(% 0.02)	—
Independents	890,878	(% 8.9)	287	555,663	(% 4.61)	172

On the other hand, the counting of votes cast for provincial assemblies shows that the center-left continues to increase the percentage of votes.

Rising of the neo-fascist party

The table shows that the votes for the Justice Party also increased, but the new votes came from other rightist parties such as the *Democratic Party* and *Republican Reliance Party* which had once won over a certain part of the traditional electors of Justice Party. Those parties are now practically eliminated from the political scene in Turkey. It means that the AP did not increase its votes, but recovered those which had temporarily shifted to other rightist parties.

But the origin of the new votes for the neo-fascist party is still controversial. Analysing the results, Ecevit said the returns confirmed that the AP is rapidly losing its votes to the MHP. "A shift of votes from the AP to the CHP is the natural outcome of change in the society. But the AP's vote loss to the MHP is caused only by the concessions AP leader Demirel makes to the MHP, just for the sake of remaining in power," he said.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the MHP got a certain part of its new votes from the CHP. Fascist leader ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes said in a press conference that, contrary to what the CHP leader claimed, the MHP had won mayorships from CHP in Erzincan, Yozgat and Elazig.

As a matter of fact, this shift of votes from the CHP to the MHP is also a natural outcome of the concessions Ecevit made to the MHP during the election of the Speaker of Parliament.

While this election was at a deadlock, the MHP said that it would support a CHP candidate for National Assembly Speaker as long as the nominee was an "anti-communist." Surprising all his left-wing supporters, Ecevit accepted this proposal and presented the names of 15 deputies whom he considered "anti-communist." From this list, *Mr. Cahit Karakas* was picked by Türkes and then, with the votes of CHP and MHP parliaamentary groups, this "anti-communist" was elected the Speaker of National Assembly.

Ecevit's new conciliatory attitude was criticized by the left-wing of the party. For example, Izmir Deputy Süleyman Genç criticized the "cooperation" between the CHP and the MHP, saying "we formerly legitimatized the MSP, now is it the MHP's turn?"

The answer has been positive and, in addition to other reasons, thanks to the credit granted by Ecevit, MHP succeeded in obtaining 58 mayorships all over Turkey and increased its votes to 811,757 (%6.74), from 133,089 (%1.3).

Anyhow, the fact that the CHP emerged with increasing gains from the local elections and the MHP won certain votes from the AP had an impact on the arithmetic of Parliament, with successive resignations of some AP deputies from this party. Seeing the

MHP's rising influence over the state apparatus, they had already decided to resign from the AP to destroy the absolute majority of the "Nationalist Front" and so create a chance to form a new government without participation of that neo-fascist party.

1977 IN BRIEF

March,

- Despite the escalation of fascism, the CHP continues to reject a long-term cooperation with other left-wing parties against fascism.
- In one year, the NF Government banned 94 strikes under the pretext of "harming the interest of the country and the national security."
- A well known fascist-minded person, Saban Karatas, was named Director general of the Turkish Radio-TV Corporation (TRT).
- Since the beginning of the year, 7 journalists have been assaulted by rightist assailants.
- A university professor, Server Tanilli is tried before a criminal court of Istanbul for his book entitled "The history of Civilization."
- A fascist-minded professor, Hasan Tan was appointed the head of the Middle-East Technical University (ODTÜ) in Ankara.
- Lawyers in many Turkish courts boycotted trials in protest against the government's failure to execute the high court's decisions.
- Chief of General Staff Semih Sancar was accused by a parliamentary investigation commission of having obstructed the prosecution of the suspects of the Lockheed bribe affair.

April,

- 100,000 Turkish citizens are deprived of the right to travel abroad. They are classified in name at every passport check-point.
- Four journalists are tried before a military tribunal for "having defamed the Turkish Armed Forces."
- President of the People's Party of Cyprus (KHP), Mr. Alper Orhon, said that the Grey Wolves had started to organize in Cyprus as well.

June,

- Turkey's leading industrialist *Vehbi Koç*: "It is our major wish that a powerful government can be formed after the polls. The future government should repair relations between Turkey and the United States and the EEC".
- CHP leader *Ecevit* warned the party candidates and organisations that they should not approach other left-wing groups. To gain the confidence of the ruling circles, he put the Navy Commander and a martial law commander on the party tickets, during the period of the State terror (1971-73).
- Chilian military school ship *"Esmeralda"* faced a bomb attack on June 14, at the Antalya sea-port, and some Chilian sailors were insulted and harassed by the people.

July,

- Turkey witnesses the largest workers strike in the metal sector. About 30,000 metal workers are on strike.
- Turkey is running a massive foreign exchange deficit of about 1.5 billion $ a year. The outgoing government had called on the IMF to help out, and the IMF has taken preliminary soundings. It appears that the Turkish government will choose three ways, which are, in order of priority: 1. To slow down the growth rate; 2. To support and effect high tax-refund on exports; 3. To devalue the currency.

October,

- Amnesty International, in an AI Briefing on Turkey issued in March, 1977, has stated: "In the years following the military intervention of March, 1971, AI received hundreds of allegations of torture from Turkey... AI continues (today) to receive allegations that political prisoners in Turkey are tortured..." The Association of Solidarity with Detainees and Prisoners (TÜMAD-DER) stated that within the year of 1975, only 270 detainees were tortured in police centers and prisons.
- The Ministry of the interior launched a "book-hunting" all over Turkey. More than 300 political titles are being confiscated by police wherever they see them. In Diyarbakir, 4,300 volumes of a book in the Kurdish language were confiscated.
- An editor was condemned to prison term.
- The new government issued a new decree aggravating the censorship on films.
- Chairman of the teachers' association (TÖB-DER), Mr. Gültekin Gazioglu, was prevented from travelling abroad.

December,

- In the course of the local election campaign, the number of acts of violence reached a record level and within only 41 days 46 persons were assassinated for political reasons.
- CHP Senator Niyazi Ünsal held at the National Assembly a press conference on police torture practice and presented a torture victim to the press.
- CHP Deputy Azimet Köylüoglu tabled a motion asking information on the relations between the CIA and the Counter-guerilla Organization of the Turkish Army.
- The chairman of the Progressive Lawyers' Association (ÇHD), Halit Çelenk, said that the Counter-guerilla Organization was the organizer of the torture practices in Turkey.
- In addition to six editors who had been arrested until the end of October, another editor was arrested for his publications.

JANUARY 1978

ERA OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY STARTS

The returns of the December 11 local elections in Turkey, led to governmental change manifesting a further shift to the left.

Mr. Demirel's "Nationalist Front" Government, responsible for political violence, public corruptions, foreign policy deadlocks and economic problems, was brought down on New Year's Eve, thanks to the defectors from *the Justice Party* (AP), and Mr. Ecevit, leader of the social democrat *Republican People's Party* (CHP), formed the new government.

This was Mr. Ecevit's second attempt at the premiership since the elections last june. A minority Ecevit Government failed on a first confidence vote. This time, Premier Ecevit's new coalition government won a vote of confidence on January 17 and the National Assembly voted 229 to 218 to confirm the four-group coalition dominated by the social-democrats.

Ecevit's government is formed by 22 deputies from its own party, two from the rightist Republican Reliance Party (CGP), the sole deputy of the rightist Democratic Party (DP), and 10 independents who defected from the AP and who say that they were obliged to make a choice between a coup d'état and cooperation with Mr. Ecevit.

Ecevit presented to Parliament an ambitious government program which promised a wide range of future projects, from stopping political violence to achieving land reform, from a fight against public corruption to conserving energy.

On the economy, foreign policy and national defense, the program stressed the need for reducing Turkey's dependence on foreign countries.

Ecevit complained that Turkey, which has made contributions for years to the Atlantic Alliance "beyond and above its economic means," has been having difficulties in obtaining its defense requirements, even with its own money, from its allies.

Notwithstanding that the main source of Turkey's troubles has been its dependence on the USA and NATO, the new government's foreign policy does not have any radical change.

Although he said his government would develop a new concept of national defense in accordance with Turkey's needs and resources, he added that under this new concept "Turkey would still honor its membership in NATO."

Ecevit said parts of present agreements with the European Economic Community, of which Turkey is an associate member, inflicted obstacles on the development of Turkish industry and would have to be revised.

Ecevit did not make clear whether the long-standing foreign policy would necessitate further rapprochement with Turkey's northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, to the extent of a treaty of friendship.

Not a popular government, but a government of conciliation

Despite the fact that Ecevit's movement has been supported ardently by all left-wing forces ignoring the necessity of an independent political movement of the working class of Turkey, Ecevit's Government preferred to be a conciliatory and "national unity" government instead of a popular one.

For this, Ecevit submits two excuses:

a) This is not a one-party government but a coalition government including two rightist parties and defectors from the rightist Justice Party.

b) He said in the government program that all economic and foreign policy plans required a "united nation" behind them in order to succeed. Therefore, he added, his government, the parliament and the nation had the primary duty to eliminate "unconstitutional activities" aimed at establishing "a totalitarian regime of terror and coercion."

Although the people expect the new government to stop the acts of violence as soon as possible, to dismiss all those responsible for these acts from public posts, and to demand accounts for them, there are some suspicions that such a government, including two well-known rightists as vice-premiers, may go further in also suppressing the forces at the left of the CHP under the pretext of "establishing law and order."

One can recall very well that actual Vice-Premier Faruk Sükan was the Interior Minister of Demirel's governments before 1970 and applied the most sinister measures against the socialists at the time.

As for Vice-Premier Turhan Feyzioglu, Chairman of the *Republican Reliance Party*, he has always maintained a staunch anti-communist attitude and defended all repressive measures practiced by the military regime between 1971-1973. The members of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe recall his assaults not only on the socialists of Turkey, but even on the social-democrat and liberal deputies of European countries who criticized the repression in Turkey...

The Left anxious, the Bourgoisie contented

While the great bourgeoisie and NATO circles expressed their satisfaction with the new government, the democratic organizations of Turkey showed their disappointment with the structure of the government and reacted against the lack of some concrete measures in the government program regarding the elimination of anti-democratic articles of the Turkish Penal Code, which have always threatened the propagation of marxist views and the existence of socialist parties.

Two weeks after Ecevit's government came to power, the secretary general of *The Progressive Youth Organization* (Devgenç) was arrested, during a demonstration which democratic associations organized to show the popular masses' demands. His arrest increased the Left's anxieties.

FEBRUARY 1978

CONTROVERSY ON "COUNTER-GUERILLA" ORGANISATION

The status of the *Counter-Guerilla Organisation* within the Turkish Armed Forces has become the main topic of the day in Turkey.

The organization was recently brought to attention by Republican People's Party (CHP) Senator Niyazi Ünsal and Deputy Süleyman Genç, who claimed that "Counter-Guerilla" centers, as an antithesis to the growing left movement in the country, had been established on the suggestion of the CIA by an army general. They claimed that the organization has supplied arms to terrorist groups such as the "*Grey Wolves*," para-military troops of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), and has provoked them into action and continues to do so.

All democratic organizations of Turkey asked Ecevit's Government to dissolve this illegal organization and to ask for accounts of all its activities such as torturing, provoking bloody incidents and supporting fascist groups.

Former Prime Minister Demirel, actually leader of the principal opposition party, the Justice Party (AP), tries to exploit the controversy with the purpose of provoking the Army against the new government and left forces. Remembering that Ecevit too had included the claims about counter-guerilla organization in the CHP's electoral platform, Demirel said Ecevit should either refute his former statements and allegations involving the Armed Forces in claims of political assassinations or come forth with definite proof backing his position.

As a matter of fact, since the latest general elections, Ecevit has seemed to forget his earlier statements and he did not even say anything in the government programme about the illegal activities of the Counter-guerilla organization.

But after the controversy started on the subject, Ecevit was obliged to talk, and, instead of insisting on his earlier claims, asked that this debate stopped.

At a news conference on February 4, 1978, Ecevit, refuting his earlier statements, denied the existence of a counter-guerilla organization run by the State and claimed that his earlier allegations were not definite claims, but suppositions.

"According to my investigations there is no official counter-guerilla organization established in the State." The Prime Minister said "we must all be respectful towards the Turkish Armed Forces and help them in the realization of their desire to remain out of politics."

Notwithstanding that Ecevit tried to avoid more debate on the issue, Demirel continued to provoke the Armed Forces by claiming that these attacks were aimed at the Armed Forces as a whole and the Prime Minister should take a firm stand against the allegations of left circles.

On the other hand, in Parliament, *Ex-general Faik Türün,* infamous martial law commander of the past and presently Justice Party deputy, claimed that, with these charges against the Counter-Guerilla Organization, the Left started a total war against the Armed Forces and went on to provoke the Army by reminding it of the fate of Allende, assassinated President of Chile.

Thereupon Prime Minister Ecevit held another press conference and repeated that the Army should not be spoiled and drawn into politics.

"Demirel wishes to draw the present government into dark debates of the time when he was in power," said Ecevit: "Since he realizes he will never come to power again, he even considers now to destroy the regime."

However, Ecevit's attitude satisfied neither the rightist opponents nor the Left forces who suffered too much from the arbitrary detentions, torture practices and provocations of the Counter-Guerilla Organization. According to the latter, it may be reasonable to stop the controversy in order to avoid any provocation such as in Chile, but unless the new government dissolves this infamous organization within the Armed Forces, it will continue to provoke bloody incidents and even try to overthrow the actual government if it takes some precautions unpleasant to the United States and the big bourgeoisie.

MARCH 1978

ECEVIT'S GOVERNMENT YIELDS TO THE IMF, DEVALUES TURKISH LIRA

Although he claimed an independent economic and financial policy in the government programme, new Prime Minister Ecevit also yielded to *the International Monetary Fund* (IMF) and devalued the Turkish Lira drastically — about 30 percent — in an apparent move to trim Turkey's huge trade deficit.

The previous government of Demirel had already been involved in lengthy negotiations with the IMF, but had not concluded an agreement, believed to have included a hefty devaluation, when it fell from power December 31.

In fact, economically torn Turkey is facing the toughest time in recent history and has put the Government of Ecevit probably in a most serious fate-making test.

With foreign exchange drying up, Turkey presently faces the most pressing 650 million dollar repayment obligations with another 340 million coming next month.

Turkey's foreign debt is $ 12.7 billion and press reports claim it may reach as high as $ 15.7 billion when interest payments are counted in.

The Ecevit Government was obliged to take immediate measures to bail out of the economic cyclone which shocked Turkish prestige both at home and abroad and forced Turkish citizens to be scared of a gloomy and dark future.

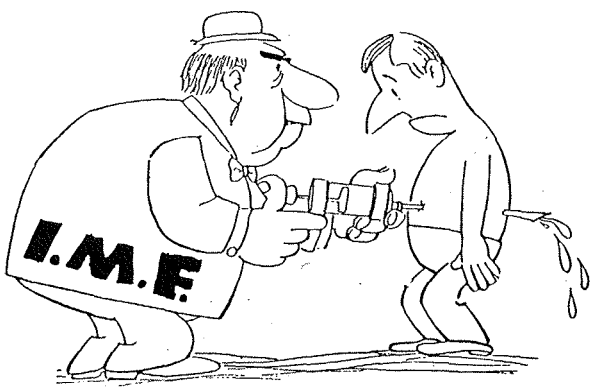
Instead of searching for new possibilities which can be obtained by breaking chains of imperialist domination on Turkey, Ecevit's Government preferred a solution within the framework of imperialist order.

Now negotiations between Turkey and the

IMF are expected to resume soon on the approving of foreign credits to Turkey after a year-long refusal resulting from the country's inability to pay its debt.

The Ecevit Government also hopes for an increase in the labour force remittance and puts it up to 1,200 million dollars. But the hope became shaded after a recent survey by the Finance Ministry to the effect that the workers' consumption patterns have changed in recent years and less savings should be expected.

To overcome the serious problems, the Turkish Government in Mid-February announced some other measures with import restrictions, limiting Turkish citizens, touristic visits abroad and lifting foreign currency rate guarantees.



But all these measures have been very far from protecting the toiling masses from the destructive effects of an inflation provoked by the devaluation.

Just after the devaluation, price hikes began and, first of all, prices of petro-chemicals and iron-steel products were increased 47-70 percent. Since these items are raw materials, many consumer goods immediately began to be marketed at prices about 70 percent higher than the regular.

Abdullah Bastürk, President of *The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions* (DISK) criticized the government's economic decisions, saying that they serve the interest of a handful of capitalists and put new burdens on the shoulders of working people.

APRIL 1978

"GREY WOLVES" PROVOKE A CIVIL WAR

"Grey Wolves," the para-military commando organization of the MHP, continued last month to challenge the measures taken by Ecevit Government to suppress political violence, and provoked bloody incidents which might cause a civil war in Turkey.

Since the fall of their "Nationalist Front" coalition government, the three rightist parties, the Justice Party (AP), the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the National Salvation Party (MSP) have launched a terror-campaign and had it executed by the "Grey Wolves".

Recently, on April 18, 1978, a parcel-bomb sent by unidentified persons exploded at the home of Hamit Fendoglu, right-wing Mayor of Malatya city in eastern Anatolia and killed him and his three relatives: daughter-in-law Hanife Fendoglu and grandchildren Ahmet and Bozkurt Fendoglu.

On this assassination, angry mobs stoned and pillaged shops, set fire to buildings and threw fire-bombs. Apparently suspecting that the booby-trapped gift package might have been sent by leftists, supporters of Fendoglu particularly focused attacks on buildings which housed leftist organisations. Local headquarters of the Republican People's Party (CHP) of social democratic Premier Ecevit too was burned by rioters.

Ecevit said that this was a rightist provocation, since the parcel-bomb was produced at the nuclear power center which is under the control of "Grey Wolves", appointed there during the period of "Nationalist Front" Government.

That same day, three leftist students, Özcan Türksever, Naci Erguvanli and Sait Hazar were tortured and killed in Malatya and their bodies were found later on the railroad track.

Since Malatya has always been one of the places with frequent incidents between two sects of Islam, *Alevites* and *Sunnites*, the assassination of Fendoglu, a sunnite, also provoked the Sunnites to attack the Alevites who are generally considered near to the Left.

As a matter of fact, ex-colonel Türkes, leader of the neo-fascist MHP, said in a speech

at a party rally in Adana on March 9 that Turkey was on the eve of a Civil War.

The Malatya incident was the latest link in the political murders committed by "Grey Wolves" to provoke unrest all over Turkey.

In Ankara, on March 24, 1978, an assassin fired seven shots at Dogan Öz, deputy public prosecutor of this capital city, when he entered his car on his way to work. Most of the bullets hit Öz on the head, killing him instantly.

Öz had recently come under criticism by the Nationalist Action Party because of a midnight police search of a youth hostel, known as a bastion of right wing militants.

On April 8, 1978, in Istanbul, an Associate professor of the Istanbul University, Faculty of Law, Server Tanilli, became half paralyzed after an assault on him. Tanilli was seriously wounded when unidentified persons shot him while he was on his way home.

Server Tanilli was recently acquitted by a Criminal Court at a process against him. He had been accused of "having propagated communism" in a textbook he wrote under the title "History of Civilization." His case had continued for years and his acquittal was interpreted as the success of the fight for freedom of opinion in Turkey. By shooting him, "Grey Wolves" showed that they had decided to punish physically the people whose opinions are against theirs.

Within last month, 42 persons were murdered for political motives. Hence, the total number of victims of bloody incidents happened after the formation of Ecevit's government reached 146.

MAY 1978

DESPITE THE EVIDENCES, "GREY WOLVES" ORGANIZATION TO REMAIN OPEN

The investigation into the bloody Malatya incidents shows that the MHP, with the purpose of provoking a civil war in Turkey, has founded new side organizations alongside the "*Foyers of Ideal*" grouping paramilitary "Grey Wolves" commandos.

The new illegal terror organizations of the neo-fascist party carry on their provocations and aggressions under the names of "*Liberation Army of Enslaved Turks*" (ETKO) and "*Turkish Thunderbolt Commandos*" (TYK). Many members of the "Foyers of Ideal" also participate among the founders of these new organizations.

These organizations claim that they are aiming to liberate the Turkish originated peoples of the USSR.

On these pieces of evidence, the Public Prosecutor of Ankara province appealed to the Criminal Court of the same city to obtain a decision to outlaw the "Foyers of Ideal" of Grey Wolves. But the court turned down this request.

After increasing the provocations for a civil war in Turkey, Nationalist Action Party (MHP) has recently launched a vast campaign among the Turkish workers aborad. While ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes, leader of this neo-fascist party, was visiting the Federal Republic of Germany and getting in touch with his supporters, in Belgium a pro-Türkes terror organization was established by some "Grey Wolves," members or sympathizers of the Nationalist Action Party's (MHP) para-military commando units.

During his visit to Germany, Türkes also met with *Josef Strauss*, leader of the German CSU, in Münich. This visit created a strong reaction in Germany and was protested by progressive Turkish organizations as well as JUSOs.

In Brussels, fascist partisans of the MHP has founded their organization at rue Verte 30 - 1030 Brussels, under the name of "*Turkish Cultural Association: Club of Idealists.*" Immediately after the formation of this terrorist organization, its members started to attack Turkish workers and students who do not share their "ideals."

According to the press releases of three Turkish progressive organizations, the members of this "club" have committed the following aggressions:

On April 20, 1978, while two progressive workers were in the Emirdag coffee-house at Chaussée de Haecht, the members of the "Club of Idealists" attempted to provoke them by insulting them.

On April 22, the fascists armed with iron-bars and hatchets attacked a group distributing

tracts for the May Day demonstration and wounded one of them.

On April 25, while some ten progressive people were in Emirdag Coffee-house, they were encircled by the fascist aggressors armed with revolvers, daggers and iron-bars. When the coffee-house keeper appealed to the police, they hid their arms and the police could not find any of their means of aggression.

Progressive Turkish organizations in Brussels have asked Belgian authorities to ban this fascist center and to expel those responsible from Belgium.

SEPTEMBER 1978

NEW TACTICS OF THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE: "HIT AND RUN"

As Premier Minister Ecevit lauded security measures by saying the Government has achieved some tangible positive results in its fight against anarchy, Turkey has turned into a battle-field where lie hundreds of victims of the political terror.

On September 3, 1978, the Sugar Holiday, which is supposed to be an occasion for Moslems to reconcile differences, turned into a nightmare for the citizens of the Central Anatolian provincial center of Sivas as a simple fight among children in the market place first turned into a political brawl and then went further to end up in secterian clashes leaving 10 dead, 105 injured and 68 in custody.

Clashes were provoked by neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) commandos pitting the believers of two hostile sects of Islam against each other. The leftists in the area are known to be *Alevites* (Shiites) and are reportedly attacked by some rightists who are *Sunnites*. Since the *Alevites* dominate the Sivas population, rightists brought in reinforcements from the nearby provinces.

On September 1, 1978, in Ankara, police forces raided a house where three progressive workers were hiding themselves and shot them to death without any grounds. Ibrahim Uzun, Sadi Okçuoglu and Mahmut Çal were members of the *Association of Fighting Against Expensiveness and Unemployment* (PIM). The neighbours who witnessed the massacre claimed that the police shot them while they were sleeping.

Terror has reached its utmost with the assassination of seven members of the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP) on September 8-9, 1978. So, since the formation of Ecevit's Government, in the course of 9 months, the total number of the victims of political violence, including the 108 of last month, has reached 556.

As declared by Prime Minister Ecevit himself, the political terror is being provoked by "obscure" forces to halt the process of democratization in Turkey and to instigate the Armed Forces to stage a coup d'état.

At a briefing on August 28, 1978, Minister of Interior Irfan Özaydinli said terrorist operations have now taken on the form of "*Hit and Run*" attacks aiming at "massacres." He added that the training of the police will be changed and discipline will be the main factor in training.

The first group of Turkish police officers who were sent to Great Britain for special anti-terror training returned on September 2, 1978. In line with the Government's security program to upgrade the police forces in quality, members of the FRG's special Anti-Terror Squad were invited to Turkey.

OCTOBER 1978

POLITICAL TERROR ENCOURAGED WITH GROWING US HEGEMONY

With the purpose of ending the US arms embargo, Ecevit has given many concessions in political, economic and military fields to the Carter administration, accepted all directives of the International Monetary Fund.

Just after the lifting of the US arms embargo, Ecevit's government agreed to the reopening of four military bases that the United States used for gathering intelligence information from the Soviet Union until they were closed down in 1975.

The bases were shut down by Demirel's

Government in retaliation for the United States' arms embargo imposed against Turkey following the Cyprus Operation.

The four installations that are opened now are US electronic surveillance facilities at Sinop on the coast of the Black Sea, at Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey near the Soviet Border, at Belbasi near Ankara and at Kargaburun on the sea of Marmara.

Mr. Ecevit expressed hope that "a new and positive era has started in Turkish-American relations" with the formal ending of the arms embargo on Turkey and that "a revitalization of the Turkish-American relationship would strengthen not only Turkey's defense posture but its economy as well."

Under these circumstances, it will be unrealistic to await effective measures against the illegal activities of the Counter-Guerilla and the MIT, since their promoter and collaborator, US imperialism, has been once again welcomed to Turkey and US intelligence officers took the control of vital intelligence nets in their hands.

Nevertheless, despite Ecevit's shift to the side of US imperialism, progressive forces of Turkey still have a say in the future of Turkey. For example, more than 50,000 people representing different mass organizations in Turkey participated in the funeral of the martyrs of Ankara massacre, showing their solidarity with the *Workers' Party of Turkey*, and expressed their will to keep the unity against the menace of US imperialism and fascism. Besides, the declarations of these organizations protesting the massacre asked Ecevit's government to take effective measures against the fascist organizations as soon as possible.

On the other hand, two big trade union centers in Turkey, *The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey* (DISK) and *The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions* (TÜRK-IS), the first time since their formations, have shown their will to act together against the growing menace of fascism, to push the government towards taking effective measures against "obscure" forces.

Taking all this into consideration, US imperialism is afraid of a change which can replace Ecevit's Government with a more progressive one. So, using its tools, the Counter-Guerilla, the National Intelligence Agency, the Grey Wolves, the United States try to provoke the Turkish Armed Forces either to force Ecevit's Government to proclaim a martial law or to realize a military coup d'état by weakening the position of the government.

NOVEMBER 1978

NEO-FASCIST MHP'S PROVOCATIONS IN TURKEY AND IN GERMANY

After visiting the Federal Republic of Germany and getting in touch with Turkish and German rightist circles in that country, Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes, leader of the neo-fascist "Nationalist Action Party" (MHP), called upon the people, on November 19, 1978, to unite in "national alliance" against Ecevit's Government and to begin "national resistance."

Declaring that "those who claim that Turkey is under the threat of fascism are dreaming," Türkes repeated that the present government will be toppled following early polls.

In an earlier statement, on October 2, 1978, Ex-colonel Türkes had said: "The present condition is ripe for martial law. The responsibility should be handed over to the military. The country cannot head for elections under the rule of the present government, it is impossible to keep this government in power."

Thereupon, the public prosecutor initiatied a proceeding against the Nationalist Action Party for "having instigated the armed forces to take over the government."

On the other hand, Prime Minister Ecevit accused Türkes of trying to drive the country towards a totalitarian regime and unveiled a secret report prepared by intelligence services in 1970 which indicate that the MHP, training para-military commando troops under the name of "*Foyer of Ideal*" (Ülkü Ocaklari) organized a striking force.

Under these charges, Ex-colonel Turkes started now to talk of "early elections" instead of "military take-over."

In Germany, on October 29, 1978, the Turkish neo-fascists, using as a pretext the 55th anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, organized a meeting in the sports hall of Dortmund.

Turkish and German progressives pro-

tested against this meeting outside the sports hall. A few days later, Türkes tried to appear in another meeting organized by the Grey Wolves in Frankfurt. However, because of the reaction of German trade unions, Türkes failed to address the meeting. Thousands of marchers led by the German Labor Union (DGB) and the Metal Workers' Union (IG Metall) carried signs demanding action against "power demonstrations by the Turkish fascists."

DECEMBER 1978

1978: YEAR OF ACCELERATION OF THE FASCIST TERROR

The people of Turkey, faced with the escalation of fascist terror, rising inflation, lack of economic stability, had been looking ahead at the beginning of the outgoing year with the hope that the upcoming social democrat government of Mr. Bülent Ecevit would be able to solve a growing list of problems accumulated through the 4-year period of the overthrown rightist "Nationalist Front" Coalition Government.

Unfortunately, after one year, the masses are again disappointed because they have not enjoyed the promises that Ecevit had given them before coming to power.

Let alone to realize them; within an 11-month period of its power, the present government has followed such a policy that fascist terror escalated even more, price hikes have reached a record level and Turkey's dependence on imperialism has become greater than ever.

A more detailed balance-sheet of the 11-month period of the social democrat Republican People's Party (CHP) fully shows the reasons for the disappointment of the working people:

"1. The total number of the victims of political violence within only 11 months reached 738, whereas it was 446 within a 32-month period of the "Nationalist Front" Governments. Obviously, this political violence is provoked and perpetrated by the obscure "rightist" forces with the purpose of instigating the Armed Forces to seize power and to establish a dictatorial rule. Still, the government of the social democrat CHP has been unable to take effective measures against these obscure forces. Instead of forming a democratic alliance with other progressive forces against the menace of fascism, the government followed a conciliatory attitude towards the rightist circles.

"2. Furthermore, under the pretext of taking measures to halt the political violence, the government has prepared new bills with the aim to limit the freedom of association. Progressive associations are closed down by the order of government authorities, while the covert activities of the sinister Counter-Guerilla Organization - the brain of the political violence - are being tolerated and the "Grey Wolves," commandos of the neo-fascist party, MHP, are not being pursued in an effective manner.

"3. Despite the promise to annul all anti-democratic laws and practices, Ecevit's government still maintains fascist articles such as 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code and progressive people are still being tried and condemned before criminal courts under the pretext of "having propagated communism". The name "communist party" is still outlawed and Turkey is for the time-being the only European country which has such an anti-democratic practice.

"4. Because of an inflationist policy, the prices of many consumer goods were increased about 100 percent within 11 months. Although he had claimed an independent economic and financial policy in his government programme, Prime Minister Ecevit has yielded to the pressures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and devalued the Turkish Lira drastically, first 30 percent and later in smaller percentages.

"5. The foreign debts of Turkey rose to 19 billion dollars as compared to 12.7 billion dollars a year ago. Instead of decreasing the military expenses and following a foreign policy of neutrality and peace which can ensure the national security of the country, Ecevit's Government has maintained Turkey's dependence on NATO which caused the Turkish people to make heavy sacrifices. After concluding new military agreements with the USA and reopening military bases in Turkey, Ecevit recently agreed to give NATO another base in the province of Konya for the AWACS flying

radars. So, Mr. Ecevit seems to have forgotten his highly speculated "national defense concept" foreseeing an end to the dependence on military blocs.

"As long as Turkey remains under the hegemony of US imperialism and its military blocs, it will be impossible to overcome the economic and financial problems and to stop the acceleration of fascist power.

"Under these circumstances, Mr. Ecevit and his party have lost their image of hope in the eyes of the working peoples. So, the disappointed masses have started to look for other alternatives in order to find a long run way-out.

"In the coming year, this fact will cause the acceleration of fascist power on the one hand, and on the other the rising of the socialist movement. The desperate sections of the population may be attracted by the slogans of "law and order" of the fascist movement, and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) may increase its followers. This is a great danger for the future of Turkey. Nevertheless, the working class and poor peasants will seek the solution in reinforcement of the socialist movement, and the coming year will witness the rise of socialist parties.

"Hence, the class struggle in Turkey will gain greater dimensions in all fields - political, social and economic. There is no doubt that in the short run, the socialist movement will give its support to the government whenever it is threatened by the fascist forces, although in the long run it fights against the conciliatory attitude of the social democrat power and campaigns for a socialist order."

1978 IN BRIEF

January,

- Political violence flared up throughout Turkey with new "Grey Wolves" attacks, bombings and bank robberies on the eve of the confidence vote in the new Ecevit government.
- The total number of victims of the violence within the 32-month period of the 1st and 2nd "Nationalist Front" governments reached 446. Within the same period, 6,739 persons were wounded, 13,616 persons detained and 1,286 brought before tribunals for political reasons.
- The public prosecutor initiated a legal proceeding against the administrative board of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS). Chairman Aziz Nesin, Turkey's world-famous humorist, and the members of the board are accused of having violated the Law on Trade Unions by organizing a soirée of hommage to Nazim Hikmet, the great Turkish poet who died in exile after a 13-year imprisonment.

February,

- Foreign Minister Gündüz Ökçun defined the foreign policy principles of Ecevit's Government: "Our relations with the USA which have been stagnant in the last three years have not only adversely affected our ties with Americans but also have left our national security, even our economy, facing adverse conditions. We attribute great importance to improving our ties."
- As Ecevit's government was being congratulated first by US President Carter and British Premier Callaghan, Norwegian Foreign Minister Frydenlund said at Strasbourg that it was necessary for the Western European socialists to support Ecevit's Government economically and politically so that Turkey's problems could be overcome.

March,

- Ecevit was the guest of honor at a friendly private meeting among European social democrats held in Switzerland and Mr. Willy Brandt once more expressed their solidarity with Ecevit.
- Socialist leaders and intellectuals are still being prosecuted in Turkey. The presidents of the two socialist parties, Mrs. Behice Boran of the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP), and Mr. Mihri Belli of the *Labour Party of Turkey* (TEP) were interrogated and tried for their declarations considered "communist propaganda."
- 408 political prisoners in Adana City Prison and 1,501 in Buca Prison of Izmir staged hunger-strikes, demanding a general amnesty.
- Protesting against the continuing massacres committed by the "Grey Wolves", about 1.5 million workers, teachers, students and civil servants staged a 2-hour strike on the call of the DISK. Ecevit branded DISK's action "illegal." Thereupon, the public prosecutor started a legal proceeding against DISK officials.

April,

- A 3-week Anti-NATO campaign by a socialist party was riposted with violence by police, and a party militant was shot dead by "Grey Wolves."
- Ecevit said that his government was seeking a new concept of national defense, but he added that the

existence of US military bases in Turkey was not harmful. "A new defense agreement or a similar accord must be prepared concerning reopening the US bases for operation," he said.

May,

- Ecevit, during his trips to European countries, said: "Our new defense doctrine will be compatible with our appertaining to the NATO."
- Still, 30 political prisoners who were condemned to life in prison during the March 12th military regime are kept in different prisons in Turkey.
- Ecevit's Government presented the National Assembly with a new bill, stipulating to increase by one third the prison terms for the "crimes of communist propaganda and organization."
- A criminal court in Izmir condemned a young leftist militant to capital punishment.
- The Justice Ministry prepares a new bill with the purpose of setting up special courts for trying some political offenses. The Union of Turkish Bar Associations accused Ecevit's Government of "having already ignored its own promises to enlarge the limits of democracy."
- The Interior Ministry decided to prepare a law project for banning policemen associations.
- Bloody attacks of right-wing activists on progressive people in Malatya and Kars.

June,

- Ecevit's declarations during his 13-day odyssey to Brussels, Washington and New York contradicted his initial foreign policy orientation which foresaw more independence, and marked greater approach to NATO and the EEC. "Turkey will react in a very responsible way, in a way that would not irrevocably damage Turkish-American relations... We have not threatened to withdraw from NATO, or even from the military structure of NATO, as Greece and France have done...," he said, answering a question relevant to the US arms embargo. He also signed the joint statement on NATO's long-term defense programs.
- At a lunch on the yacht of Forbes Magazine's boss, in the USA, Ecevit told US businessmen that his government would encourage foreign investments.
- Ecevit accused the trade unions of acting irresponsibly by demanding "exaggerated" wage increases. DISK showed a harsh reaction to this accusation and decided to go on strike at 22 enterprises.
- Grey Wolves placed a bomb in the Ankara Hospital.

July,

- Bedrettin Cömert, fine arts professor at the Hacettepe University of Ankara, was shot dead by Grey Wolves.
- The number of political assassinations committed during the 7-months period of Ecevit Government rose to 343.

September,

- Grey Wolves raided the seat of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) in Istanbul.
- All members of the Administrative Board of the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP) are tried before a criminal court in Istanbul for "communist propaganda."

October,

- Turkey's leading industrialist, Vehbi Koç criticized Ecevit's Government for its economic and social policies and said: "The foreign investors that had come to Turkey are slowly leaving the country, let alone getting new ones." Complaining about the political violence, he added: "We are late... The country cannot afford to wait any longer; now our political parties have to seek ways of uniting against the basic problem."
- A Turkish delegation asked the EEC for $ 8.1 billion in economic aid over the next five years.
- New legal proceedings against left-wing party leaders and writers on the accusation of "communist propaganda and organization."

November,

- Grey Wolves shot dead Professor Bedri Karafakioglu, 63, Dean of the Electrical Engineering Faculty of the Istanbul Technical University and Professor Necdet Bulut, Director of the Computers Department of the Technical University.
- The members of the Administrative Board of TÖB-DER, Association of All Teachers, were brought before a criminal court of Ankara for having put "propaganda for communism" in a message.
- The Socialist International Congress held in Canada approved the affiliation of the Republican People's Party (CHP) of Premier Ecevit.

December,

- While waiting for some new economic and financial facilities from the USA as a reward for reopening the US military bases in Turkey, Ecevit also asked the EEC for 8.1 billion dollars in economic aid over the next five years. At the talks with the EEC officials in October, the Turkish delegation had already stated that this amount constituted "a substantial portion" of the 15.4 billion dollars Turkey needs in hard currency to realize the targets of its fourth 5-year plan. The EEC officials made it clear that, in order to be able to get such a credit, Turkey should put into practice the measures stipulated by the IMF.

JANUARY 1979

MARTIAL LAW IN 13 PROVINCES: A STEP TOWARDS MILITARY RULE

Unable to suppress bloody fighting in south eastern Turkey, the Ecevit Government had to call in the military, and martial law was declared in 13 provinces of Turkey.

The decision came after the *Kahramanmaras Massacre* claimed at least 107 lives.

Martial law, in effect in the major urban centers of Ankara and Istanbul and 11 "sensitive" eastern provinces, generally means curfew, if necessary; press censorship; a lid on labor strikes, mass rallies and marches; establishment of military courts to try "crimes against the state"; relaxation of legal restrictions on search of premises and persons; and detaining of suspects for as long as a week without bringing them to court.

The decision came from a leader, social-democrat Premier Bülent Ecevit, who seemed painfully aware that the move ran against all his professed political beliefs.

The Turkish press reported that the military leaders had wanted their "authority" exactly spelled out when Ecevit requested more troops to restore law and order in devastated Kahramanmaras. Martial law then became inevitable.

Some heavy opposition was reported in the Republican People's Party (CHP) Parliamentary Group against martial law.

In fact, the massacre in Kahramanmaras has been the latest link in the chain of bloody provocations carried on by the fascist circles with the purpose of forcing the government to proclaim martial law. Without calling names, Ecevit blamed those who had been "indoctrinating and training Turkish youths for genocide and provoking sectarian rivalries." This was interpreted as a veiled reference to the Nationalist Action Party, neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel Alparlsan Türkes, which is held responsible for organizing and arming rightist "Grey Wolves" commando units in Turkey's bloody political warfare.

The events in Kahramanmaras developed as an ostensibly sectarian conflict between the *Alevite* (Shiite) and *Sunnite* Moslems, with the rightist Sunnites reportedly in the role of aggressors.

Civil disorder was sparked by the murder of two left-wing teachers by unidentified gunmen. During the funeral of the two teachers, right-wing groups attacked those praying at the town mosque by chanting "*Moslem Turkey*" and "*death to the communists*," murdered three more persons and wounded 39.

Saturday, December 23, 1978, despite an indefinite curfew clamped on the city, rightist mobs, estimated at a couple thousand, began roaming the town, burning and ransacking progressive party buildings, shops and houses.

Most of the victims were killed with long-range rifles or two-sided swords. The aggressors also attacked the state hospital and ambulances carrying wounded people. Even the car of Health Minister Mete Tan came under attack.

Press reports said many members of the rioting mobs were masked and led by Yusuf Özbas, deputy of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party; the "Grey Wolves" instigated the Sunnite people to kill the Alevites and the leftists.

It is also significant that Ex-general Faik Türün, deputy of the Justice Party and one of the former chiefs of the sinister Counter-Guerilla Department had visited this area one weak earlier.

Before and during the incidents, Ex-colonel Türkes and former Premier Demirel had insistently demanded the proclamation of martial law and overthrowing the Ecevit Government until the end of 1978.

Grey Wolves change their tactics

With the proclamation of martial law, the neo-fascist party has apparently attained one of its objectives. As in inciting the military against the setting up of the Martial Law Coordination Command under the control of the Prime Minister, the Nationalist Action Party does its best to create the image of being helpful to the martial law commands.

As a first step, the *Foyers of Ideal*, side-organisations of the neo-fascist party, declared that they had suspended their activities with the purpose of facilitating the implementation of martial law.

In fact, this is a new manoeuvre to avoid

any danger of being closed down by the martial law commands. The evidence concerning the criminal acts of the Grey Wolves are so abundant that it would be very difficult for any martial law tribunal to keep the *Foyers of Ideal* open.

On the other hand, the identified members of the Grey Wolves who were involved in terrorist acts flee the country and take refugee in Cyprus or in European countries. The facilities for fleeing the country are provided by the Counter-Guerilla Department of the Turkish Armed Forces' General Staff HQ.

Juridical assistance in obtaining the right to stay as political refugee in the Federal Republic of Germany is provided by some extreme-right minded German lawyers.

According to a Turkish daily newspaper, two of these lawyers are Werner Beckmann and H. Haun Volker in Hannover. Any Grey Wolf who has succeeded in escaping from Turkey is first welcomed by the local Idealists' Club in FRG, then his case is handed over to these lawyers.

The police administration of Hannover declared that in recent months 150 persons of Turkish nationality had demanded political asylum.

As to the Nationalist Action Party itself, there are numerous pieces of evidence for closing down this neo-fascist organisation.

First of all, the Grey Wolves taken into custody by the police have stated that they perpetrated political assassination on orders coming from their superiors in the party.

A recent example:

Just after the Kahramanmaras riots, in order to escape the responsibility of the massacre, the neo-fascist party leaders claimed that the incidents were provoked by the leftists who "placed a bomb in a theater where an anti-communist film was being projected".

But on January 16, 1979, a Grey Wolf (Ökkes Kenger) who was arrested for having participated in the riots, admitted that he and others had placed the bomb in the cinema in order to provoke the Sunnite people against the leftists and Alevites.

On the other hand, the Head-Prosecutor of the Republic has started an investigation into the Nationalist Action Party's declaration dated October 2, 1978. In this declaration, the party's administrative board called for military rule and for setting up state security courts to cope with "anarchists". The statement said: "This country cannot head for elections under the rule of the present government. It is impossible to keep this government in power. The responsibility should be handed over to the military".

In accordance with the 2nd paragraph of article 111 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, any party which pursues objectives contrary to the principle of a pluralist democratic regime can be closed down by the Court of Constitution.

The acts and statements of the Nationalist Action Party are completely in contradiction with this principle and all democratic forces ask the supreme judges to fulfil the task which the Constitution designs for them: To close down the Nationalist Action Party, the political organisation of the Grey Wolves.

FEBRUARY 1979

TURNING POINT: ASSASSINATION OF JOURNALIST ABDI IPEKCI

Being unable to control acts of political violence throughout Turkey within a 2-month period of martial law, the Turkish Government asked the Parliament to extend this emergency period to two months.

Martial law was originally imposed for two months at the end of December 1978 in 13 of the country's 67 provinces. It was prompted by the bloody event in the south-eastern city of Kahramanmaras which resulted in 107 deaths.

The extension of martial law coincided with the rightist opposition's calls for a "national struggle for toppling the present Ecevit government". In fact, recent acts of violence were provoked again by the rightist opposition which aims to push the martial law authorities into resorting to more repressive measures and into acting independently without heeding the Prime Minister's wish to prevent involvement of the military in civilian affairs.

After the proclamation of martial law, Premier Ecevit had set up a Martial Law Coordination Command at the Prime Ministry

with the purpose of keeping martial law commanders under political control and had clearly stated that he did not favor restrictive measures.

To thwart Ecevit's plans, the rightist opposition encouraged political terror, and the "Grey Wolves", para-military commandos of the neo-fascist MHP, played a major role in the application of this sinister plan.

The political terror recently took as target one of the distinguished journalists of Turkey, *Abdi Ipekçi.*

In the last month, the political terror which has claimed 58 lives also took as target the editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper, a prosecutor of the republic, a police chief and an ex-general, among others.

Abdi Ipekçi, editor-in-chief of mass circulation daily *Milliyet* and one of Turkey's leading columnists, was assassinated on February 1, 1979, by an unidentified terrorist.

When Ipekçi stopped his car at a traffic light near his home in the fashionable Maçka district, the unidentified assailant suddenly appeared in front of his vehicle and opened fire with a pistol as shocked passers-by dived for cover.

Ipekçi was considered as a defender of pluralist democracy and as a columnist who always contributed to maintaining the equilibrium in Turkish political life.

It is evident that the planners of this assassination seek to further the atmosphere of political violence, pushing the martial law authorities into taking more repressive measures against the democratic forces and weakening the position of the actual government.

Premier Ecevit said: "This premeditated murder of Ipekçi, a journalist respected both at home and abroad, is aimed at destroying Turkey's credibility and democracy."

Ecevit reiterated his view that the single aim of all terrorists, no matter what their ideology, was to destroy Turkey's democratic regime.

Going further, the new Minister of Interior Hasan Fehmi Günes said the most rational way to combat terrorists is to crush them while they are trying to organize and added: "Crush the head of the snake before it grows."

DOCUMENT

DISCLOSURES ABOUT THE COUNTER-GUERILLA ORGANIZATION

In the previous pages we have been referring repeatedly to the existence of a covert organization within the Turkish army which over the past years used to provoke bloody incidents with the view of clearing the ground for a military coup. It is the Counter-Guerilla Organization, officially called the Special War Department. Prior to the September 12, 1980, military coup, many democratic organizations in Turkey had called for disbanding this illegal organization, demanding an investigation into all its activities such as torture, provoking bloody incidents and supporting fascist groups. The very existence of such a covert organization has for the first time been admitted by a journalist known for his close links with the military, in a book published in 1984. Even though several details on this subject have been censored by the military, the facts disclosed in this book are sufficient evidence to confirm the baleful part played over the past years by this organization operating under the Turkish army's umbrella. Hereafter we have reprinted some excerpts from this book:

Another reason why relations (between Ecevit and the Army commanders) were deteriorating, was the controversy on the Counter-guerilla Organization launched by the People's Republican Party (CHP) by the spring of 1978. For this reason the General Staff viewed Ecevit unfavorably. The Special War Department was charged with the task of commanding a special guerilla force in order to send it, in case of war, behind the hostile forces.

Did such an organization really exist? If it existed, was it used in domestic affairs? The controversy focused on both these questions and the General Staff was very sensitive to it. Besides, its sensitivity to it was generally known. As these polemics developed the army commanders felt increasingly uneasy. They were convinced that Ecevit, as head of the government, had been long in intervening to halt this controversy... Moreover, they got the feeling that Ecevit deliberately delayed his intervention with the view of weakening the Army's prestige.

As a matter of fact, this gave Ecevit cause for anxiety. In 1974, after the People's Republican Party came into office, the General Staff one day asked for money belonging to secret state funds. On the other hand, as the Special War Department had its headquarters at JUSMATT (the US military aid mission), it was ordered by the Americans to move out.

The Prime Minister did not understand anything at all. He had an investigation carried out. Officially, there was no such organization. In the state budget no expenses had been provided for this end. He ordered his cabinet to hold a briefing on this subject. The briefing took place at the Prime Minister's office in the presence of Ecevit and Defense Minister Hasan Esat Isik. Prior to the meeting, the whole office had been checked with electronic devices in order to find out whether a microphone had been smuggled in.

The Special War Department had been set up under a bilateral military agreement concluded in 1959 between Turkey and the United States. Concerned with

developments in Lebanon, the US had proposed to Turkey special aid designed to prevent communist infiltration. The Special War Department, set up by that time, was an organization exclusively made up of civilians.

- What is the role of this organization?

- To fight against subversive activities. It is also charged with the task of organizing a resistance movement either against possible foreign occupation or against forces which might infiltrate the country.

- How does it fulfil this mission?

- It is made up of patriots. They are in possession of a secret arms dump. They're not doing this job to earn their living. There is not a single military in uniform among them.

In Ecevit's view, such an organization was not consistent with the rules inherent to democracy. That day, the money that had been asked for was secured and handed over to the General Staff, but Ecevit kept on watching this affair very closely.

On May 6, 1977, he talked about this matter with President of the Republic Fahri Korutürk: "It is unacceptable that such an organization whose very existence is known to no one except for a few persons at the General Staff, can go on operating in this way. Someone could infiltrate this organization, initially with patriotic feelings, but afterwards use this organization to other ends. This organization should be put under control." Thereupon, Korutürk asked Ecevit to note any subject giving him cause for anxiety. Subsequently he handed Ecevit's notes to Demirel, the then Prime Minister. The latter publicized this matter in an ambiguous way. But nothing changed.

After these talks with Korutürk, Ecevit, alluding to the Special War Department, had voiced the same remarks in a public speech delivered in Izmir on May 7, 1977: "If a handful of adventurers devoid of any sense of responsibility, were in a position to stage the Tandogan incidents in Ankara and the incidents at Taksim Square in Istanbul (1) and, subsequently, to get off, we'll come to the conclusion that in Turkey the state has no more authority. In my view, certain organizations which secured a place inside the state and which hold their positions thanks to the state - thus getting out of control of the democratic state - are the instigators of these incidents. I'm convinced that each of the two wings of the Government (2) are trying to take advantage of these organizations instead of taking requisite measures against them.

"Concrete evidence of the existence of such organizations and plots had already been disclosed during the March 12 period (3). Today, as the election is drawing near, the evidence which is coming to light becomes more abundant and more ominous.

"An important task falls on the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior, and on the non-governmental members of the National Security Council whom I greatly trust. It is necessary to put under control, without delay, certain forces and organizations whose signs of existence came to light, for the first time, during the March 12 period and which are today out of the control of the democratic state. During the short period we've been in charge of government affairs we have proven that such control is possible. But nowadays both wings of the Government are making efforts to take advantage of these organizations and forces instead of putting them under control."

When he came back into office in 1978, Ecevit discussed this problem with the Chief of Staff as well: "I'm very worried about it; suppress this civilian organization or turn it into a body consistent with the criteria inherent to a democratic state. No one can guess what a youth who is relied upon now, might do in 20 years."

Evren replied by merely saying: "There's nothing to worry about. Take it easy!" (Mehmet Ali Birant, 12 Eylül-Saat 04.00, Karacan Yayinlari, Istanbul 1984, p. 88).

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1) On May Day 1977, about fourty people had been killed during disturbances caused by gun shots fired by unidentified agents-provocateurs (See: Info-Türk Bulletin, May 1977).

2) The then coalition government was made up of four right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP), the Republican Reliance Party (CGP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP).

3) The period following the March 1971 military coup.

As a further step, the government presented to Parliament the second part of the "package of measures" to curb political violence.

In order to pass these new measures and other bills on taxation and social benefits, the National Assembly plunged into marathon sessions. But despite the absolute majority of the pro-government deputies in Parliament, the rightist opposition headed by the Justice Party (AP) started to apply obstruction tactics and the government could not manage to pass all these bills through Parliament in February.

Indeed, the opposition tried by several means to topple the actual government and to reestablish a rightist authoritarian regime in the country:

1. Within only one month, the opposition parties gave 38 censure motions to overthrow the government through parliamentary means, but failed.

2. Afterwards, the opposition started to apply obstruction tactics during the debates to discourage the government and oblige it to resign. But the government made it clear that, despite all obstructions, it was determined to carry out its long-term program. Ecevit charged the opposition with attempting to create the impression that the Government was about to fall. "Perhaps the opposition now hopes, after failing to topple us in Parliament with censure motions, that the Government will despair of Turkey's problems and resign. But we do not have either such an intention or such despair. The government is strong enough," the Premier said.

3. Finally, losing the hope of overthrowing

the government through parliamentary tactics, the Justice Party called on the people to take part in a "national struggle" to topple the government.

The governmental circles interpret this call as an instigation to civil war. But the martial law authorities who are theoretically under the control of the government take as target only the progressive organizations and publications, instead of prosecuting the rightist organizations instigating bloody events and even a civil war.

MARCH 1979

MARTIAL LAW EXTENDED; ECONOMIC AUSTERITY MEASURES IMPOSED

While Parliament approved the extension of martial law in 13 provinces for another two months, the government imposed new austerity measures to boost foreign currency revenues and avoid scarcity of such basic goods as oil. As a first step, the price of oil and oil-products were increased about 100 per cent and naturally this hike was immediately reflected in all consumer goods.

The extension of martial law was opposed by progressive circles who observed that martial law authorities have not taken effective measures against the fascist terrorist circles, but clamped down rather on left-wing forces.

Another opposition to the extension of martial law came from the Justice Party of former premier Demirel. But the motive of its opposition is quite different. The Justice Party accused the government of implementing martial law inefficiently and declared that this situation may cast "doubts on the prestige of the Armed Forces." The parliamentary group of the Justice Party voted against the "watered-down version of martial law."

Nevertheless, the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party voted for the extension of martial law, with the hope that "if the Premier avoids interfering with the efforts of martial law commanders, then commanders will be able to clean the country of her enemies."

Thereupon, the Chief of Staff, General Kenan Evren, issued a communiqué saying that martial law commanders do not get their orders from the "Martial Law Coordination Council," a body which was created by Prime Minister Ecevit with the purpose of keeping martial law commanders under his own control.

So, the rightist parties succeeded in instigating the Armed Forces against the authority of the government.

However, General Evren stressed also that the martial law commanders would never implement illegal measures such as torture and arbitrary searchings and would exercise their authority within legal limits.

In his statement after the weekly extended Martial Law Coordination Meeting, held on March 9, 1979, Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit claimed that there was a decrease in the terror incidents in the previous weeks.

However, the list of the political assassinations of the last one month claiming 71 lives contradicts this optimistic statement of the Prime Minister.

What is true in Ecevit's declaration is that there is an augmentation in the number of the apprehended terrorists.

Recently, among other arrested suspects, two terrorists, Veli Can Oduncu and Mithat Simsek, both 17-years old each, confessed that they had assassinated 7 and 8 progressive persons respectively.

Oduncu, during his interrogation at the martial law tribunal in Istanbul, said that he had participated in many armed acts organized by the members of the *Foyers of Ideal* or of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), two neo-fascist organizations of which the members are known as "Grey Wolves."

Questioned about his political ideology, Oduncu told the tribunal: "I am a rightist and I am opposed to leftists and communists. But I really don't know what rightists or leftists means."

He said also that the guns with which he committed the 7 political murders were provided by the members of the Nationalist Action Party.

Mithat Simsek, who murdered Prof. Necdet Bulut, a member of the Workers' Party or Turkey (TIP), as well as 7 other victims, confirmed before the Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara that he was armed by the members of the neo-fascist party and its side organizations.

Although some of those who fire the pistols are being arrested, those mainly responsible for providing them with pistols and pushing them into shooting dead progressive people have not been touched yet.

The principal instigators of political violence in Turkey, Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes, president of the neo-fascist party, and other "Grey Wolves" chiefs are still free and they carry on their provocations under legislative immunity.

APRIL 1979

FASCIST TERROR HITS THE LEADERS OF SOCIALIST PARTIES

Despite martial law regime in 13 provinces of Turkey, the fascist terror goes on and now directly hits the leaders of socialist parties.

Recently, on April 17, 1979, dentist Yasar Dirgen, local chairman of the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP), was shot dead by the "Grey Wolves" in the district of Tarsus.

Earlier, on March 27, 1979, the seat of the *Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey* (TSIP) was raided by "Grey Wolves" and Mr. Aydogan Gezer, Secretary for organization of the party, was wounded with automatic rifles.

On April 7, 1979, Mr. Mihri Belli, president of the *Labour Party of Turkey* (TEP), was attacked by a Grey Wolf in the center of Istanbul. The agressor first asked him whether he was Belli or not. After getting an affirmative answer, he started to shoot and wounded him seriously. Mr. Belli identified the agressor as Cengiz Ayhan, a Grey Wolf at large.

Hearing that Mr. Belli did not die, Justice Party Senator Ali Elverdi said: "They shot Mihri Belli; alas, they could not send that damned to hell!" (Ali Elverdi, a former army general, was the president of a military martial law tribunal between 1971 and 1973 and condemned three youth leaders, Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Arslan and Hüseyin Inan, to death. They were executed on May 6, 1972). In his same talk, Ex-general Elverdi also insulted Premier Minister Ecevit by saying: "From time to time, God sends such rascals over human beings. Ecevit is one of them. After graduating from college with a priest-cap on his head, he went to the USA. He walked the streets there instead of educating himself. Now this Ecevit tries to bring communism to Turkey.".

The Secretary General of the *All-Teachers Association* (TÖB-DER) Kemal Uzun disclosed that within the last 2-year period, 42 teachers, members of this association, have been assassinated in political violence.

On April 17, 1979, a Grey Wolf named Mehmet Uçar, accused of a political murder, stated before the Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara that he had received the order to shoot leftist Senol Güler from a Nationalist Action Party deputy, Sadi Somuncuoglu.

Within the last one month, 94 persons have lost their lives in incidents of political violence. So, the total number of victims of terror during a 15-month period of Ecevit's Government rose to 1201.

Provocation of six independent ministers

A group of six independent cabinet ministers, on April 14, 1979, publicly disclosed serious intergovernmental differences of view. Their criticisms were focused on three major problems: The handling of political violence, the question of Kurdish nationality in Eastern Turkey and the economic crisis.

The six of 10 independent ministers of Ecevit's Government demanded that serious and effective measures be taken against Kurdish nationalist movement and activities of "extreme-left" groups, and that efforts be dropped by some members of Ecevit's party to annul articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code which restrict the working class' freedoms of organization and of propagating the socialist outlook.

The ministers complained also of not being consulted on important economic measures and urged that the government take all necessary steps "to obtain foreign credits" and reorganize "foreign relations in accordance with national interests," that is to say, closer relations with western powers.

On this unexpected scission within his own cabinet, Mr. Ecevit was obliged to hold a 17-hour marathon meeting with the council of ministers meeting, and, at the end he gave again

some new concessions. According to Mr. Ecevit's declaration after the meeting:

- The government is determined to take every measure against separatist tendencies, that is to say, Kurdish nationalist and democratic movement.
- All state security forces will be mobilized with the purpose of eliminating "extreme" activists and liquidating them from the state apparatus.
- All members of the government have agreed that new austerity measures taken recently will be supported with foreign credits.

Mr. Ecevit stated also that his government does not have any intention to annul articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code. He added that there is only one nation, one Turkish nation within the territories of Turkey, and to talk about the existence of any ethnic minority such as a Kurdish nationality is against the national interests of the Turkish State.

As a first step of this new orientation of the government, some democratic organizations of Kurdish progressives were closed down by the authorities and some other repressive measures were taken in eastern regions of Anatolia.

Shifting to the right, Ecevit's government has lost all its credibility before the progressive forces of Turkey and from now on it will try to stay in power by giving more concessions to imperialist and reactionary circles. This is the failure of social democrat policies which are incompatible with the realities of an underdeveloped country such as Turkey.

MAY 1979

MASS ARREST OF WORKERS LEADERS ON MAY 1ST

Before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, on May 10, 1979, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit was asked to answer the following question:

"Considering the information recently published in the world press about the imprisonment of patriots, democratic trade unionists and workers on the evening of May 1st, does the Prime Minister of Turkey considers that these decisions constitute democratic behaviour?"

The Prime Minister's reply was rather a *demagogy* than expressing the truth. According to Mr. Ecevit, the celebration of May 1st was not forbidden in Turkey except in some provinces under martial law; although some people were arrested for having dared to disobey the prohibition in Instanbul, they were already freed. (See: Minutes, 6th Sitting, May 10, 1979).

At that moment, however, 728 persons were in military prisons of the Istanbul Martial Law Command. Among them were also the leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) and the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP).

While the Turkish Prime Minister was speaking at the rostrum, the European Committee for the Liberation of the 1st May Prisoners in Turkey distributed an illustrated leaflet showing the arrest of Mrs. Behic Boran, President of the TIP and Mr. Abdullah Bastürk, President of the DISK by the police and the military.

Under the headline "Democratization of the political life in Turkey?", the leaflet said: "The present government of Turkey came to power with the promise to put an end to political violence and to democratize the political life. But political terror is still going on with a monthly rate of about 100 assassinations. Notwithstanding that some people have been detained on charges of having committed political murders, the planners and organizers of the political violence, namely the chiefs of the para-military "Grey Wolves" commandos of the Nationalist Action Party, are still free and pursue their plots against the process of the democratization of political life. Ceding to their pressures, the government proclaimed martial law in 19 of 67 provinces of Turkey and again the military took control in the most populated areas. The progressive intellectuals are still tried according to antidemocratic articles of the Turkish Penal Code which envisage prison terms of up to 15 years.

"Recently, the celebration of the May Day in Istanbul, principal industrial center of the country, was forbidden by the martial law authorities and about 1,700 persons were detained that day and gathered in the city stadium. Many of them were beaten and maltreated by the security forces. Eight leaders of the DISK and 330 members of the Workers' Party of Turkey are still in military prisons. This is the balance-sheet of a 17-month period of the democratization of political life in Turkey."

JUNE 1979

"THE GOVERNMENT STABBED IN THE BACK" BY THE RIGHT

"The Government is being stabbed in the back at a time when crucial loan negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and the OECD have approached the conclusion stage."

This was the complaint of the Turkish Prime Minister against the campaign launched by the business circles which instigated the rightist parties to topple his center-left government.

An unprecedented full-page paid advertisement by the Association of Businessmen and Industrialists pointed out that Turkey is reeling under a serious economic crisis with inflation at over 60 percent and unemployment at 14 percent and accused the Ecevit administration of deviating too much from "free market" conditions and strangling enthusiasm for enterprise with excessive intervention.

Mr. Demirel, leader of the major rightist opposition party, the Justice Party (AP), declaring with glee that this was actually the government's death advertisement, launched a nation-wide campaign to topple the government by using all parliamentary or non-parliamentary means.

But that is not all. Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit also has problems with the labour movement, for banning the May Day Rally, jailing workers leaders and putting in practice new austerity measures hitting mainly working people.

As a result of this growing dissatisfaction, the Ecevit Government started to suffer blows as some independent ministers in his cabinet quit the team and some independent deputies who once supported the present government joined the Justice Party of Demirel.

The loss of these independents left the Government with 221 votes in the ruling National Assembly, the lower house of the Parliament. With the new inclusions, the Justice Party strength in the Assembly went up to 175 seats and the rightist opposition as a whole to 223 members.

Even among members of his own party, there is growing discontent with his policies, and this was reflected in the party congress held at the end of May 1979.

Although he was re-elected chairman of the party in the Convention, three separate opposition groups challenged him on issues rather than the chairmanship. They demanded a change in the party charter which would reinstitute a 40-member party assembly instead of a 20-member central executive board and so enlarge the representation of different regions in the supreme organ.

In the three-day convention, the works were marked with fistfights between opposing blocks of delegates and the audience. Although Ecevit took a firm stand against the amendment in the party charter, 571 of 1,340 delegates voted in favour of the change.

Among those siding with the opposition on the issue were a majority of Ecevit's parliamentary group and five of his cabinet ministers.

The opposition leaders, minister of Energy Deniz Baykal and Village Affairs Minister Ali Topuz, rejected a compromise offer by Ecevit for a joint list for the composition of the 20-member central executive board.

This development left Ecevit "totally alone in shouldering responsibility" for any failures in government or in elections.

On the other hand, "anarchy", a nightmare for Ecevit's CHP Government, was also a huge problem for Chairman Ecevit during his own Convention. It all began with slogan trading and then turned into fist fights. It ended up with the party leader flying into a state of rage. When the clash erupted, Chairman Ecevit rushed to the rostrum shouting "there will never be a fight in a CHP Convention. Police should intervene."

After youths began shouting "fascists" at CHP leaders, the convention chairman replied: "Shut up, there are no fascists here..." Then Mr. Ecevit took the stand and in a visibly enraged state shouted: "No one can call the other a fascist as long as I am here. I will not permit it..." Meanwhile police detained 18 youths. After all the ugly scenes, policemen were stationed in sensitive parts of the stands...

The CHP Convention proved that Prime Minister Ecevit has lost his prestige not only before the Turkish public opinion, but also within his own party. It is possible that in a coming convention, the opposition will challenge him also on the chairmanship.

AUGUST 1979

NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY IN FLAGRANTE DELICTO

According to the 2nd paragraph of Article 111 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, any party which pursues objectives contrary to the principles of a pluralist democratic regime and resorts to armed acts by forming paramilitary groups is liable to being closed down by the decision of the Court of Constitution and its leaders to receive heavy imprisonments.

The Law on Political Parties in Turkey charges the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic with proceeding against such a party and bringing its leaders before the Court of Constitution.

The findings of recent police operations all over Turkey have not left the slightest doubt about the liability of one political party: The Nationalist Action Party (MHP) of fascist minded Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes.

Although the public has known since 1968 and the MHP leaders themselves have admitted that this party has organized paramilitary side organizations such as *"Foyers of Ideal"* (Ülkü Ocaklari), *"Idealist Youth Association"* (Ülkücü Gençler Dernekleri), *"Liberation Army of Enslaved Turks"* (ETKO) and *Turkish Thunderbolt Commandos* (TYK) and that the great majority of political assassinations in Turkey have been committed by the members of these organizations, the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic has not given heed to this fact, declaring that there was not any evidence strong enough against this party and its members.

This time, all findings against this party are so strong that even the military tribunals of martial law commands in Ankara and Istanbul have been obliged to admit the responsibility of the MHP and its leaders and have appealed to the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic for proceeding against this neo-fascist organization.

According to the office of the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic, already six different files against the MHP have been received from several criminal and military courts.

Turkish "führer" and his "grey wolves"

The paramilitary commando units and execution squads of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party have assassinated more than a thousand people within the 20-month period of Prime Minister Ecevit's rule. Among the victims are also a public prosecutor, Dogan Öz, a famous editor, Abdi Ipekçi, and two university professors, Bedrettin Cömert and Necdet Bulut. Another university professor, Server Tanilli was already shot by the commandos and completely paralyzed. In the night of October 8, 1978, the "Grey Wolves" massacred in the capital of Turkey seven members of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP).

The militants of the neo-fascist party adopted for themselves the title of *"Grey Wolf,"* because this beast represents in the legends the emancipation of the Turkish race. Since the MHP is based on racist principles and on the view that the Turkish race is superior, its members consider themselves as "grey wolves."

The party chief is ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes who was an ardent supporter of the Nazi expansion all over the world in the 40s. He participated with the army officers who realized the May 27th, 1960, military coup d'état, but a few months later he was exiled abroad because of his authoritarian tendencies. After returning from exile, he seized a minor party and turned it into a neo-fascist party in 1965. He proclaimed himself *"Basbug"* (führer in the Turkish language) and is so called by his militants whom he addresses as "my Grey Wolves."

Although his party had only three deputies in Parliament, he got the post of vice-premier in a rightist coalition government and placed his militants in governmental posts. Thanks to those possibilities, the MHP increased its influence over desperate sections of the population and gained 16 seats in parliament during the 1977 general elections.

The members of the MHP and its side-organizations are being systematically trained in military camps and taught all techniques of commando warfare.

The actual aim of the MHP is to provoke political violence in the country and, also instigating reactionary army officers, to seize political power by force and establish a fascist dictatorship. As its ultimate aim, the MHP calls for

the liberation of all peoples of Turkish origin in the USSR and other countries and wants to unite them under an empire to be founded on racial bases.

Türkes and his party are the most ardent supporters of a pro-USA policy in Turkey. It should be recalled that Colonel Türkes was the head of the NATO Department of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff Headquarters, when he took part in the military junta of 1960.

After establishing its terror organizations in Turkey, the MHP launched a vast campaign of propaganda and intimidation among the Turkish workers abroad. During his frequent visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, Türkes got in touch with Josef Strauss, leader of the German CSU and other extreme-rightwing politicians. Thanks to the support and assistance of these circles, the side-organizations of the MHP opened their branches in European countries such as Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, etc. and started to train desperate Turkish children for the formation of paramilitary commando unit to operate in these countries.

Grey Wolves caught red-handed

During recent police operations in Turkey, much evidence was obtained to verify the military training of the Grey Wolves and their violent acts. A lot of ammunition anf fire-arms were found in the branches of the MHP and its side-organizations. Some of the Grey Wolves who were arrested because of acts of violence stated at their interrogation that they were ordered to shoot dead certain progressive persons on a black list arranged by their superiors.

One of them, Ibrahim Çiftçi, was condemned to death by the Military Tribunal of the Ankara Martial Law Command for having assassinated public prosecutor Dogan Öz. In its judgement, the tribunal stated that this fascist was charged by three leaders of the MHP with killing prosecutor Dogan Öz who was leading an investigation against the fascist organizations. As a result of this finding, the military tribunal appealed to the Military Prosecutor of Martial Law to proceed against the three leaders of the MHP: Ihsan Kabadayi, deputy of Konya province, Nevzat Köseoglu and Yasar Okuyan, under secretaries of the party.

There are many other cases which are being held by the military tribunals of martial law commands and all of them make clear the MHP's responsibility for the political violence in Turkey:

- 19 members of the General Administrative Council of the MHP are being tried before the military tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Command for having issued a declaration claiming that political power should be handed over to the Armed Forces.
- The President of the MHP Youth Section in Istanbul, Kâzim Ayaydin, was arrested by the military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command for having assassinated Ali Ihsan Özgür, editor-in-chief of the progressive daily newspaper Politika.
- Nine "grey wolves," Ibrahim Çiftçi, Ahmet Ercüment Gedikli, Duran Demirkiran, Ömer Yavuz, Haci Ömeroglu, Abidin Sahiner, Mehmet Kundakçi, Kadir Temir and Ömer Özcan are being tried before the military tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Command on the charge of having assassinated 7 members of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP).
- Mehmet Ali Agca and Yavuz Çaylan were arrested in Istanbul by martial law authorities for having assassinated Abdi Ipekçi, editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper Milliyet. During their interrogation, they admitted their crimes



and said that after the murder they went to the Aksaray Section of the MHP. Other evidence showed that they got the pistol to kill Ipekçi from a member of the MHP.

- The murderers of university professor Necdet Bulut were apprehended. The public prosecutor stated that Mikdat Simsek who shot dead Bulut is a member of the MHP and he was instigated by the MHP Youth Section President in Trabzon.
- During an investigation at the headquarters of the *Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions* (MISK), a side-organization of the MHP which was destroyed with an explosion, it was realized that the militants of this organization produced the explosives and one of them exploded accidentally. Besides, the police found some secret lists showing the sums distributed to the terrorist militants of the MHP and its other side-organizations. Thereupon, the chairman and six other leaders of the MISK were arrested on the charge of "forming armed gang".
- The military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command found a lot of arms and ammunition at the Bakirköy Section of the MHP and appealed to the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic to proceed against this party.
- A rightist lawyer who defends the MHP members at military tribunals was apprehended while trying to carry arms into the prison. It was revealed also that this lawyer, Can Özbay, is an agent of the *Turkish National Intelligence Organization* (MIT).
- At the steel mills of Seydisehir, another side-organization of the MHP, the *Steel Workers Union* (Çelik Is) is accused of having hired professional killers to shoot dead progressive trade union leaders. On this accusation, the chairman of the Çelik Is disappeared.
- "Grey Wolf" Rifat Yildirim, who shot dead university professor Bedrettin Cömert, was apprehended in the city of Burdur.
- Another "Grey Wolf", Veli Can Oduncu admitted at the military tribunal of Martial Law Command that he had assassinated eight progressive people. At the military prison of Istanbul he murdered a member of the *progressive Metal Workers Union* (Maden-Is).
- During the trial of those accused in the Kahramanmaras Massacre which resulted in 111 deaths, the survivors gave evidence to having seen them bearing the MHP flags on the scene of the massacre.

Manoeuvres for saving the MHP

Despite the existence of irrefutable evidence and the judge's decisions, rightist circles and even governmental authorities resort to every possible means to save the Nationalist Action Party from being closed down.

First of all, the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic, Mr. Kâzim Akdogan, seems not so eager to deal with the files on the MHP sent by several lower courts and prosecutors. He tries to postpone dealing with the files until the end of september 1979, the date when his retirement is due. Officially, he declared that the evidence is complicated and his office should study them for at least a few months.

Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit also tries to shift the responsibility of the terror actions of the MHP to the Justice Party (AP) leader Mr. Süleyman Demirel and to influence justice and prevent the Court from proceeding against the MHP for at least three months. Mr. Ecevit thinks that if the MHP is closed down before the October 14 partial elections, about one million votes of this party will go to the Justice Party.

On the other hand, some irresponsible "leftist" groups, resorting to political acts of violence, serve the interests of the fascist organizations. In recent days, just after the condemnations of the "Grey Wolves", some armed groups claiming to be "revolutionaries" perpetrated, under the cover of "revenge" or "armed propaganda", a few hold-ups and political assassinations.

The most spectacular of these irresponsible acts was the 2-day siege of the Egyptian Embassy in Ankara. It happened just after the arrest of *Mehmet Ali Agca,* fascist killer of journalist Abdi Ipekçi. When it was made clear that the killer was connected to the Nationalist Action Party, even neutral people started to admit the necessity of closing down the MHP. But the Egyptian Embassy Affair overshadowed the guilt of the MHP and provoked public opinion against the Left.

Later, the evidence obtained from the investigation into the siege of the Egyptian Embassy showed that the four Palestinian "guerillas" had been in contact with an arms smuggler, Haci Faruk Erden, who is known as one of the most ardent supporters of the Nationalist Action Party in the district of Gebze, and that the arms used at the siege of the

embassy were provided by this fascist-minded person. So, the siege of the embassy harmed not only the just cause of the Palestinian People, but also the democratic struggle of the Turkish people against fascism.

The mass demonstrations held in the second half of August 1979 and electoral campaigns of left parties prior to the October 1979 partial elections express the popular will: The Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and its side-organizations should be closed down, fascist führer Alparslan Türkes and his fellows should be imprisoned !

OCTOBER 1979

ESCALATION OF THE RIGHT IN PARTIAL ELECTIONS

"At this crucial test, the Ecevit Government does not seem lucky since its credibility has slumped. The main reason for the government's unpopularity is that Mr. Ecevit has failed to deal with the twin evils of political violence and economic disaster, notably on the inflation front," reported INFO-TÜRK of September 1979.

Confirming this estimation, the parliamentary partial elections of October 14, 1979, resulted in the defeat of the 21-month-old Ecevit Government which had come to power at the beginning of 1978 as a big hope for the masses.

In an almost landslide swing to the Right, the opposition Justice Party (AP) of Mr. Süleyman Demirel won all five by-elections for the National Assembly, giving the opposition parties a clear majority over Mr. Ecevit's supporters.

In the Senate, of the 50 seats at stake, the AP won 33 and Mr. Ecevit's Republican People's Party (CHP) only 12. The National Salvation Party (MSP) of islamic fundamentalist Necmettin Erbakan won four.

As for the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), it won only one seat though the percentage of its votes rose from 5.20 to 6.60.

The Justice Party made its spectacular progress mainly thanks to the votes of the electors who were disappointed by the so-called "left" policies of the Ecevit Government on the one hand, and on the other, on the fact that one of the principal rightist parties, the Democratic Party (DP), did not participate in the partial elections and its supporters voted in favour of AP candidates.

Nevertheless, as seen above, while the Republican People's Party and the socialist opposition parties were obtaining totally only 34.34 per cent of votes, the four rightist parties together gained about 63.13 percent.

Why did a little part of the disappointed electors vote in favour of socialist candidates while the big majority preferred the rightist candidates?

First of all, the "Left", for the unconscientious majority of the electors, is represented by the Republican People's Party. Since the 21-month power of this party brought them only more violence and more economic problems, they were discouraged from voting for another "left" party. Secondly, the socialist candidates run on five separate tickets (Workers' Party of Turkey, Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, Union Party of Turkey, Socialist Revolution Party of Turkey and independent candidates supported by the clandestine Communist Party of Turkey, Labour Party of Turkey and some other left groups). This fact caused many electors not to vote for a divided Left.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS IN 29 PROVINCES

Parties	1977		1979		Difference
Republican People's Party (CHP)	2,724,434	% 40.66	1,663,973	% 29.14	- % 11.52
Justice Party (AP)	2,467,414	% 36.82	2,720,811	% 46.83	+ % 11.01
National Salvation Party (MSP)	595,444	% 9.10	533,072	% 9.70	+ % 0.60
Nationalist Action Party (MHP)	354,728	% 5.20	365,429	% 6.60	+ % 1.40
Socialist Parties and Candidates	40,122	% 0.53	267,660	% 5.20	+% 4.67

DECEMBER 1979

REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE NEW RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENT

The new right-wing government founded by Demirel with the support of other rightist parties has announced a series of measures to restore law and order in Turkey:

1. The amendment of the Act on the Duties and Authorities of the Police: It will authorize the police to enter in any residence and to search anybody without obtaining a court warrant.

2. The amendment of the Act on Provincial Administrations: It will authorize the governors of provinces and districts to call in the Army for establishing law and order in their regions.

3. The amendment of the Act on Rallies and Marchings: It will authorize the administrators to postpone any rally and to change even at the last moment the direction of any marching.

4. The amendment of the Act on Associations: It will prevent the state employees from forming associations and close down those which are already formed by the state employees. The activities of student organizations will be limited in the fields of sport and leisure.

5. The amendment of the Turkish Penal Code: In addition to articles 141 and 142 of the Penal Code, punishments for "crimes" against the State and individual liberties will be aggravated.

The Interior Minister Mustafa Gülcügil has already made it clear that the target of these new measures is the Left. After a briefing organized by the General Directory of Security, Gülcügil declared that there were currently 47 underground terrorist organizations or fractions in action in Turkey. He claimed that the number of underground organizations fighting for the establishment of an independent Kurdish State in Eastern Anatolia has reached 10 while there are 24 "terrorist organizations" which aim to establish rule of socialism or communism through armed struggle and 11 organizations which want to bring about the "*shariat order*" (rule of religion). As to the extreme-rightist organizations, the Interior Minister mentioned only two: *The Army for the Liberation of Enslaved Turks* (ETKO) and the *Turkish Vengeance Brigade* (TIT).

However, the principal instigator and executor of the political terror in Turkey has always been the extreme-rightist organizations such as the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) of fascist-minded Ex-colonel Türkes and its side organizations: besides the ETKO and the TIT, the Turkish Thunderbolt Commandos (TYK), Foyers of Ideal (ÜO) and the Idealist Youth Association (ÜGD).

Although the underground leftist organizations resorting to armed terror are numerous, they are completely dispersed due to inner conflicts or provocations. On the contrary, the extreme-rightist terror organizations are directed and oriented by a single chief: Ex-colonel Türkes.



Despite this fact, the new measures take as target not the Nationalist Action Party and its side-organisations, but only the left organisations and their people. That's because Demirel founded his present government thanks to the support of this party. Moreover, he has already paid the price of this support by nominating many "grey wolves" to important posts in the state apparatus.

During the debate on the new bills, the Demirel Government will have the most open parliamentary support from Ex-colonel Türkes's deputies.

Another source of support for the new bills

is the National Salvation Party (MSP) of islam fundamentalist Necmettin Erbakan. But it declared that it would support the package of measures against terrorism if the crimes concerning religious activities are left out of the jurisdiction of the state security courts.

Asked his views on the package of new measures against terrorism to be submitted to the Parliament by the government, Mr. Ecevit, Chairman of the Republican People's Party (CHP), said: "We will examine these draft bills according to our democratic understanding and then voice our views."

Ecevit's moderate stand is not so surprising for those who are aware that these anti-democratic bills were already envisaged by the Ecevit Government itself while he was in power. The daily newspaper Hürryet published the news about the package of measures under the following headline. "Justice Party adopted the package of measures prepared by the Republican People's Party". Thus, the Republican People's Party administration is not in a position to refuse directly all these measures put on the agenda by the Justice Party Goverment.

Furthermore, the "opposition strategy" which the CHP administration decided to pursue in the new period also carries the influence of the right-leaning stand of Chairman Ecevit. The text of the "opposition strategy" reads:

"The difference between the leftist understanding of the CHP and the leftist organizations outside the CHP must be emphasized. Adopting an active attitude, it must not stay in defense regarding its democratic left policy, and it must try to explain the reality, effectiveness and rightness of this understanding. It must take an open position against anti-democratic behaviour coming from the leftist organizations outside the CHP.

"It must maintain its effective democratic struggle against ethnic and sectarian separatism.

"CHP must continue its democratic and peaceful struggle in order to alienate anti-democratic terrorist activities and provocative actions from the society. CHP must give importance to the legal fight against terror and oppression."

Pursuing these principles, the CHP administration seems to support many of the anti-democratic measures brought by the Demirel Government. The CHP Secretary General Mustafa Üstündag said on December 10, 1979, that the party would support the bill on the establishment of state security courts as well as other measures against "terrorism", if the government takes into consideration some reservations of the CHP. One of these reservations is on the procedure of the nomination of the civilian and military judges for the state security courts.

Nevertheless, the deputies of the CHP do not share the right-leaning stand of Chairman Ecevit. The left-wingers of the party voiced their opposition to the passage of the act establishing the state security courts on grounds that such extraordinary courts will impair the objectivity and neutrality of the judiciary powers. Deputy Rahmi Kumas who made a speech at the CHP Parliamentary Group Meeting on December 11, 1979, said that the formation of state security courts would be a violation of the Constitution.

On the other hand, the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP), the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) and all other democratic organisations have already manifested their opposition to new repressive measures and disclosed their will to resort to all democratic resistance roads with the purpose of preventing the enactment of new law projects.

Progressive intellectuals are killed one by one

After the formation of the rightist Demirel Government, the political violence gained impetus and within only 19 days, 160 persons lost their lives. So, the daily rate of political assassination has reached 8. On December 10, 1979, the total number of the victims of political terror rose to 2,430.

The assassination of Professor Cavit Orhan Tütengil on December 7, 1979, has made it clear that the extreme-rightist killing squads aim to liquidate all progressive intellectuals. That day, Professor Tütengil, who taught at the School of Economics at the Istanbul University, was ambushed by three gunmen in front of his home just as he left to go to the university.

Within two years, the "Grey Wolves" have assassinated seven university professors: Orhan

Yavuz, University of Erzurum (June 21, 1977), Bedrettin Cömert, University of Hacettepe (July 11, 1978), Bedri Karafakioglu, University of Istanbul (October 20, 1978), Necdet Bulut (November 26, 1978), Fikret Ünsal, University of Adana (Sept. 12, 1979), Ümit Doganay, University of Istanbul (Nov. 20, 1979).

Besides, university professor Server Tanilli was shot by the "Grey Wolves" on April 8, 1978, in Istanbul. As a result of this attack, Prof. Tanilli has been paralyzed and is still under treatment in Federal Germany.

Furthermore, the Director of National Education in Istanbul disclosed that 15 high school teachers had been killed by the political terrorists within one year.

The Republican People's Party deputy Rahmi Kumas submitted to Parliament a written interpellation asking the Interior Minister to give information on the news about the existence of a "Black List" containing the names of progressive intellectuals.

According to the news appearing in the daily Cumhuriyet on November 26, 1979, the Interior Ministry had sent all governors a circulating letter dated September 24, 1979, and numbered Em.Sb.1.88175 stating the Nationalist Action Party officials had prepared a "Black List" of 120 names, with the purpose of shooting them dead one by one.

The newspaper claims that among the authors of the "Black List" was also Sadi Somuncuoglu, actual vice-president and parliamentarian of the Nationalist Action Party.

1979 IN BRIEF

April,

- The government on April 10, 1979, made a foreign currency operation and devaluated the Turkish lira against the US dollar by 5.7 percent. After yielding to the pressures of the IMF, Ecevit's Government now expects about 1,500 million dollars foreign credit.
- In return for its "donations", the United States administration tries to wrest from Turkey consent to extend the expiring term of the existence of US bases in the country.
- The US Embassy's First Secretary Mr. Robert Alexandre Peck was seen again visiting the district of Suluova of Amasya province where bloody acts of violence committed by the neo-fascist elements took place.
- On April 9, 1979, the Military Tribunal of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff condemned a former Turkish intelligence chief to a 17-year prison term with the charge of providing the CIA with secret information. In his defence, Mr. Sabahattin Savasman said, "Providing these foreign services with secret information is the daily practice of the National Intelligence Agency (MIT). Within the MIT there are 20 CIA functionaries. Besides, the American personnel in the 26 US bases in Turkey are always in contact with more than 30,000 Turks... If I am guilty, it means that the MIT is guilty as well."
- According to the daily Cumhuriyet, the number of the editors of different newspapers who were condemned to imprisonment rose to 17.

July

- As Turkey is entering in an animated electoral campaign which may lead to a governmental change in November 1979, the Western powers pledge a 1,700 million dollars aid package to Ecevit's government. Some 900 million dollars has been pledged by the members of the OECD, and 400 million dollars by a syndicate of banks. A sum of 300 million dollars was also furnished by the IMF. The aid, however, is conditional on the Government's abiding by the IMF's economic guidelines, and Ecevit concluded his second deal with the IMF after bowing to Western pressure. He devalued the Turkish Lira against the Dollar by 43 percent and increased petrol prices and other basic commodities to curb the deficit. In accordance with the letter of intention given to the IMF, Ecevit attempts also to convince the trade unions not to demand Wage increases during collective bargainings. These measures, which constituted the second austerity package in 17 months, delivered a serious blow to Ecevit's popularity.

November

- Following the defeat of the center-left party of Ecevit, political power was taken over again by Demirel's rightist Justice Party. At an extraordinary session of the National Assembly on November 25th, 229 out of 446 deputies voted for the programme of the minority government, while 208 were against.
- Just a few days prior to the partial elections, the Ecevit Government expired the one-year temporary status of four key US installations which monitor the Soviet Union.
- The results of the October 14th partial elections led the CHP to one of the most crucial crises of its history. At the extraordinary convention held on November 4th, the race for the new General Administration Board was run very close. As 723 delegates voted for the list of those proposed by Ecevit, 604 delegates manifested their choice for the list of opposition.

JANUARY 1980

ULTIMATUM OF THE TURKISH ARMY GENERALS

The Turkish General Staff Chief Kenan Evren and the commanders of the four military forces delivered an Ultimatum to the President of the Republic and "warned" all political leaders.

When the Ultimatum of the Turkish Army generals was made public on the first day of the new year, all commentators, taking into consideration the sentences concerning the political violence, interpreted it as an expression of good will and a warning to put an end to the terrorist acts which claimed more than two thousand lives within a few years. And some observers predicted that a military takeover would be inevitable if the political parties could not unite to combat terrorism.

Briefly, the Ultimatum delivered by the Chief of Staff and four army commanders to the President of the Republic said: "Our nation has no more tolerance for those who abuse the extensive freedoms provided by the Constitution, who sing the anthem of communists instead of our national anthem, who would like a return to Islamic Law, who would like to replace democracy with fascism, with anarchy, destructiveness and divisions."

Another preoccupation expressed in the Ultimatum was the international situation: "The developments in our region can suddenly turn into a heated battle in the Middle East. The separatists and anarchists inside the country are rehearsing a general revolt throughout the country."

And they warned: "Providing unity and togetherness in the country, taking necessary short- and long-term measures in the Assemblies for providing the security of life and property of our citizens have the utmost importance in this present situation. The Armed Forces have thus decided to warn the political parties which, with their constant bickering, were unable to prevent terrorism from reaching alarming proportions which threaten the unity of the country."

Nevertheless, as remembered, the most populated and sensitive 19 provinces of Turkey were already under the authority of military commanders charged with preventing terrorism. Just after the bloody Kahramanmaras incidents, the Ecevit Government had proclaimed martial law initially at 13 provinces and later extended it to 19.

Despite the existence of military order in 19 provinces, political terror has continued without decreasing. According to the official figures, within a one-year period of martial law, 1,126 persons have lost their lives in political incidents and about 10 thousand persons have been wounded.

If the principal preoccupation of the army generals was the political terror, the politicians had already authorized the army to tackle the problem. But the objectives behind the Ultimatum were completely different. The army generals were pushed forward in order to put in practice the sinister plans of the USA and the dominant classes of Turkey.

Turning Turkey again into a springboard for the US

It is not a curious coincidence that the Army's Ultimatum came into being just after the news about the USA's plans to set up a new pro-American military alliance in the Middle East with the participation of Turkey, Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia. The developments in Iran and Afghanistan were used as a pretext for reviving the defunct pact of CENTO under a different name and with new partners. The only partner of the USA which existed in the previous plan and would exist in the new one was Turkey.

The first step in the direction of setting up the new pact was to have Turkey sign the Turco-US Defense Cooperation Agreement which lays down the basic principles of bilateral defense relations and assures continuing operation of the key US bases in Turkey. (Turkey unilaterally abrogated a previous defense treaty in 1975 in retaliation for the US arms embargo and closed all US military bases except for a strategic NATO air base at Incirlik).

Although, former Premier Ecevit reopened in October 1978 four key bases when the US Congress lifted the arms ban on Turkey, a permanent status for all US and NATO bases and installations in the country has been confronted with a strong opposition of democratic

forces, including the left wing of Ecevit's Republican People's Party.

Just after the army's ultimatum, representatives of the US Government rushed to Turkey, and, within a few days, the Turkish Government concluded the defense cooperation agreement on January 9, 1980. The accord means that the US is guaranteed use of the 26 bases, of which the most important ones are intelligence-gathering stations at Sinop on the Black Sea coast and Diyarbakir in the East.

According to well-informed sources, the agreement also facilitated the establishment of nuclear bases on Turkish soil.

Demirel - Ecevit Collaboration for Anti-Terror Measures

Another consequence of the Army's Ultimatum has been the rapprochement between the leaders of the center-left and center-right parties of Turkey on the platform of anti-terror measures.

On January 14, 1980, Republican People's Party Chairman Ecevit and Premier Süleyman Demirel met for three hours, and Ecevit agreed to back the Demirel Government in its efforts to pass through amendments on the acts concerning law and order.

Going further, Ecevit indicated also that he would be in favour of a grand coalition between his center-left CHP and the ruling center-right AP.

As a result of this conciliatory attitude, Ecevit forced the parliamentary groups of his own party to vote in Parliament in favour of the new anti-democratic law projects. When 11 Left-wing deputies of the party tried to obstruct the debates on the measures, they were handed over to the Party's Group Discipline Council which gave them a "warning."

Nevertheless, despite pressure from Ecevit, some anti-democratic clauses of the law projects were rejected in Parliament with votes from democrat deputies of the Republican People's Party and the National Salvation Party.

In fact, there is no need to aggravate the laws in order to prevent terrorism, because the police and the military already have extraordinary authority to combat the terrorists. The real aim of these amendments is to suppress the remnants of democratic rights and liberties.

Government adopts the drastic measures imposed by the IMF

One of the immediate consequences of the Army commanders' ultimatum has been the adoption by the Demirel Government, of all drastic economic measures imposed for a long time by the IMF.

According to the governmental decree issued on January 24, 1980, Turkey will put in practice an austerity plan summarized below:

- Stemming inflation by cutting down the workers' spending power,
- Raising interest rates in order to boost saving,
- Developing exports by granting low interest rate credits and by other incentive measures,
- Ensuring law and order in the country for draining foreign investments and credits.

Mr. Turgut Ozal, Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office, who had conducted all negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank has come forward as the new "economic czar" of the country to apply all these unpopular measures.

Within the framework of these new measures, the Turkish Lira has been once more devaluated by 35 percent.

FEBRUARY 1980

POPULAR RESISTANCE AGAINST NEW ECONOMIC AND REPRESSIVE MEASURES

Following the adoption of the new austerity plan imposed by the IMF and the repressive measures dictated by the military, the popular masses have taken different resistance actions for defending their gained rights.

Many European newspapers and international press agencies misinterpreted the active resistance of the workers of Izmir to the government forces as a dress rehearsal for an insurrection aimed at overthrowing the government and installing a leftist or Khomeiny-type regime.

However, it was a legitimate defence of the workers who were subjected to a three sided general offence by the government:

1. Replacement of all progressive workers and employees of state-owned institutions and enterprises with the militants and sympathizers of the rightist Justice Party (AP) and the fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP);
2. Putting into practice new economic austerity measures which hit the workers and employees;
3. Passing new repressive laws aimed at restricting and even suppressing fundamental rights and freedoms.

The replacement of progressive elements with reactionary ones was already started within the ministries and other state departments just after the formation of the Demirel Government. All governors, police chiefs, directors and administrators have been subjected to replacement.

Later on came the turn of the lower levels, and the new administration of the state-owned agro-industrial complex TARIS in Izmir announced through newspaper advertisements that 11 thousand workers of the three factories of this complex were sacked.

In Turkey, a social security system for the cases of unemployment does not exist. It means that if a worker is fired from his job, he (she) and his (her) family will be condemned to total misery. It should be kept in mind also that the proportion of full unemployment has reached 20 percent in 1979. Considering the underemployment which hits another 20 percent of the active population, about 4 out of 10 Turkish citizens are practically deprived of minimum living standards.

The second element which provoked the workers to resist the government forces was the new austerity measures proclaimed on January 24, 1980, by the government under pressure from the IMF. As a result of the new 35 percent devaluation and the approximately 100 percent price hikes in essential consumer goods and public services, the unrest and anger among the working population had already reached a point of explosion.

Furthermore, on the proposal of the Demirel Government, Parliament had started to pass anti-democratic laws aimed at restricting fundamental rights and liberties.

For these three reasons, the masses of workers and peasants resorted to passive and even active acts of resistance everywhere in Turkey. The trade unions affiliated with the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) and even those which are members of the pro-government trade-union center went on strike. The peasants occupied public work places and passengers got on public transport without paying for tickets.

It is under these circumstances that the 11 thousand workers of TARIS occupied the three factories from which they were dismissed.

Supporting this resistance, the DISK announced a general strike and organized a mass rally in Izmir. The students of the Aegean University also resorted to a boycott to show their solidarity with the workers of TARIS.

Thereupon, the government drove more than ten thousand commando troops supported by armoured vehicles, helicopters and aircrafts on the workers. To defend themselves, the workers erected barricades in front of assaulting commando units and from time to time they were obliged to exchange fire. The clashes continued for more than one week and ended with the Army taking over the three factories.

Thousands of workers and students were detained in the city stadium of Izmir. This was not the first Chile-style practice of the Turkish Armed Forces. Last year, thousands of progressives had been detained in the city stadium of Istanbul for not respecting the Army curfew which was to prevent the celebration of May Day.

While the unrest was continuing in Izmir, Premier Demirel furthered his provocations saying: "The happenings had nothing to do with workers problems and rights. The only answer is to crush these people and to put an end to their actions."

And Kenan Evren, the Chief of the General Staff of Turkish Armed Forces, intervened once more in politics and openly threatened the resisting workers and democratic forces:

"Instead of external enemies we have been obliged to fight internal ones. Why we do not give them a smashing blow despite the existence of martial law? Because, we do not want to shed blood. If we decide, we can finish them off within one month."

At the end of a speech he gave during the military exercises held in the Kurdish area he raised his glass and said: "How happy are those who say 'I am Turk'".

It was also the first lesson to be taught in the military education imposed on every Turkish citizen from 7 years old on. This first lesson

implied that unhappiness awaited those who dare say "I am Kurd!".

Two days after this speech, the *National Security Council* which is composed of army commanders and some members of the government decided to expand martial law rule to include the provinces of Izmir and Hatay, respectively in the west and in the south of Turkey.

But since the economic and social reasons continue to exist, the martial law regime does not serve to restore law and order. Despite the repressive measures taken by the Demirel Government, political terror claimed 706 lives within only three months. So the total number of victims rose to 2,916.

The real aim of this military escalation is not to halt the political violence because the planners of the terror are in the heart of the General Staff Headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces. It is the *Counter-Guerilla Department* which supports and protects the "Grey Wolves" of the neo-fascist MHP of Colonel Türkes. The real reason for the military intervention in politics is to suppress all remnants of democratic rights and freedoms in such a way that the democratic forces of Turkey cannot resist the policies imposed by imperialism and its local collaborators.

Just after having concluded a military cooperation accord and turned Turkey into a spring-board for US imperialism in the Middle East, Washington decided to tie Turkey to the Western block in the economic and political field also.

On January 11, 1980, the editorial in the *International Herald Tribune* said: "Turkey is the land base for 30 percent of the electronic intelligence the United States collects on the Soviet Union. Its geographical position, south of the Soviet Union's oil-producing 'soft-underbelly', north of the Arabian peninsula, west of Iran and east of Bulgaria, spectacularly emphasizes its importance. The importance of the 26 installations in Turkey increased last year when all US bases in Iran were shut. For Turkey to play its full role in securing NATO's southeastern flank, it must be stable. The first step toward political stability, which Turkey currently lacks, is economic stability. A group of OECD countries, the IMF and the World Bank have all given Turkey economic support, but it has not been enough."

At that point, the United States started to advocate more European economic aid to Turkey and even the full membership of Turkey to the EEC. And the execution of this hard mission has been trusted to Federal Germany.

In an interview to *Der Spiegel* at the beginning of February, 1980, Federal German Chancellor *Helmut Schmidt* said: "Turkey received the severest blow and is at the same time the most important partner and ally for Germany. We are not the most powerful country of the western world, but we were the ones to give the greatest amount of assistance to Turkey. We are in the best position to institute the best relations with Turkey."

MARCH 1980

MASS STRIKES THROUGHOUT TURKEY

In conformity with the decision of the *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey* (DISK), its affiliated trade unions have started to launch strikes which include about 100 thousand workers in manufacturing and service sectors.

At the beginning of February 1980, following a joint meeting of its administrative bodies and the executive councils of the affiliated trade unions, the DISK had reached the decision to stand against the recent economic and political measures of the Demirel Government.

Expressing their determination to fight in the most effective and massive manner against the exploiting classes' attack on the working people, the leaders of the DISK announced that, if necessary, a general strike would be waged throughout Turkey by member workers.

The DISK also planned other actions such as regional strikes as well as sympathy and support strikes, mass meetings and demonstrations against oppression and anti-democratic treatment of workers. The first of these actions was successfully carried out during the heroic resistance of Izmir against the dismissal of 11 thousand workers of the state-owned agro-industrial complex TARIS.

Parallel to this resistance of Izmir, three trade unions affiliated to DISK announced that they would go on strike in their sectors, covering

71,500 workers. The *Metal Workers Trade Union* (MADEN-IS) decided to strike on March 3, 1980, in 115 working places for 35,000 metal workers, and the *Textile Workers Trade Union* (TEKSTIL) started to strike from February 17 in 77 working places employing 30,000 workers. Meanwhile, the strike of 6,500 employees of the Turkish Airlines, members of the *Airline Workers Union* (HAVA-IS), hit all flights on Turkey's national airlines.

Although the administration of the other trade-union confederation, TÜRK-IS, opposed the DISK's decisions, one of its largest affiliated trade unions, the *Trade Union of State Monopolies Alimentation Workers* (TEK GIDA-IS), went on strike from February 21 with 64,000 workers in all food-producing factories of the State Monopolies.

Furthermore, the collective bargainings will start soon for 600,000 workers employed at state-owned enterprises and it is possible that these working places, too, will be the scene of strikes.

The President of the *Turkish Textile Industry Employers Union*, Halit Narin, said: "These actions are a part of the DISK plan to launch a nationwide 'general strike' and it has ideological implications and motives..."

On the denunciation of the employers, the Prosecutor of the Republic initiated an investigation into the DISK administration for its decision to go on a general strike. The Martial Law Command of Istanbul province also issued a communiqué threatening that the trade unions would be subjected to legal proceedings if they disobey the laws and martial law regulations.

APRIL 1980

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY MAKERS ON A TIGHT-ROPE

When the US administration asked Turkey to cooperate with US allies in curtailing trade and other relations with the regime of Iranian leader Khomeiny, the Turkish foreign policy makers found themselves on a tight-rope. It was really very difficult to carry on efforts not to antagonize Iran and at the same time improve ties with the United States. Then, the Turkish Foreign Ministry said the US request was being considered in the light of "Turkey's special relationship" with Iran.

Turkey and Iran have already started to work out a new economic package deal with heavy emphasis on Turkish demand for Iranian crude oil. Iran has decided to step up its imports from Turkey in view of the US economic sanctions. There have been reports that there is a serious increase in the volume of TIR transportation between Turkey and Iran.

In fact, Prime Minister Demirel himself has been obliged to admit that an atmosphere of great anxiety was developing around Turkey due to the US-Iran dispute over the "hostages" issue, and the Iran-Iraq border skirmishes were gradually spreading to larger areas.

Although the government seems to remain neutral on these issues, especially after the signature of the new military accord between the United States and Turkey, Pentagon and its allies in the Middle East have started to talk more daringly on their projects concerning Turkey.

Israeli Defense Minister *Ezer Weizmann* told the Turkish weekly *Yanki* on March 23, 1980: "Turkey is the greatest power against Soviet expansion in the Middle East, but the US should have a part in this." Israeli Prime Minister *Menachem Begin* said on March 30, 1980, in an interview with the same weekly: "Israeli and Turkey serve today as an efficient and reliable buffer against Soviet expansion in the area."

The Turkish daily *Hürriyet* had already disclosed on December 27, 1979, that the US worked out a plan to build up a new pro-Western military alliance in the Middle East with the participation of Turkey, Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Other news which appeared in the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 17, 1980, made public that the US asked the Turkish Government to accord an air-passage over Turkey to be used for any US military intervention in the Persian Gulf. According to the same newspaper, US diplomats very often visit the provinces bordering the Middle East countries.

On April 6, 1980, a 5-member US Senate delegation came to Turkey and got in touch with the country's main political figures. They said that before coming to Turkey they visited the USS Coral Sea patrolling in the Indian

Ocean and added: "Our pilots in the ship were very impatient to bomb the selected targets in Iran."

A very expensive credit for Turkey

Following the US senators, an eight-man IMF team of experts arrived at Ankara on April 10, 1980, and reviewed economic developments since January 25, 1980. The IMF team, reinforced by the World Bank experts, imposed some new austerity measures on Turkish officials: A stricter ceiling implementation on Central Bank credits to the public sector; limitation of short-term advances to the Treasury; restriction of the utilization of Budget funds by public institutions and especially state economic enterprises; new price increases for the products and services of these enterprises; slowing-down of wage rises; more frequent devaluation of the Turkish Lira.

Earlier, the top economic aid to the Prime Minister, Turgut Ozal, had handed over to *McNamara* a letter on February 8, 1980, which promised to render the control of the Turkish economy to this international finance organization. Thereupon, 66 Republican deputies, accusing the Government of rendering Turkey's sovereignty to foreigners, asked for a parliamentary investigation.

Following the Turkish Government's concessions, the major industrialized members of the OECD put together, at the pledging session held on April 16, 1980 in Paris, a 1,160 million dollar aid package "to restore Turkey's ailing economy". The shares of the rich countries in this package are as follows: USA, 295 million; FGR, 295 million; Italy, 115 million; Japan, 100 million; France, 100 million; EEC, 100 million; Switzerland, 37.5 million; Gt. Britain, 33 million; Holland, 22 million; Austria, 15 million; Canada, 10.5 million; Belgium, 10 million; Sweden, 10 million; Norway, 10 million; Denmark, 5 million; Finland, 3.5 million; Luxembourg, 1 million $.

However, the 1,160 million dollar OECD assistance is not likely to improve Turkey's economic situation in the short term. Because, with the addition of these new OECD credits, Turkey's total external debt has reached 18,200 million dollars. Of the new credit, only a 650 million dollar part can be used freely and it is not enough for even paying a 3-month oil importation to Turkey.

"Now it's how to find money for oil!" These were the words of Mr. Ozal upon the OECD pledge. The very same day, in the Turkish capital, Prime Minister Demirel was engaged in secret talks with Adnan Kashoggi, renowned for his deals "behind closed doors" on oil funds and armament trades. Main opposition leader Ecevit accused Demirel of dealing with a "dark personality" and said: "If a country cannot overcome her economic and energy problems on her own, then such dark personalities come onto the scene."

General offensive against the working class

One of the main targets of the drastic measures of the IMF was wages and salaries. Encouraged by the IMF, the Secretary General of the *Turkish Confederation of Employers Unions*, Rafet Ibrahimogly, said that a country-wide wage policy should be established.

Under this two-sided pressure, Minister of Labour Cavit Erdemir said that the bill regarding trade unions was nearing completion and collective bargaining would be reorganized "in keeping with the requirements of the country". Minister Erdemir also stated that "the general strike, boycott and occupation were all illegal acts and the loopholes in the laws which encouraged illegal protests by workers will be filled."

Even before the adoption of these new measures, the Council of Ministers had suspended many strikes in metal, energy and food sectors. According to research which appeared in the daily *Cumhuriyet*, governments over 17 years have forbidden or suspended 160 strikes by using Article 21 of the law concerning collective bargainings, strikes and lockouts. This article was borrowed from the *Taft-Hartley Act of the USA*.

On the other hand, within a 4-month period of the Demirel Government, 100,000 workers of the state-owned enterprises have been fired for political reasons.

But despite all these anti-democratic measures, mass strikes launched by the trade unions affiliated with the *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey* (DISK) continue to gain greater dimensions. The economic austerity measures imposed by the IMF also oblige the trade unions to take a harsher

stand. Just after the accord with the IMF delegation, the Turkish Government devaluated the Turkish Lira 5.3% on April 13, 1980. According to the Turkish press, new readjustments are expected in a very short time.

The figures issued by the State Statistical Organization show that the working people are being crushed under hyper inflation now rising at an annual rate of 100%. This rate is also the highest in the 57-year history of the Turkish Republic. The shortages, from cooking oil to light bulbs, lead to black marketing and prices even higher than reflected in the official figures.

To show the working masses' reaction, the DISK has decided also to celebrate May 1st this year in six provinces of Turkey: Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Trabzon, Bitlis and Mersin.

A new opportunity for gaining time: Presidential election

Under these circumstances, the political parties represented in Parliament try to gain time with rounds of the Presidential election. The Sixth President of the Turkish Republic Fahri Korutürk completed his 7-year period in office on April 6, 1980, and Senate Speaker Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil became Acting President according to the Constitution.

Any candidate for the President of the Republic should get 315 out of 635 votes in the Grand National Assembly, composed of the upper and lower houses of Parliament. None of the two main parties, the Justice Party (government) and the Republican People's Party (opposition), which respectively have 264 and 266 votes, is able to have elected its own candidate. Ecevit's CHP named the formed Air Forces Commander *General Muhsin Batur*, but he managed to get only 263 votes, 72 short of the necessary votes to be elected. As to the candidate of the Justice Party, Saadettin Bilgic, he managed to get 185 votes, 150 short of the majority.

In fact, it is contradictory for Ecevit's party to name as candidate a general who was one of the four authors of the March 12th, 1971, military intervention which resulted in an unprecedented repression. Thus other parties accuse Ecevit of acting hypocritically.

Being aware that the National Salvation Party, islam fundamentalist, is already planning to bring the government question on the agenda at the moment the new president is elected, the Demirel's Justice Party prefers to prolong the presidential election for as long as possible.

Terror escalated by the government

Being unable to find long-term solutions to crucial economic and social problems of the country, the Demirel Government searches for short-term credits from obscure personalities on the one hand, and, on the other, resorts to repressive measures for cracking down on the progressive opposition.

The "*Grey Wolves*", tolerated and even supported by the Government, have recently intensified their bloody attacks; and the monthly rate of political assassinations approached 300. Among the terror victims of the last month are also Umit Kaftancioglu, writer and a producer of the Turkish R-TV (Ankara, 11/4/1980); public prosecutors Nurhan Aksu (Turgutlu, 15/3/1980) and Niḥat Gercek (Niksar, 9/4/1980); a rightist journalist, Ismail Gerçeksöz (Istanbul, 4/4/1980); an army captain (Mardin, 29/3/1980); a progressive lawyer, Aytekin Olcay (Konya, 23/2/1980); an army lieutenant (Diyarbakir, 20/3/1980) and an agent of the National Intelligence Organization (Istanbul, 29/3/1980).

On April 4, 1980, the "*Grey Wolves*" attacked a peaceful demonstration of progressive associations in Eskisehir and shot dead 7 persons with machine-guns.

Using this terror as pretext, the Government extended martial law for two months in 19 provinces and imposed this emergency regime also the eastern province of Agri.

On April 13, 1980, the cadets of the War College were also involved in the political terror. Hundreds of them raided the Park of Youth in Ankara, shouting anti-communist slogans, and beat the members of a folklore group working there. The Martial Law Command of Ankara, issuing a communiqué, justified the cadets attack.

New repressive law projects

Not satisfied with the application of martial law, the ruling circles force the government to prepare new law projects aimed at imposing new repressive measures:

- A draft bill which allows martial law courts to function and complete court cases even after

martial law is lifted was already approved by the Justice Commission of the Parliament.
- A new law project is being prepared by the government for proclaiming an emergency regime in the case of war or crisis. If this is adopted, the security forces can be authorized to massacre groups of opposition considered "internal enemy".
- Another bill prepared by the government stipulates authorizing private enterprises to recruit special security forces with uniform.
- The Interior Ministry authorized the security forces to shoot dead at sight any person who was put on the "wanted list".
- The same ministry started to deliver licences for carrying fire-arms to the officials of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), neo-fascist organization of the "Grey Wolves".
- Finally, the National Security Council asked the government and Parliament to reconstitute extraordinary "state security courts" which had once been annuled by the decision of the Court of Constitution.

JUNE 1980

CENSURE MOTION FOR OVERTHROWING DEMIREL GOVERNMENT

Trying to overthrow the Demirel Government, the Republican People's Party (CHP) presented a censure motion to the National Assembly.

According to the motion, which also bears the signature of former premier Bülent Ecevit, individual and organized terror turned to mass terrorism, killings increased, and cities and state institutions as well as streets and quarters turned into "liberated zones" under the occupation of bullies. Sectarianism, divisionism and hostility had turned into civil war and the government was not capable of dealing with the situation except by increasing the prohibitions and curfew orders, thus paralyzing life.

The censure motion says that inflation had reached frightening proportions. Development had stopped. Regression had set in, with a greater proportion of the masses being impoverished and capital being increased by capital holders.

Exploitation was increasing, the distribution of income was becoming more and more unbalanced. Prices, then interest rates, had been set free and anarchy added to all that had brought the nation to the point of explosion.

Foreign markets within Turkey's region were being abandoned in favor of western countries, and all the concessions were being accorded to the latter in return of loans.

No measures had been taken to guarantee Turkey's future, and attempts were being made for a full membership to the EEC. The economic model adopted was against the Turkish democracy and constitution and did not agree with the social principles of the Turkish Constitution.

It was concluded in the censure motion that as long as the present government remained, the basis of the state and the essence of democracy as well as the other values of society would continue to be destroyed and other powers would substitute the State.

Now at the end of the debates on the censure motion, it is necessary to secure at least 226 votes against the government in order to overthrow it. Since the votes of the Republican People's Party are not enough to bring about this operation, Ecevit seeks the support of the islamic fundamentalist *Nationalist Salvation Party* (MSP).

Massacres committed by "Grey Wolves" and security forces

Despite the claim of restoring law and order in Turkey, since the proclamation of martial law, the rate of political assassinations committed by "Grey Wolves", paramilitary commando units of the neo-fascist party (MHP), has grown steadily and reached 337 per month recently. In addition to this escalation, the security forces under the command of martial law authorities have started to resort to political violence and to murder even the persons not involved in terrorist activities.

The most spectacular of these massacres was committed on June 13, 1980, in Izmir. The security forces surrounded a student dormitory where the students were celebrating the end of the educational year and opened fire on them

with machine-guns. Five students were killed immediately and about 20 students were gravely wounded.

On the other hand, the "Grey Wolves" have shot dead many political party officials within one month. They raided on May 24, 1980 the residence of Vecdi Özgüner, member of the executive committee of the *Labour Party of Turkey* (TEP) which was earlier closed down by the Court of Constitution, and opened fire on him and his wife. As Mr. Özgüner was getting wounds, his wife, Mrs. Sevinç Özgüner, member of the central council of the *Union of Turkish Doctors*, was shot to death.

A few days later, on May 27, 1980, *Gün Sazak*, member of the executive committee of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) was shot dead in front of his house by unidentified persons. This assassination was interpreted as a retaliation for the assassination of Dr. Özgüner. Although there were claims that the murder of the rightist politician was a consequence of an inner conflict within the neo-fascist party, the "*Grey Wolves*", exploiting this event as a pretext, launched a country-wide bloody terror campaign. They raided the residences, offices and shops of all progressive people in many provinces, shot dead at least 30 persons. The tension reached its climax especially in the province of Corum, Kayseri, Eskisehir and Nevsehir. Among the victims of this fascist offensive was also the Secretary of the Uskudar branch of the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP).

But the most daring attack took place in Nevsehir. The "*Grey Wolves*" shot dead first the President of Nevsehir Branch of the Republican People's Party, Zeki Tekiner, on June 16, 1980. Next day, party chairman Bulent Ecevit and other parliamentarians came to Nevsehir in order to attend the funeral. During the ceremony, the "Grey wolves" opened fire on the crowd, Bülent Ecevit hardly escaped death, but four members of parliament were gravely wounded. Thereupon, Ecevit and his friends were obliged to take refuge in the City Hall, and phoned to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior asking for security of life. But they were not in their offices, thereupon Ecevit had to call directly the Chief of General Staff and asked him to send military troops to Nevsehir for guaranteeing their lives.

August 1980

EARLY ELECTIONS: A STEP TOWARDS PARLIAMENTARY FASCISM

As the political terror which claimed 904 lives within only the last two months keeps on climbing, early elections has become one of the hot topics in the capital of Turkey. Earlier, Prime Minister Demirel announced that his Party's intention was to hold early elections some time between October 15 and December 15 of this year; later the Chairman of the islamic fundamentalist *National Salvation Party*, Necmeddin Erbakan, gave the National Assembly a proposal to fix the date of early elections as October 26, 1980.

Besides these two political parties, the *Nationalist Action Party* of fascist-minded colonel Türkes has shown that it is also in favour of an early election.

On the other hand, the *Republican People's Party* of social-democrat Ecevit and all progressive forces of Turkey have expressed their opposition to the idea of early election.

The explanation of this conflict lies in the following facts:

First of all, for the *Justice Party* an early election seems to be the last chance for staying in power for a new legislative period. Because, contrary to what the Government officials say, the economic scene is not all that promising. Another winter with this minority government will erase all the Justice Party's electoral chances, if the elections are held in the spring of 1981.

Secondly, the political violence has reached such a level that, if an early election is not held, the possibility for a military intervention will be greater and a military-backed, non-parliamentary government may replace the Demirel Government. Instead of military intervention, an important section of big capital prefers parliamentary fascism. An early election held before Demirel loses his electoral chances might result in an absolute majority of the right-wing parties.

Demirel is hopeful that the rightist parties will obtain an absolute majority in early elections for the following reasons:

1. During the month of holy Ramadan especially, the Demirel Government wasted all exchanges obtained through new international credits and remittances of Turkish immigrant workers abroad in order to make abundant some consumer goods which had disappeared during Ecevit's rule. So, it gained advantageous position at least for a few months.
2. By encouraging and protecting the rightist terrorists, the Demirel Government led the masses to an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. The "*Grey Wolves*" of the fascist party took under their control the major provinces of Central Anatolia. Even the local chiefs of this party declared in newspapers that law and order is maintained not by the state forces but by the militants of their organizations. Under these circumstances, it will be impossible for progressive electors to go to polling-booths in many provinces. Benefitting from this atmosphere of intimidation and fear, Demirel hopes that the Justice Party and its ally, the Nationalist Action Party, will obtain absolute majority.

An absolute majority of the two rightist parties will be able to pass the economic and political measures imposed by international and local capitalist circles:

1. Amendment of the Constitution in an anti-democratic sense which will increase the power of the government and reduce the authority of the institutions of democratic control such as the Court of Constitution and the Council of State.
2. Direct election of the President of the Republic. Actually, the President of the Republic cannot be elected by Parliament because of the balance of force between the governmental and opposition parties. Since the acting president of the Republic is a member of the Justice Party, Demirel prefers a deadlock in presidential elections. However, if an early legislative election ends with the absolute majority of the Right, by changing the Constitution, a right-wing politician can be elected to this post.
3. Re-establishment of state security courts which had been annulled by the Court of Constitution, on the grounds that they were unconstitutional.
4. Enactment of the law providing powers and authorities of Martial Law Commanders.
5. Amendment to the Military Penal Code and the Law on the procedures at penal courts.
6. Amendment to the laws on trade unions and collective bargainings.
7. Ratification of the new Turco-US Defense Cooperation Agreement.

After such changes, it will be impossible to talk of a democratic system in Turkey; it will be logical, rather, to talk of "parliamentary fascism" reigning in the south-eastern flank of the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community.

In order to keep the image of "democracy", the Turkish Parliament will exist, but it will be a "rubber-stamp" parliament taking orders from international and local capitalist circles.

It is because of that the progressive forces of Turkey oppose an anticipated legislative election and prefer to wait until the next spring when the actual minority government of Demirel will be bankrupt of prestige.

Rightist terror encouraged by the NATO Meeting in Ankara

Even before the installation of an open fascist regime, parliamentary or military, the rightist terrorist gangs have accelerated the rate of political assassinations within the last two months. With 904 assassinations between June 16 and August 15, 1980, the total number of the terrorists' victims of the 9-month period of the Demirel Government rose to 2,685, and the total number of the 4-year and 7-month period to 4,895.

Alongside the encouragement and protection granted by the Demirel Government, the rightist terrorists were encouraged also by the ministerial meeting of NATO in Ankara on June 25-26, 1980. In fact, since 1960, the NATO Alliance dared not have any meeting in Turkey because of the anti-NATO and anti-US resistance of the country's progressive forces. But after the proclamation of martial law at the end of 1978, the pro-NATO and pro-US circles gained influence in the state apparatus and started to use the extreme-rightist elements placed at the key posts of the Armed Forces or the Police to eliminate anti-imperialist and anti-fascist elements.

The NATO Meeting in Ankara has been a

manifestation of this pro-US escalation in Turkey.

It is not astonishing that just a few days later, on July 5, 1980, the military troops, on the order of the Martial Law Command, raided the Congress of the Ankara Federation of the *Workers' Party of Turkey* (TIP) and detained 588 party members.

Parallel to the terror practised by the state forces, the fascist gangs murdered first a center-left parliamentarian, Köksaloglu. That was followed by another mysterious assassination: Former prime minister Nihat Erim was murdered by unidentified persons in apparent retaliation for the murder of the Republican deputy.

On July 22, 1980, acting in defiance of extraordinary security measures taken for Mr. Erim's funeral, fascist gangs shot and killed Mr. *Kemal Türkler*, President of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, as he was leaving his home in an Istanbul suburb. They then escaped.

In fact, the murder of Mr. Türkler, also a former president of the *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions* (DISK), was aimed at dragging the working class into the current cycle of violence.

Meanwhile, massive terrorism was put in practice in many provinces of Central Anatolia. In the province of Corum only, the fascist killers assassinated more than 40 persons within one month. Similar massacres were perpetrated also in the provinces of Ordu, Ankara, Urfa, Adana, Gaziantep, Samsun, Bursa, Diyarbakir, Mardin. The principal tactic of the fascists to increase the number of victims was to instigate the members of one religious sect against another sect, as it was in the Kahramanmaras incidents at the end of 1978.

Another massive terror tactic was used in the district of Fatsa in the province of Ordu by the state forces. They raided the little town on the Black Sea coast, arrested thousands of people as well as the progressive mayor of the city. Mayor *Fikri Sönmez* and hundreds of people were tortured by the police.

The working classes' answer to all these pressures and provocations has been a mass strike. On July 23, 1980, about 1 million workers all over Turkey went on strike or held slowdowns. The funeral of Kemal Türkler was another mass demonstration manifesting the resolution of the working class to defend democratic rights; about 600,000 persons took part in the funeral.

1980 IN BRIEF

January

- Encouraged by the military's ultimatum, Vehbi Koç, Chairman of the Koç Holding Board of Directors, called on Turkish political leaders on January 6, 1980, to freeze for a certain period all wages, rents and profits "to save the country from the current economic crisis." The top capitalist of Turkey drew a gloomy picture of the Turkish economy and said that if "a strong government takes some courageous decision regarding both law and order and the economic problems," the country could be brought out of the crisis.
- Seven trade union leaders have been arrested by the military tribunal of Istanbul, on the charge of "having made propaganda for communism" by singing the International at the opening of the 23rd Congress of the Metal Workers' Union (Maden-Is).
- World famous Turkish humorist and Chairman of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS) Aziz Nesin stated that many members of this organization were under threat of being killed. "Under these circumstances, defending democracy has become identical with defending our lives," he said.

February

- General Evren intervened once more in politics and openly threatened the resisting workers and democratic forces: "Instead of external enemies we have been obliged to fight internal ones. Why we do not give them a smashing blow despite the existence of martial law? Because, we do not want to shed blood. If we decide, we can finish them off within one month."

April

- Chief of General Staff of the US Armed Forces General David Jones, visiting Turkey, said: "Turkey is the most reliable ally of the United States. The Turkish Armed Forces' efforts to safeguard the integrity of the country and the surviving of democracy merit felicitations."

May

• As the workers of all countries were celebrating the May Day with rallies and shouting the slogans of unity, solidarity and struggle, Turkey's largest city, Istanbul, looked like a ghost town. Helicopters buzzed overhead and tanks patrolled key intersections in the city of over four million. Similar precautions were enforced in 30 other provinces of Turkey, including Ankara, the capital, and Izmir, the third largest Turkish city. About 400 trade-union militants and officials were put under arrest for defying the ban on "Labor Day" celebration.

• The "Grey Wolves" have started to take as target, too, officials of the CHP of former premier Ecevit. Last month, two provincial presidents of this party fell dead from the bullets of the Grey Wolves. Thereupon, Ecevit accused the government of adopting a policy to provoke terror.

• Whereas the neo-fascist party MHP is carrying on its criminal acts throughout Turkey and the tens of accusations against its leaders are not being handled by the Chief Prosecutor, the Labour Party of Turkey (TEP) was closed down on May 8, 1980, by the Constitutional Court for stating in their programme that the Kurdish people's right to have an education in their mother language should be recognized.

• The Martial Law Command of the province of Istanbul declared that 15 more newspapers and periodicals were forbidden to be printed or distributed in the martial law areas.

June

• An investigating team of Amnesty International visited Turkey from May 19-30 and found that "Turkish authorities are using widespread and systematic torture against political detainees." At least three people are alleged to have died during interrogation under torture. Referring to the Turkish press, AI claimed that nearly 47,000 people have been arrested for political reasons between January and April of this year.

• Failing to overcome the economic difficulties within the framework of Turkey's existing economic order, the Demirel Government has once more given the IMF a new concession which will lead to drastic measures. The new 3-year arrangement with the IMF aims at cutting inflation down to 50% by June 1981, to 35% one year later, and further down to 25% by June 1983. The Turkish goverment's letter of intent envisages a 22% devaluation of the Turkish Lira against the US dollar.

• On the eve of the Ankara NATO summit meeting where the NATO powers faced the decision either to return to détente and negociations or to go further along the path of nuclear escalation, 47 deputies of the social-democrat CHP asked for a parliamentary inquiry about the government. "We are afraid that the Turkish Government will approve, too, the demands concerning the deployment of the neutron bomb in Turkey, thus making her a nuclear cemetery in an event of war." During the debates at the National Assembly on the Turco-American Defence Cooperation Agreement, Ecevit charged the Government with turning Turkey into a "lightning rod of NATO" in order to secure foreign assistance from western nations.

July

• The Turkish Government has suspended within only seven months 55 strikes in food, energy, transportation, metallurgy, glass, communication, public services, cement, railways, petro-chimie and shipping sectors. The number of the postponed strikes within a 17-month period reached about 200.

• As the speculations on the Turkish affiliation to the EEC are continuing in the Community and in Turkey, the European Trade Union Confederation has informed the Turkish Government that a "preliminary condition of such affiliation is that one must accept the fundamental democratic and trade union rights. Incidents like the arrest of Turkish trade union leaders on April 30 can lead the European trade union movement to be opposed to a possible demand from the Turkish Government for affiliation to the EEC."

• On the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, General Evren said: "I have to say unfortunately that we fight against traitors within the country. As the chief of the Armed Forces, I say that these traitors will be subjected to the punishment which they have already deserved."

August

• General Evren lashed out at the politicians for failing to make Parliament function properly and elect the new President of the Republic and declared that the Armed Forces are determined to stand strongly against terrorism.

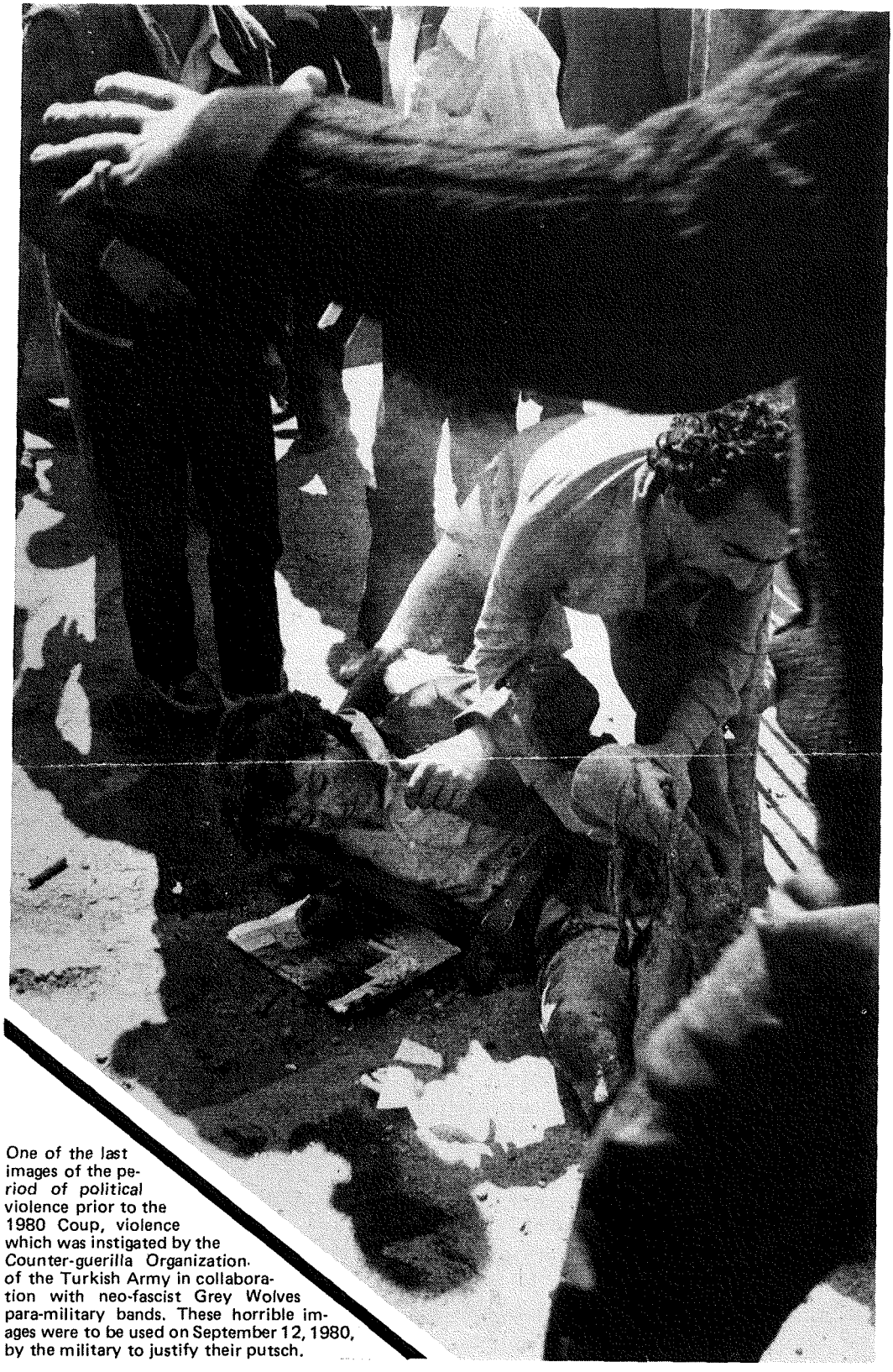
September

• 32 left-wing members of parliament of the CHP addressed an open letter to the Chairman of the Party, Ecevit, on the occasion of the 57th anniversary (September 9) of the foundation of the party. Accusing Ecevit of staying backward compared to the people and the time, they said: "A CHP that turns to the right by excluding the democratic work of its own instruments and which becomes a centre party by liquidating, through fishy practices, organisations which have carried during the difficult periods all the burden of the party, will lose the right and the occasion to defend peace, democracy and the independence of our people."



Grey Wolves (above) and the May 1st, Massacre in Istanbul





One of the last images of the period of political violence prior to the 1980 Coup, violence which was instigated by the Counter-guerilla Organization of the Turkish Army in collaboration with neo-fascist Grey Wolves para-military bands. These horrible images were to be used on September 12, 1980, by the military to justify their putsch.

1980-81

THE 1980 COUP AND MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

September 12, 1980. The coup that had been systematically prepared for years was announced to the world by the U.S. State Department in Washington before the Turkish generals themselves announced it on the Turkish Radio. "Law and order" was immediately restored. While all democratic forces of the country were undergoing an unprecedented state terrorism, the IMF's drastic economic measures and new military accords with the USA were put in force without opposition.

BIG BUSINESS CALLS FOR POLITICAL STABILITY

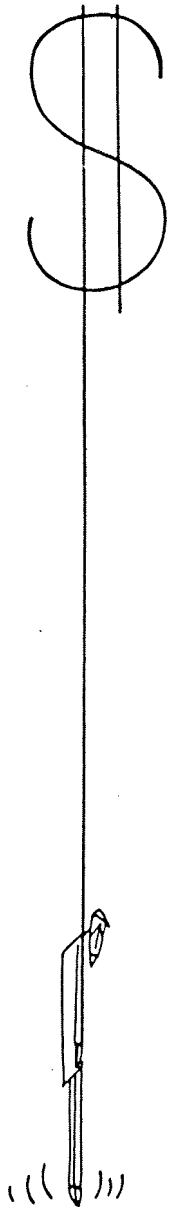
In the days before September 12, 1980, reports published about the Turkish economy in the first seven months of 1980 were rather grim. In this period, the exports of $ 1.4 billion, below expectations, fell far short of imports which totalled $ 3.1 billion. Production levels did not increase; indeed, of the 113 basic goods mentioned by the State Planning Organization (DPT) the production of 68 fell by 5.9 percent. The Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TÜSIAD) emphasized, in *Turkish Economy in mid-1980*, that "unless exports are increased, stability measures will not succeed." The industrialists and businessmen were in unison in calling for immediate and drastic measures. TÜSIAD would indicate later on, in *Turkish Economy 1980*, that when contract dates were approaching for 122,140 workers (whose strikes had been postponed by the Demirel Government) "wage increases should be restricted." The same opinion was voiced also in the publications of organizations such as the Confederation of Turkish Employers' Union (TISK), the Istanbul Chamber of Industry (ISO), the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO) and the The Chambers' Union of Turkey (TOB). The president of TOB claimed that "the biggest obstacles to raising the level of production were instability and anarchy" and asked for the implementation of "labour peace." TISK, in a letter of advice to its affiliate employers' unions, asked them "not to extend the existing fringe benefits and to conduct collective bargaining in groups and, gradually, in terms of the various branches of the economy instead of on the level of individual enterprises." With increasing militancy, Halit Narin, the Secretary General of TISK, said in a publication of the Union of Textile Employers that "raising production levels depend on the re-establishment of State Security Courts (to be charged with judging anti-State crimes); he added, "I do not think anyone has a better solution."

As Narin succinctly expressed above, all economic decisions involving production levels had to be political as well. While the fundamental changes in the Turkish economy did not materialize in the first half of 1980, the entire State mechanism was rapidly losing its "authority". It was a rare day for the Parliament to convene with a quorum; in fact, after countless rounds of voting, the election for President of the Republic could not be completed for many months. The State was unable to take necessary steps to implement new arrangements concerning taxation and wages (which were demanded by industrialists and employers) and also to pass new laws to strengthen its own authority. In short, Parliament "was not working." "The faltering democratic mechanism" and the "vacuum of authority" were alarming indications that "the State needed to be repaired."

The State mechanism's inability to function effectively reflects the acute political crisis which has been building up since the early 70's. As the electoral laws and the parliamentary system in Turkey allowed small parties to be represented in the National Assembly out of proportion to their actual social and political support, countless short-lasting governments ruled the country since 1973. These short-lived coalitions and governments were unable to offer anything or last long enough to implement any coherent economic and political programs. The January 24th plan can thus be characterized as the ruling classes' most daring program in many decades. However, this program, radical as it is, could not be fully applied, given the delicate balance of power in the Parliament. In fact, the Demirel government (after surviving by several votes of confidence) was about to fall at the beginning of September 1980.

In the past few months, the right-wing press was pointing to the "weakened administrative and executive powers in the State." In April, the daily *Tercüman*, the common voice of the Turkish right, organized a large-scale seminar on "How to Revitalize the Political Regime: the Constitution and the Electoral Laws" and concentrated its attacks on the "deficiencies and the limits" of the current Constitution. The seminar concluded that the necessary measures to be taken should include: securing political stability through instituting a parliament elected by majority vote, adopting a "Presidential system" which would elect the President of the Republic by popular vote, and changing the nature of the executive power from "routine function of fulfilling orders" to "a real power based on the will of the Turkish nation."

On September 2, reflecting the preoccupations of the lending countries and institutions, Turgut Ozal indicated that "political stability is a prerequisite for receiving foreign capital and investments." The Western press in general was writing about the possibility of military rule in Turkey to secure stability. *The Economist* asked, "is the military losing patience?"



A U.S. REPORT ON A POSSIBLE COUP

A report drawn up just before the military coup d'état for *the Subcommittee on Europe and Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives* considered a military coup d'état as the first of future alternatives in Turkey's internal political system, if the warning by the military could not be sufficient to inspire the party system to greater responsiveness:

"Opposition to the United States is ideologically based, and the perpetrators of anti-American crimes are generally from politically and socially isolated groups. The most recent episode occurred on December 14, 1979, when four Americans were murdered by a group calling itself "The Marxist-Leninist Unit for Armed Propaganda of the Turkish People's Liberation Front and Party."

"During the Iran crisis, an anti-American demonstration took place in front of the general consul's residence in Izmir. But unlike similar events in Libya, Pakistan, and Thailand, there were no casualties or property damage. Turkish troops dispersed the crowd, estimated at 1,500.

"The U.S. Government does not consider anti-American violence to pose serious danger to American tourists, and no travel advisories have been issued. The American community in Turkey, predominantly diplomatic and military personnel numbering less than 5,000, is concerned and has taken precautions against being targeted as American symbols.

"Officials of the United States and Turkish Governments are quick to point out that the general public attitude toward the United States in Turkey is still highly favourable. One reporter covering anti-Americanism for a U.S. paper in 1979 found in random sampling of American visitors that they encountered no hostility and found Turks to be friendly and helpful. It appears that heightened awareness of isolated incidents of anti-Americanism has been fostered by the events in Iran. Comparisons of the American presence and of political instability being channeled into anti-Americanism in the two countries reveal that strong parallels do not exist; the general public in Turkey does not associate its government or its economic problems with the United States.

CAPITALISTS OF TURKEY HAD ASKED THAT...

18/04/79: Top capitalist Vehbi Koc made an appeal for the formation of a new powerful government.
05/06/79: Capitalist Sabanci: "The situation is going from bad to worse. We have to install powerful governments."
22/07/79: Capitalist Rahmi Koc stated that the country was longing for new powerful leadership.
20/09/79: Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association accused trade-unions of having gained enormous economic and political power in Turkey.
7/10/79: Capitalist Selcuk Yasar asked that all social laws be changed.
11/11/79: The Council of Free Enterprises asked for political stability.
14/12/80: The Union of Commerce and Industry Chambers asked that wages be put under strict control.
7/01/80: Vehbi Koc, top capitalist of Turkey, asked that wages and prices be frozen without delay.
17/02/80: The Council of Free Enterprises claimed that a handful of traitors asked that dictatorship be established in Turkey.
8/04/80: President of the Employers' Union asked that an end be put to uncontrolled wage raises by legislative changements.
11/09/80: President of the Employers' Union asked for re-establishment of extraordinary state security courts.

"Despite the unsettling realities of political life in Turkey, seemingly fraught with instability and conflict, the fact remains that Turkey has been a democratic republic since 1923 and Turkish people are proud of and attached to their democratic traditions. The weathering of the recent change of regime indicates that the parliamentary system has the strength to remain intact. It is nevertheless worthwhile to consider some of the future alternatives in Turkey's internal political system.

"Against the backdrop of chronic political instability in Turkey, the military has been traditionally viewed as a force for order and stability. Twice in recent history, the military has intervened in the political system. The January 2 warning from the armed forces to the country's political parties again raised the prospect of a military coup.

"According to some observers, the prospects for such a development have increased because of the troubles in neighboring Iran. The objectives of a military coup at this time would be to avert chaos similar to that of Iran, to stem Turkish separatism, and to respond to the impotence of the political parties. Advocates of this view cite the riots in Izmir and Istanbul in the early days of the hostage crisis as evidence of the spillover effect of the Iranian revolution.

"Yet it could be argued that those riots were quickly quelled, violence and property damage was minor compared to outbursts in other Islamic countries, and that regional events have brought Turks closer together. The warning by the military may have been sufficient to inspire the party system to greater responsiveness. Turkey's strong anti-Soviet consensus in the wake of Afghanistan is evidence of drawing together in time of stress against outside threats." (Full text: *U.S. Interests in Turkey*, Info-Türk, 1982, Brussels)

THE COUP OPENS A PERIOD FOR DICTATORSHIP

"This is not a military coup one would read about in history books. This operation has been carried out by the military according to the will of the nation to put an end to assaults on democracy."

Such was the way Chief of Staff General Evren characterized the coup of September 12, 1980.

In his first press conference four days after the coup, General Evren explained that "the purpose of the operation is to protect national unity; guarantee security of life and property by eliminating anarchy and terror; re-establish and protect the State's authority; maintain social peace, national will and unity; restore the validity of the republican regime based on social justice, individual rights and freedoms, human rights and secularism; and, finally, to return to civilian administration in a reasona-



ble period after necessary measures are implemented... Our guiding light will be Kemalism and its principles."

In the same press conference, General Evren's remarks that the coup was carried out to end the atmosphere of terror and anarchy in the country and to re-establish the national unity had an extremely positive effect on the middle classes which until then had been terrorized to an unprecedented extent. In its initial phase, the military intervention thus gained the support of these moderate layers.

Except for a few cursory remarks, he did not mention any of the long list of bloody massacres planned and executed by the well-organised fascist forces. In this repainted panorama of the political forces on the eve of September 12, General Evren restricted the label of "right" to the fundamentalist rhetoric of the *National Salvation Party (MSP)* and concentrated his attacks mainly on the left, those who "corrupted the innocent Turkish workers" by forcing them to carry "red flags and portraits of foreigners."

As for the measures to be taken, General Evren said: "To the extent that no similar intervention will ever be necessary in the future, the *National Security Council (MGK)* is determined to eliminate all obstacles which so far prevented the democratic order and the regime from functioning properly... We will not tolerate the germination and spreading of anarchy in the name of freedom and independence in schools, universities, and unions."

The actions taken by the MGK in the first 15 days of the coup clearly indicated how "democracy will be restored."

The 5-general MGK started to work as a "parliament" and issued many decrees to restrict all democratic rights and freedoms and to extend the authority of martial law commanders in such a way that they can act arbitrarily.

The first application of arbitrary detention was the arrest of political leaders. The overthrown Prime Minister, Mr. Demirel, and the leader of the opposition, Mr. Bülent Ecevit, were taken to an island in the Marmara Sea. The leader of the ultra-islamic National Salva-

tion Party, Mr. Necmeddin Erbakan, was transferred to a naval base near Izmir. As for Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes, chief of the neo-fascist MHP, he hid in the 28th Military Division near Ankara, expecting his supporters in the Armed Forces to bring about new military intervention. A few days later, seeing that Evren's Junta had established its authority, Turkes was obliged to surrender.

Left-wing members of the Parliament were also arrested, and the military declared that they would be tried before extraordinary tribunals for their political activities. All municipal administrations, legally elected, were changed and taken over by military personnel.

All organizations and organizational activity were indefinitely suspended also; responsible officials were arrested. All trade union leaders and about 2,000 union officials were arrested. While the *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK)* with more than 650,000 members throughout Turkey was *de facto* closed, the yellow trade union center, the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-IS) was left virtually untouched. Furthermore, Sadik Side, the Secretary General of Turk-Is, was appointed as Minister of Social Security in the new cabinet.

The new repressive measures that the military junta put in practice provoked the armed resistance of certain political groups. Using these acts as pretext, the security forces started a countrywide man-hunt, particularly in Eastern Anatolia where the Kurdish people live. The military teams carried out raids in houses and working places, and massacred the people whom they considered "dangerous." For example, one day only, September 28, the security forces shot dead a total of 8 people in the districts of Aybasti and Denk.

Although the first declaration of the MGK announced that "the press is free, the newspapers and news agencies can function freely," three daily newspapers, *Aydinlik, Demokrat* and *Hergün*, were suspended from publication indefinitely without any declared reason or public announcement. The coup had such a shock on the Turkish press that the establishment press began to practice very strict self-censorship. While most column writers tended to write about things unrelated to the coup or current political developments, those who did refer to the coup usually ended their column reminding their "readers" that Atatürk once said that "the best cure for the problems created by the freedom of press is still a free press."

On September 22, twenty-six new ministers that the military appointed were sworn in. Including the Prime Minister, five key members of the cabinet were former military officers. Prime Minister *Bülent Ulusu* was the former Commander of the Naval Forces. Six members had already served in various above-party cabinets during the 1971-73 military coup period. The Minister of Culture was a right-wing journalist. The Minister of Social Security was the Secretary General of the yellow trade union confederation. One of the Ministers of the State served in the very first above-party cabinet formed following the military takeover in 1971 and was the Head of Operations at the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. Finally, two of the ministers were well-known advisers of the monopolies in the country.

A total submission to the IMF and the NATO

What is most striking is that Turgut Ozal, the economic brain behind the austerity government of toppled Prime Minister Demirel, was the sole political survivor and was named as Vice-premier of the military-backed government. Just after the military coup, *The Financial Times* of September 13th, 1980, published the following note from its Washington correspondant: "Both the IMF and the World Bank negotiations had been conducted very closely with a small number of former Prime Minister Demirel's advisers, in particular *Mr. Turgut Ozal*, the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. Mr. Ozal's fate will be a pointer to whether IMF and World Bank relations will continue smoothly with Turkey."

The new government drew up a program conforming to the directives of the IMF and the World Bank, and it was approved by the 5-man junta.

All the first communiqués issued by the MGK as well as the government program showed that the military gave top priority to economic problems. Contrary to the coups that occurred in '60 and '71, the social and economic objectives of the military regime were clearly defined.

At its first public declaration the MGK

37 OUT OF 76 YEARS UNDER MILITARY REGIME

General Evren claimed that the military takeover of September 12th, 1980, was not a coup d'état but only a measure aimed at defending the democracy. In fact, as will be seen below, since the bourgeois revolution of 1908, 37 years passed under martial law. During all the periods of martial law, the Armed Forces have played the role of suspending fundamental rights and freedoms.

YEARS		DURATION		PRETEXT OF THE MARTIAL LAW
1909-1912	3 years	2 months	2 days	Religious insurrection
1912			42 days	Anti-government activities
1912-1919	7 years		17 days	Balkan and 1st World Wars
1920-1922	2 years	6 months	19 days	National Liberation War
1925-1927	2 years	8 months	26 days	Insurrection in Eastern Anatolia
1940-1948	7 years	1 month	11 days	2nd World War
1955-1956		8 months		Anti-Greek riots in Istanbul
1960-1961	1 year	7 months	2 days	Military coup d'état of May 27
1963-1964	1 year	1 month	28 days	Military insurrection
1970		3 months		Workers' resistance
1971-1973	2 years	3 months		Military intervention of 12th March
1974-1975	1 year		11 days	Cyprus Operation
1978-1980	1 year	8 months	23 days	Massacre of Kahramanmaras
1980-1985	5 years	3 months	19 days	Military coup d'état Sept. 12

announced its adherence to the previous military and economic international agreements and to NATO. *Philip Kaplan*, a general at NATO's Southeast Headquarters, said (as reported in the daily *Günaydin*) "I think the political change in Turkey was expected by NATO and by all other countries." Indeed, the Commander of the Turkish Air Force, *General Sahinkaya* (a graduate of a U.S. Air Force School and a member of the 5-man Junta), had left for the United States only a few days before the coup. After consulting with U.S. officials, General Sahinkaya returned home on the 11th, and, a couple of hours after his press conference at the airport in which he related his "very positive meetings with U.S. officials", the coup operation began. In a statement to *Newsweek*, Coskun Kirca, Turkey's counselor to the United Nations, said: "Turkey contributes to the interests of the West in the Middle East, and strengthens the U.S. presence in the region."

All Western countries and the United States welcomed the coup. West German Chancellor *Schmidt* and the U.S. Under Secretary of State *Warren Christopher* agreed to continue the aid-loan program to Turkey and were joined by *Gaston Thorn*, the Chairman of the EEC Council, who expressed very similar feelings. *The Times* and the BBC claimed that "Turkey and the Turkish Armed Forces do not fit the Latin American model."

In his press conference, General Evren stressed that "the stability measures already in application will continue."

The presence of *Ozal*, the engineer of the January 24 plan, in the new administration with a high level of authority was most welcomed by the West.

The daily *Milliyet* reported on September 14 that an official of the consortium of lending banks said, "We respect Ozal very much. It is not possible to think of transferring the job he started to another team... Ozal in his capacity as the chief economic advisor will guarantee the continuity of the economic policy." Similarly, a high-level IMF official said (as reported in the daily *Hürriyet*), "In order for the economic plan engineered by Turgut Ozal to succeed, it was necessary to be cautious about the flexible exchange rate policy, domestic fiscal balance, keeping wages at a minimum level and the tax reform. Turkey followed a successful economic program after reaching an agreement with the IMF. However, because the-now-abolished parliament was not functioning, two of the principles above were not put into application. We hope that the present administration will solve the problem of wages and tax reform."

A few days after his appointment as the Vice-premier, the *Associated Press* presented Turgut Ozal as "the economic brain behind the austerity measures". "His ability to stay afloat

is a credit, observers say, both to his economic wizardry and his political savvy. He did post graduate work in the United States and served two and a half years with the World Bank in Washington D.C." The A.P. later quoted Ozal as saying: "I told them (the generals) very clearly that I ought to work with you. I have no other choice. This is the last chance for Turkey. I know only one thing: the present foundation is not strong. The whole system has disintegrated. If this movement does not succeed, then Turkey is in great danger. Maybe we will lose Turkey. Maybe a different regime will be established in Turkey."

As the economic czar of Turkey, Ozal, just after the formation of the new government, flew to the United States and satisfied the IMF and the World Bank by declaring that "stability measures would be applied without any concession at least for the next four to five years."

Turkish capitalists' satisfaction was at the highest when General Evren ordered an increase in production and a ban on all strikes and collective bargainings. Mehmet Yazar, Chairman of the *Union of Commerce and Industry Chambers* (TOB), termed the decision to suspend strikes "most appropriate" and said that the collective agreement system should be revised.

On September 22, at the meeting of *the Union of Metallurgy Employers* (MESS), it was declared that "the workers are now under the influence of the factor of fear. We should orientate them to the moderate trade unions."

On September 26, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul announced that the slowdown of work would constitute a crime.

While the progressive trade union leaders and officials were being arrested, the military-backed government decreed a restriction on the seniority compensation rights of workers and began to prepare new law projects to restrict all other social and economic rights of the working people.

Within only one month following the military coup, production increased about 90 percent. Ozal's prediction that "extraordinary measures would be in force at least for five years" satisfied Turkish business as well as the IMF and the World Bank. In order to accelerate the process of foreign participation in the Turkish economy, representatives of the private sector on October 16 founded an association called "*Association of Coordination of Foreign Investment*".

A golden period started for capital. The Chairman of Istanbul Chamber of Industry said: "We have great confidence in General Evren."

In the military plan, the first consequence of the military intervention was the accomplishment of NATO Manoeuvres, codenamed *Anvil Express 1980* without any trouble. So, the military junta proved that all anti-American forces in Turkey were suppressed at least for a certain time.

Benefitting from the stability, *General Rogers*, Chief Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, visited Turkey twice, on October 7 and 18, and had a series of talks with General Evren. The immediate result of these visits was Greece's return to the military organization of NATO. Although the Rogers' Plan gave rise to protests by the opposition in Greece, the pro-American majority of the Greek Parliament approved it. As for the Turkish side, the Foreign Minister stated: "By Greece's return to the military structure of NATO, solidarity within NATO's defense structure will be strengthened and the vacuum in the southern flank of the alliance will be eliminated. Under prevailing world circumstances, the present development is in conformity with Turkey's interests."

Another consequence of the "stabilization" in Turkey were the high-level talks within the framework of the complementary agreement connected with *the Turkish-US Defense Cooperation Accord.* The communiqué issued after the meeting of October 17 concluded: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of the Turkish defense industry through mutual efforts and that progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as mutilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO Alliance."

Having all this support from international and local business as well as from NATO and the USA, the military took a series of steps on the road to the "institutionalization" of the dictatorship.

After giving a "*vote of confidence*" to the military-backed government in the colossal building of the dissolved Grand National Assembly, the 5-man junta, acting as the legis-

lative body, enacted "*The Law on the Constitutional Order*" on October 27, 1980.

According to this law, the 1961 Constitution remained in power, but some of its articles were suspended indefinitely. For example, legislative and executive powers would no longer belong to the elected National Assembly and its government, but to the "National Security Council" and its government. So, a *de facto* situation was "*constitutionalized*".

Although this law did not bring any measure against the presence of some juridical organs such as the Constitutional Court and the Council of State, these organs' constitutional powers were totally suspended... powers such as controlling and even annulling the laws and decrees adopted by the legislative and executive organs.

So, the five generals rendered themselves the absolute rulers of Turkey and accumulated all legislative, executive and juridical powers in their hands.

First European reactions against the coup

Although the military intervention was enthusiastically applauded by US and NATO circles, European democratic institutions, especially the trade union centers, reacted vehemently against the installation of a repressive regime in Turkey.

The *European Trade Union Confederation* (ETUC) sent an urgent letter to the Acting President of the EEC Council and to the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on September 15, 1980. In this letter, *Mr. Hinterscheid* expressed doubt concerning the Turkish Army's intentions and appealed urgently to European institutions, asking them to use every means they had at their disposal to reestablish immediately basic liberties and democratic rules and to free at once the political and trade union leaders who had been arrested.

"We are surprised to hear the arguments put forward by the Turkish Army to justify the putsch since we know that in fact, the Army has been effectively in power for years and that the civil governments have more or less been cover-ups. Why, then, hasn't the Army been able to restore order and fight against rightist and leftist terrorism without having to suppress all democratic rules and liberties?" he asked.

The *World Confederation of Labour* (WCL), in a memorandum sent to the EEC Commission, to European parliamentarians, to the General Secretaries of the OECD and NATO, said:

"Under the present circumstances, if one attaches a real importance to democracy and to the defence of human rights, this should come true:

"- for the European Community: freezing the negotiations and decisions of the EEC-Turkey Association Council, more particularly those defined in July 1980;

"- for NATO, whose founder statutes specify the task of defending liberty and democracy: putting an end to co-operation with Turkey;

"- for the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD: freezing outstanding loans;

"- for the Western governments: stopping arms deliveries.

"Democracy can only hold on and make progress through democratic practices, among others, the existence of the freedom of association whatever the political regimes may be. Democracy also means an equitable distribution of resources, of income as well as of the economic and political power. Without these, all other things are fiction."

Otto Kersten, General Secretary of the *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, has sent the following message to General Kenan Evren of Turkey's National Security Council:

"International Confederation of Free Trade Unions uniting seventy million organised workers in free world deeply disturbed by recent events and demands that under all circumstances the inalienable right to freedom of association be upheld and particularly that trade union rights as enshrined in ILO international conventions be integrally respected. The ICFTU abhors political violence as an enemy to democracy but we protest against arrests of trade unionists, as only people proven guilty of crimes should be imprisoned. Democracy can be defended only by democratic means and we demand a speedy restoration of the democratic process in Turkey."

At the Council of Europe and the European Parliament

On these vigourous protests and appeals from the trade union organizations, the European institutions have started to discuss the subject of the military coup d'état in Turkey.

During the September 17th meeting of the *European Parliament* in Strasbourg, a resolution brought in by the groups of socialists, christian-democrats and liberals was adopted. This resolution demands the reestablishment of liberties in Turkey and estimates that "the prolongation of non-democratic measures" will be in contradiction with Turkey's engagements in respect to the European institutions. However, the majority of the European Parliament refused the proposal for condemning the military junta.

In addition, the communist and other progressive deputies brought in another resolution condemning the military junta and demanding the immediate suspension of relations between Turkey and the EEC. But this resolution, too, was rejected by the majority of the European Parliament.

In Brussels, the *EEC Council of Ministers* discussed the situation in Turkey. Despite appeals from the democratic organizations, the council, declaring that "it rejoiced at the guarantees given by the military junta", announced that the EEC will maintain its cooperation with Turkey.

On the other hand, the *Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe* adopted on October 1st a resolution demanding that the military junta reestablish a democratic system rapidly. The text states that, if this demand is not answered in a positive manner, the process of excluding Turkey from the Council of Europe will be started.

During the debates, some communist and socialist deputies insisted on the immediate exclusion of Turkey from the Council, but their proposals were not taken into consideration by the majority of the European parliamentarians.

In the adopted resolution, the Parliamentary Assembly calls for the respect of the the European Convention on Human Rights, the liberating of the detained politicians and the reconstitution of political parties and trade unions.

Despite the fact that Parliament was dissolved and many deputies were arrested, the military junta acted in a double-faced way and sent four former politicians, Turan Günes, Cevdet Akçali, Metin Teker and Besim Üstünel, to the meeting of the Consultative Assembly, as if they were still representing the Turkish Parliament. When they were at the hall of the Consultative Assembly, the leaders of political parties and many parliamentarians were in military prisons and five generals were acting as lawmakers in the National Assembly building in Ankara. Unfortunately, the Consultative Assembly, without taking this fact into consideration, allowed them to speak at this international forum.

DOCUMENT

REVELATIONS ABOUT THE PREPARATION OF THE COUP AND THE U.S. INSTIGATION

Although General Evren, the author of the 1980 military coup, claimed during his first public declaration that the Armed Forces had been obliged to intervene in politics because of the inability of successive governments to halt political terror, this argument does not seem so convincing for many observers, because prior to the coup, the Army was indeed in power in the most sensitive areas of Turkey for 20 months and the martial law commanders had all the authority to curb the political violence.

Mr Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister at the time of the coup, finds it suspicious that the military brought about amazing peace within a matter of weeks after taking power, while it had been apparently helpless to curb the violence for two years. According to Demirel, who was interviewed by Arthur Miller five years later, the generals deliberately allowed the chaos to expand until the intervention would be gratefully accepted. (The Nation, *May 1985).*

A book published five years after the military coup made many revelations about the preparation of the coup and the U.S. involvement in this intervention.

This book, written by Mehmet Ali Birant, the Brussels correspondent for the daily Milliyet, *is based on both General Evren's red-covered personal diary and the author's conversations with those people who were somehow involved in the latest developments preceding the coup.*

Some excerpts from these articles are reprinted below:

"The Army commanders, their headquarters and above all the Chief of staff were dissatisfied with the situation. The discontentment of the top of the hierarchy was caused by increasing terrorist actions throughout the country and by the inconsistency and partisan practices of the MC (Nationalist Front) governments. Besides these complaints which were shared unanimously, another source of discontentment was the actual state of the Armed Forces. For, as pointed out by *General Haig* - SACEUR (Supreme Commander of the NATO Armed Forces) - the Army's weaponry and equipment were in a state of ruin. Although a special bill had been adopted in 1972 providing for an additional expenditure of 5 billion dollars over the next 1975-77 period, only one million dollars was assigned for implementing the Army's reorganization and modernization program (REMO). (...) At the end of 1977, the Chief of staff was compelled to warn the then government: 'Don't ever bring about any situation that could result in an armed conflict with Greece, in view of the fact that our retaliation capacity is gradually decreasing.' (...)

"When he started governing the country, Ecevit raised the Army's hopes. He was thought to be able to change the situation. But after the first half-year of 1978, certain measures taken by the Ecevit government gave cause for renewed anxiety and the general opinion was that the situation was becoming even worse than before. As it turned out, Ecevit had already disappointed the top level of the Army. In the autumn of 1978, a special two-member team was set up by the Army staff to find an answer to the following question: At this stage of developments, is an intervention by the Army necessary? Subsequently, this team was enlarged and its activities continued until 1980. (...)

"After the Kahramanmaras massacre, as martial law was proclaimed early in 1979, Chief of staff Kenan Evren started visiting the Army units and embarked on a series of talks with the Army commanders. (...)

"While General Evren was staying in Brussels to attend the NATO Military Committee meeting, a message reached Turkey on December 12 (1979): 'The Chief of staff is to leave tomorrow bound for Turkey.' This was merely a confirmation of something already known. But for some people it was a sign that some very important meeting was to take place. On the same day, all commanders of the Armed Forces, the commanders of the four Armies and of some Army corps headed for Istanbul. (...)

"The subject of the meeting was the situation prevailing in the country and the Army's stance in the face of this situation. For several months they had been in agreement on the necessity of an intervention by the Army. Now both the timing and the form this intervention would take had to be determined. But as discussions were going on, it appeared that no general agreement could be reached on these points. Evren said: 'There should be general agreement on the fact that the intervention by the Army was the ultimate chance and that there was no other solution left. Before intervening, let us give the politicians a last chance and send them a warning letter.' (...) Nobody attending this meeting believed that this letter would result in forging the unity of all politicians with a view to improving the situation. The takeover was merely postponed.

"Chief of staff Evren, after handing the warning letter to the President of the Republic (Fahri Korutürk) on December 27, 1979, began writing down all his observations every day. He used to note down current events using the ancient writing (Arab alphabet) in a red-covered medium-sized diary. On the evening of Thursday, January 3, he wrote down the following lines:

"At 5 p.m. I paid the President of the Republic my regular weekly visit. He told me that Demirel (the then Prime Minister) would get very angry over this letter and he added 'he thinks about resigning'.

"We did not hand over this letter with a view to changing the Government,' I answered. 'It is not solely meant for the Government. We have attracted the attention of all political parties and constitutional institutions, including the Government.' (...)"

Subsequently, Birant gives a detailed account of Demirel's talks, first with the Chief of staff alone on January 4, 1979, next with all commanders twice, on January 7th and 10th 1979. During these conversations, the commanders are said to have put forward their concrete demands in a 6-page report, notably:

- *Reinforcing the powers held by the martial law commanders,*

- *Extending the powers of the martial law courts,*
- *Reviewing the Penal Code and the Law on Associations,*
- *Prolonging the duration of police custody from 15 to 30 days,*
- *Reinforcing the state intelligence network,*
- *Satisfying the needs of the Armed Forces as a matter of priority,*
- *Including arms traffic trials in the category of those trials which fall within the competence of martial law courts.*

"When the talks subsequent to the warning letter came to an end and after the upheavel caused by this letter subsided, the Chief of staff embarked on a series of visits to the military units. From February 15 to May 16 (1980), he made a tour of all armies and all major army corps. (...)

"Within the army there was a general agreement about fighting terror:

"- It is not possible to manage successfully this task if one is concerned about having regard for democracy and human rights. Have a dozen of them liquidated and you'll see them stop straight ...

"- There is only one solution left: Courts should be set up passing judgment straight away on people who were apprehended, and condemning them if they were found guilty.

"- Behind the rampant terror there is the Left. With a view to dividing this country, they take orders from Moscow. It's quite clear. Those on the right are not that important. A part of them are sincere and act guided by nationalist feelings. The head of the Left must be crushed."

"In Washington there was a growing feeling of anxiety. The warning letter was the first sign of a military intervention. But, although several months had passed since that letter was handed over, no movement could be observed within the army. From Washington, the necessity of a military intervention had appeared early in 1979. The first forerunners of this intervention had been noted during 1979. Furthermore, by September of that year, when Paul Henze, in charge of Turkish affairs at the White House, came to Istanbul for a conference, he had not deemed it necessary to go to Ankara. He was aware that in any case the Army was to seize power.

"But, given that the warning letter was not causing a stir, both the CIA and the Pentagon began to envisage as a hypothesis, at some committee meetings in Washington, that maybe the Generals were afraid of seizing power. In their view, such a situation might leave the field clear for an attempt by the colonels. However, the consequences of such an attempt might degenerate into any direction. During the first four months of 1980, all these fears and anxieties had been brought to the U.S. Embassy's attention in Ankara. But the Embassy was always replying in the same way: 'Our contacts inside the Turkish Armed Forces inform us that there is no movement nor meeting taking place outside the supreme commanders' control.' (...)

"From May 1980 onwards, Washington decided to increase signals aimed at Ankara. The first message was handed to *General Evren* and the second to *General Saltik* in Brussels. On May 11, 1980, following the meeting of the NATO Military Committee, *General Rogers*, SACEUR, got involved in a quarrel with General Saltik, Deputy Chief of the Turkish staff, about problems raised by the control over the Aegean area and the possible reintegration of Greece into NATO's military wing. As they touched on the situation in Turkey, SACEUR asked: 'The Turkish Army, does it intend to face the rampant disorder in your country?'

"Saltik anticipated this question. He replied straight away: 'We execute our duties, as we have always done.' (...)

"During a cocktail party offered in honor of the chiefs of staff who had taken part in the meeting, it was Evren's turn. US Chief of staff *General Jones* was talking with his Turkish counterpart: 'We're watching with anxiety the latest developments in Turkey. It is very difficult to understand everything that is going on there. For months your politicians have proved unable to elect a President of the Republic.'

"General Evren was quite embarrassed by this question. Indeed, during the same meeting several chiefs of staff had asked him the same question. After replying briefly, he had left the party...

"Admiral Sherer, US Commander of NATO South-East Headquarters, came to Istanbul in the spring of 1980 to give a lecture at the Military Academy. After dealing with some other subjects, he touched on the problems of NATO's South flank and the latest developments in that area. Next he commented on the situation in Turkey: 'In view of the fact that Turkey's inflation rate has reached 100 p.c., a powerful defense cannot be ensured. The economic stabilisation program which has been implemented (i.e. the austerity measures in the economic field which were imposed by the IMF on January 24, 1980 - IT) is of great importance. It has to be implemented safe from unrest. The point is that fierce anarchy and instability is rampant in this country. In the face of so great a danger, I would like

to ask you: 'What are you doing? What do you intend to do?'

"This message was repeated more clearly in the June 1980 issue of '*US Armed Forces*', a periodical which is followed with keen interest by the Western world's military circles: 'The latest developments in Turkey have reached such proportions that there is no other solution left than an intervention by the Turkish Armed Forces... The Armed Forces are to intervene, but they will be unable to improve the situation in the long term.'

"On July 1 (1980), at a cocktail party in Ankara, the US Air Force military attaché made the same remarks to a former member of the National Unity Committee, i.e. the junta which in 1960 made the first military coup: 'These economic measures are of paramount importance. If they are to be implemented, Turkey needs a 4 to 6-year period of stability.'

"On June 17 (1980), all commanders got together on the occasion of the meeting of the enlarged National Security Council (MGK) with the martial law commanders taking part. Now, all of them had come to an agreement. The operation had to be launched as soon as possible. The Chief of staff had a private discussion with the Deputy Chief of staff and with the commanders of the four Army corps. He handed them a written operation order: 'To all Army commanders: The date of execution of the 'Flag' Plan is July 11. Hour: 04.00.'"

Birant relates that after the Demirel Government got a confidence vote in the Assembly, the staff decided to postpone implementation of the Plan.

"On August 9, Chief of staff Evren had convoked all commanders of the Armed Forces as well as Oztorun, the newly-appointed Deputy Chief of Staff, into his quarters. Ever since the first operation order was cancelled, a lot of upheaval had been noticed in political circles. But there was no concrete result. The meeting in General Evren's study lasted only half an hour. Evren briefly said: 'The date of intervention is September 12. Hand out again the 'Flag' Plan to the units and make preparations according to this plan.' The Chief of staff signed the operation order. Thereupon, the commanders saluted him and the meeting came to an end. A new era began for Turkey."

"On September 10, in Washington, US Chief of staff J. Allen offered a dinner in honor of *General Tahsin Sahinkaya*, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, who had ended a tour of the United States to buy new aircraft. Sahinkaya was in good spirits. After the dinner, when they were having coffee, *Mr Paul Henze*, in charge of Turkish Affairs at the US National Security Council, approached Sahinkaya who was due to leave the next day. He was anxious to give him one last signal: 'I hope you'll not allow the situation in Turkey to get out of control.' Sahinkaya replied in Turkish with a smile: 'Don't worry!' And he left the dinner.

"September 11, 4 p.m. All Air Force and naval bases in Turkey were put on the alert. At the head of the US Aid delegation (JUSMATT) was *General Thampson*. He said to himself: 'At last THIS time we've got it! The official reason of the state of alert was that security measures had to be taken in the US bases in connection with the start of NATO military manoeuvres. The American general first sent his message to the Pentagon, before informing the US Ambassador: 'The Turkish Armed Forces have just been put on the alert. It is very likely that the intervention which has long been expected has been triggered off.

"JUSMATT had a very close relationship with the Turkish Armed Forces. It was very well informed of the state of their equipment and was able to sound out the Army's feelings. In order to take on this task, JUSMATT staff included US officers able to speak Turkish as their mother tongue. The most important function of these officers was to establish a friendly relationship with the Turkish officers. For, from the outset, they had been able to closely watch any trouble inside the Turkish army. In the military bases, the US officers were informed of it and also warned not to go on the streets for a stroll, themselves nor their families, until further notice.

"September 12, 3.30 a.m. (8 p.m. in Washington)... *Paul Henze* just came back home. He phoned the 'Situation Room' at the White House.

"- Paul, your boys have done it...

"- Who are 'my boys'? What are you speaking about?

"- Your Generals, they've made a coup in Turkey.

"- Well, well! I'm very pleased. Where does this news come from?

"- From JUSMATT... Do you want us to tell the President about it?

"- Wait a minute. Don't hurry. Today explosive charges are said to have been placed in Ankara. On the other hand, there were NATO manoeuvres going on. Maybe our men were mistaken by seeing some soldiers patrolling the streets. Tell them to check it one more time.

"After half an hour the confirmation came in.

"- A short while ago, the Turkish staff appar-

ently informed JUSMATT. On the other hand, we have informed Zbig *(Zbignew Brzezinski*, President Carter's adviser in charge of national security affairs).

"President *Carter* was attending a performance of 'Fiddler on the Roof' at Kennedy Center. The telephone nearby his box rang. The switchboard operator in the White House said that Foreign Secretary *Muskie* wished to speak to the President. The President came and picked up:

"- The Command of the Turkish Army has just taken over in Ankara. There's no reason to worry. Those who are worthy to intervene have intervened...

"President Carter thanked him, wished him a good night and went back to his box.

"The BBC as well as the news agencies were spreading the news with reference made to the spokesman of the US State Department.

"Meanwhile, in Ankara, people in the studios of Radio Ankara were still waiting until the antennas warmed up to put on the air the communique announcing the coup." (Mehmet Ali Birant, *12 Eylül-Saat 04.00*, Karacan Yayinlari, Istanbul, 1984).



FIRST ASSESSMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Benefitting from the support of international finance and military organizations and counting at least for a certain time on the "wait and see" stand of the European parliamentary and governmental institutions, the military junta rapidly put in practice a series of repressive measures and established, within a few months time, an open dictatorial regime. All these measures placed Turkey in flagrant violation of all international conventions of which she was one of the first signatories.

To alert world opinion against the alarming situation in Turkey, *Info-Türk*, in its October 1980 issue, published the following appeal by referring to the relevant articles of *the European Convention on Human Rights:*

The 5-man junta has openly violated all norms of a democratic regime: Parliament is dissolved, party leaders and deputies arrested; trade unions and democratic organizations are closed or at least their activities have been suspended for an indefinite duration; political parties no longer have their democratic functions. The Constitutional Court and the Council of State are deprived of their authority to control legislative and executive decisions. One man bearing the titles of "Chief of the State", "Chief of the General Staff", "Chief of the National Security Council", "Chief of the Supreme Military Council" has established his one-man authority. And this absolute power has been "constitutionalized" from October 27 on.

The arrest of Alparslan Türkes, chief of the extreme-rightist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) does not mean that the junta has an anti-fascist character. Turkes and his "Grey Wolves" had been used in order to increase politicial violence and so to create the climate for a military intervention. After accomplishing their mission, Turkes and his fellows were drawn back. Even if they are liquidated, one should remember the fate of the SA's of Hitler!

The long-term project of the junta is to install an authoritarian regime with a president acting with extraordinary powers at the head of the state and with two centrist political parties which will compose a rubber-stamp Parliament. All socialist formations will be left out.

But even in order to arrive at this point, the fascist military junta needs at least five years, as stated by chief adviser Ozal.

1. RIGHT TO LIVE: Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights reads: *"Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally...."*

All Turkey is still under the emergency regime of martial law. Security forces have been authorized by the military junta to shoot dead everyone and anyone who is suspected as "terrorist". Within only one month, more than 500 persons have been shot dead in different regions of the country. For example, in one day only, September 28, 1980, the military forces shot 8 people dead in Ordu and Mardin.

The execution of death sentences have been revived by the military junta. Now only 5 generals decide whether capital punishment of any person is to be executed or not. On October 8, 1980, two convicted youths, leftist Necdet Adali and rightist Mustafa Pehlivanoglu, were hanged before dawn in Ankara. Theirs was followed by the execution of another leftist youth, Serdar Soyergin, on October 26, 1980. There are still more than 50 death sentences to be ratified by the 5-man legislative of General Evren.

The right to life is being violated also by the military junta torturers in police centers or dungeons. Political detainees are brutally tortured and killed.

2. RIGHT TO LIBERTY: Article 5 of the Convention reads: "No one shall be deprived of his liberty save in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law."

Martial law commanders have been ordered by the military junta to take into custody anyone and everyone up to one month without a court warrant. They apply this authority by issuing black lists and organizing manhunts. The General Secretary of the National Security Council, *General Haydar Saltik,* has disclosed that since the military coup d'Etat, 10,800 persons have been detained and 746 out of them sentenced. On the other hand, the Coordination Department of Martial Law announced that in the same period, 1,588 left-wing activists have been detained while the number of right-wing activists detained was only 437. But, the exact number of the detained is estimated at over 50,000. In addition to the military detention houses which existed before the military coup d'Etat, the barracks of Selimiye, Davutpasa, Maltepe, Alemdar, Samandara, Hasdal and Metris have been turned into military prisons in Istanbul. Moreover, there is no communication with the Eastern areas of Turkey where the Kurdish population live, and the number of arrests there is estimated to be higher than those in the western parts.

In addition to those who have been officially detained, there are also the people who have been taken in under the pretext of "keeping them under the security of the Army". In fact, this is also another version of the limitation of liberty.

All detainees are obliged to have their hair completely cut off and to wear prison uniforms just as it was in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany.

For female detainees, the military has established special detention houses. They are insulted by the guards. The majority of female detainees are industrial workers who represent their trade unions at their working place.

3. FREEDOM OF FAIR TRIAL: Articles 6 and 7 of the Convention read: *"Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law."*

All Turkish citizens who are accused because of their political opinions or deeds are summoned before martial law tribunals which are under the military authority of the junta. According to a new amendment to the Code on Martial Law, even the leaders of political parties can be tried before military tribunal, while the Constitution of 1961 which stipulates that they can be tried only by the Constitutional Court is still in force! The junta also plans to re-establish extraordinary state security courts which had been declared unconstitutional by the Court of Constitution on the reaction of democratic forces four years ago. Besides, the military commanders detain anyone and everyone without any court warrant.

4. RIGHT TO RESPECT FOR PRIVATE AND FAMILY LIFE, HOME AND CORRESPONDENCE: Article 8 of the Convention reads: *"There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right..."*

The communiqués of the junta have authorized martial law commanders to search anywhere and everywhere, day or night, to control all correspondence, mail, telephone calls and telex communications. Special services have

been established in order to carry out this censorship.

5. FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND BELIEF: Article 9 of the Convention reads: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.*

Tens of thousands have been detained for their political thoughts or for their beliefs. Even parliamentarians and trade union leaders have been put in dungeons. For example, the leaders and the deputies of the *National Salvation* Party (MSP) are still under arrest and being tried for expressing their religious beliefs.

6. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION: Article 10 of the Convention reads: *"This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority..."*

Press, radio and television have been put under strict censorship by the military junta. More than fifty progressive newspapers, reviews and publications had already been forbidden even before the military coup d'Etat by martial law authorities. After September 12th, three more daily newspapers were closed down.

7. FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND TRADE UNION: Article 11 of the Convention reads: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests."*

- Parliament is dissolved.

- All political parties' activities are suspended. Leaders and deputies of these parties are persecuted by the military. The President of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), *Mrs. Behice Boran,* 70-year old, is under military surveillance despite the fact that she suffers from heart disease. Military prosecutors are preparing files against all progressive parties and democratic organizations which have also been closed down by the Junta.

- The *Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions* (DISK) was closed down on the first day of the military regime and its leaders, including President *Abdullah Bastürk,* have been detained and are still kept at military dungeons. In addition to the detention of trade union leaders, the military took into custody more than 5,000 trade union representatives. The right to strike and collective bargaining was suspended and tens of thousands of workers were forced to work under the threat of bayonets.

- The 5-man junta is preparing projects to amend the laws on Political Parties, Organizations and Trade Unions.

- With a new law enacted by the Junta, all political parties, trade unions and organizations which have been forbidden by the military were put under the administrative authority of caretakers.

- In an interview which he accorded to the Associated Press, *General Haydar Saltik,* the Secretary General of the National Security Council, declared that, even in the case of return to parliamentary regime, *Bülent Ecevit* and *Süleyman Demirel,* presidents respectively of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP), might be deprived of the right to take part in political activities.

8. AND TORTURE...
Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights reads: *"No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment".*

Torture allegations had been so present during the military repression period between 1971-73 that even the Council of Europe had put on its agenda the proposal for the exclusion of Turkey from this European institution for torture practices. But after the return to civilian rule in 1974, allegations of torture practices diminished completely.

However, four years later, following the proclamation of martial law in 13 provinces of Turkey, torture allegations started to reappear in the daily press.

The representatives of two international democratic organizations, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the World Federation of Trade Unions, who visited Turkey between March 31 and April 4, 1980, reported:

"The witnesses which the mission picked

up from the circles of trade unions, journalists, physicians, writers, lawyers and different personalities led the mission to raise a real alarm in international public opinion. The mission witnessed the danger of destroying democracy in a city under martial law - Istanbul. Since November 1979, 46,000 persons have been arrested and detained, and a substantial number of them tortured..."

Later on the practice of torture was witnessed by hundreds of people and the daily newspapers gave details of their allegations. However, the international human rights institutions still remained disinterested.

Now, after the military coup d'Etat of September 12th, the practice of torture has gained greater dimensions and many people have lost their lives under inhuman conditions and torture.

After this first evaluation *Info-Türk* made the following appeal:

"If international organizations and especially European institutions continue to keep their silence on what is going on in Turkey, the fascist military dictatorship, benefitting from this tolerance, will succeed in installing a bloody apparatus of repression in this southeastern member state of Europe.

"Step by step, the generals eliminate all remnants of constitutional control, liquidate all progressive, patriotic, democratic persons and prepare the base for a 'parliamentary fascist regime' with a military fascist dictator as the President of the republic at the head of the State. The junta will allow only two centrist parties to play the game of 'democracy'. As General Saltik declared, even social-democrat Ecevit and rightist Demirel too will not be allowed to take place in political activities.

"The Turkish and Kurdish peoples in this country are imprisoned, tortured, executed, deprived of all their fundamental rights.

"Now it is the inevitable task of all human rights organizations and European institutions to intervene immediately in the aggravated situation in Turkey.

If these anti-democratic practices continue, the regime of fascist generals should be immediately expelled from the Council of Europe and the European Parliament should decide to suspend relations between the EEC and Turkey.

"Otherwise, tomorrow will be too late!"

PRINCIPAL TARGET: ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE COUNTRY

Acting as the legislative body, the NSC adopted new "laws" for increasing the powers of martial law commanders, putting civilian prosecutors under the authority of martial law commanders, empowering governors to act as martial law commanders during civil rule, establishing military tribunals with only one military judge to try political offenses, authorizing martial law commanders to detain anybody up to 90 days without a court warrant.

On November 7, the military-backed government announced that 58 fundamental laws concerning the political, economic and social life of the country would be amended either by the NSC or by the "Constituent Assembly" to be appointed by the NSC. Also among them are the laws on Political Parties, Associations, Trade Unions, the Electoral system, the Turkish Penal Code, etc.

General *Haydar Saltik*, who was the secretary general of the NSC and known as the "brain" of the military junta, said: "The Turkish Armed Forces have taken over the administration for:

a) Preservation of the existence and independence of the Turkish State,
b) Preservation of territorial integrity and national unity,
c) Establishment of unity and solidarity of the Turkish people,
d) Liquidating destructive and separatist movements,
e) Ensuring a full respect to Kemalist principles,
f) Restoration of the state authority that diminished or was even completely lost."

General Evren himself stated during his trips to different provinces that the NSC would not return to the barracks without accomplishing these tasks.

Answering to criticism coming from some right-wing circles that the arrest of MHP leaders would not be compatible with the announced objectives of the coup, General Evren said: "It should be borne in mind that, everyday, hundreds, even thousands of the people of the Left are apprehended or shot dead at operations. If there are others of whose activities we



are not aware, you should help us to apprehend them and achieve this liquidation operation."

The new mass arrests and trials showed clearly that the directive of General Evren was being fulfilled by army units and para-military terror groups of fascist organizations. Despite the fact that their leaders were kept in prison for some tactical reasons, the paramilitary "Grey Wolves" militia acted under the command of the military junta for "fighting against communism."

Military prosecutors were charged with preparing mass trials for all progressive organizations. The Ministry of the Interior informed people that from September 12th to the end of November, 5,850 wanted persons had been arrested and they would be brought before military tribunals when files of their cases were completed.

Also 66 parliamentarians were tried at civil or military tribunals for their acts or statements. Thirty-four of these parliamentarians were still under arrest.

As for the leaders of the two prinicpal political parties, Bulent Ecevit and Suleyman Demirel, former prime ministers, they were also tried, without arrest, on several charges.

The NSC announced that it was considering passing legislation to prevent politicians from serving as party chairmen for more than limited periods of time. On this announcement, Ecevit resigned as chairman of the CHP. "I decided to make this departure, which would seemingly be inevitable in any case, now," he said in a written statement whose publication in daily newspapers has been forbidden by the military junta.

In addition to the ban on more than 50 progressive newspapers and periodicals and very strict censorship on the press, the publication of the daily *Cumhuriyet* was suspended on November 11 by the Martial Law Command. A brief communiqué accused the newspaper of having slandered Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic, and also of publishing "erroneous and exaggerated information."

In fact, the ban on *Cumhuriyet* on the ground of slandering Atatürk was very far from convincing, because this newspaper is the oldest daily in Turkey and was founded under the orientation of Mustafa Kemal himself. Since then, *Cumhuriyet* has always been considered the main written medium for propagating Kemalism. The real reason behind this ban is the information on the deteriorating economic and social situation in Turkey which was published by *Cumhuriyet* on November 10 and 11.

On the other hand, the military were annoyed with the *Cumhuriyet*'s revelations about the activities of the Counterguerilla organization and the arms smugglers who collaborate with the former. A few days earlier, one of the important arms dealers had brought



a law suit against *Cumhuriyet*, demanding an indemnity of 35 million Turkish Liras.

According to *Cumhuriyet*, the stabilisation package of January 24 had already gone much further than merely being the "bitter pill" as it is referred to by its implementors and their mentors. The consequence of this policy was revealed as follows:

- Despite encouragement measures, investments decreased by 20% within a year.
- The rate of economic growth was 2.2% lower than that of the past year.
- The rate of inflation would go to over 100% in 1980 despite drastic measures.
- The number of unemployed increased by 50% within one year.
- Average real wages fell down by 40% within one year.
- Per capita income, which surpassed 1,000 dollars in 1979, dropped below this figure, to 990 dollars.
- And finally, Turkey's foreign currency deficit during the first nine months of the year reached 1,2000 million dollars according to Central Bank data. The figure is 314.3 million dollars above the past year's level.

In order to ameliorate this situation at the expense of the working population, the junta suspended all trade union activities, closed down the progressive DISK and imprisoned all its leaders. More than 300 thousand workers, who had announced they were going on strike or went on strike for obtaining wage increases conforming to the rate of inflation, were forced to work with the salaries of three years ago, that is to say with a 70% increase, while the inflation rate within the same period surpassed 300%. With a new decree from the junta, the right to seniority compensation was limited.

As all political prisoners, the leaders of DISK were subjected to inhuman treatment and torture in military prisons. The following document, published in the January 1981 issue of *Info-Türk*, revealed their ordeal:

DISK leaders being tortured

"I am a member of DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and worked in one of the big factories in Istanbul. I was also a worker representative until September 12, 1980. After the September 12th takeover, all the executive and administrative members of DISK and the affiliated unions and also head worker representatives of the factories located in Istanbul province where DISK was organised were kindly invited to surrender to the martial law authorities through a special declaration.

"By September 17, 1980, nearly 2,000 DISK members surrendered by their own will, thus showing confidence in the declarations of the National Security Council (NSC), with the hope of a release within a week or so. We were all put under custody in Istanbul, Metris Hasdal, Alemdag, Maltepe military jails. *Abdullah Bastürk*, the President of DISK was taken into custody on the morning of September 12, 1980. During this time many detainees' houses were searched thoroughly.

"At first, nothing happened. We kept waiting in anxiety. We were detained from seeing our families, who were made to wait outside the jails to pass on a few written words, to send money or cigarettes. Later it was declared that we had been kept as guests of the NSC until October 6, 1980. Up until then, nobody could be kept under custody more than 30 days according to the law in practice. However with a special amendment to the Law, NSC prolonged this period up to 90 days. They released nearly 1,300-1,400 union members at the end of October. Interrogations started no earlier than October 27, 1980. Two months later I got the full story.

"On October 27, 1980, they first took Bastürk and 6 other union leaders from Metris jail to Davutpasa Barracks, located in the 26th Division at Merter, Istanbul. In Davutpasa Barracks, they were put in *Otag Hümayun* (in Ottoman it means Empire Tent) which the trade unionist called the "cami" (mosque). There they were tortured severely. They were kept sleepless there until November 3, 1980, 7 days and nights, sitting on an iron chair. Some of them were given electric shocks, some were beaten heavily, their bodies bumped against the walls. Bastürk (52), former PRP member of the Turkish National Assembly between 1969-1977, was also given electric shock and given steady blows on the head for 7 hours. They were forced to curse one another. They were forced to shout some slogans that they are against. During all the interrogations, detainees eyes were closed with a circular band of cloth. Nobody knows the interrogators. But the general assumption is that they were from

MIT (National Intelligence Agency), Military Prosecutor's Office and from the Trade Union Bureau of Section 1, Security Police of Istanbul.

"Then other members of DISK were taken from Metris to Davutpasa *Otag Hümayun* and were daily interrogated under torture there. We were 545 union members. Except for very few, all the 545 have been through torture at that place. They applied electrodes, had them go through all kinds of physical and psychological humiliation and torture by hitting, forcing them to swear that they would not indulge in any kind of trade union activity any more, and by having them urinate on themselves. They pulled hair, mustache; they gave the impression they were going to throw the detainee from a window 20-30 metres high, or they threatened him with hanging.

"One day they took one of my friends to that place and told him that they had executed *Bastürk* and others by hanging and it was now his turn. They asked whether he wanted an *imam* (moslem priest) or not. When he demanded an imam, somebody impersonating the "imam" came. They opened his eyes for the first time. Then they asked him to say his last wish. He wanted to write a letter to his children. He was sure that he was going to be hanged. With his eyes closed again, they put him on a chair, they fixed the loop and pushed the chair. It is hard to express the feelings the trade unionist experienced on the verge of death, especially when one is totally sure of his innocence. But to his surprise he fell down, and one of them said: "What a pity, the rope broke again for the 5th time today. And we have no extra loop left. Take him away and bring him back tomorrow morning." And the next day he just signed a paper with his eyes closed, not being able to read what he had signed, nor knowing how many pages his "confession" was.

"One of the victims was I, beaten heavily, given electric shock. I do not want to tell the physical and psychological effects of the different kinds of torture. They are well known.

"Most of the union members were talking during their sleep at nights. They had broken one of the workers' leg. He is in the Davutpasa jail now, arrested on January 6, 1981. Some of the union leaders and members were urinating blood. Military doctors were totally startled. Torture was such a common practice that in the mornings the soldiers serving as nurses were calling out at the door, 'who was tortured yesterday, get ready for the dressing of the wound.'

"They were trying to get 'confessions' concerning others by making us throw blame on others. They were trying to get us to 'confess' that DISK was a communist party! They asked whether we had participated in the celebrations of the First of May, or went to the funeral of *Kemal Türkler*, ex-president of DISK who was shot by a fascist squad which is jailed now. Actually, all of these were legally permitted meetings or marches. We were asked whether we had been to the union training programs and interrogated as to the things we had been taught. They particularly interrogated the persons who participated in international union activities. But in reality they were just trying to humiliate the union leaders and members so as to hamper their activities in future. Thus, the progressive trade union movement of Turkey was being penalised.

"After 60 days of interrogations full of horror, threat and torture, we were brought before Military Court No. 3 under the commandership of the First Army and Martial Law of Istanbul.

"The military attorneys made a serious legal error. Without taking the statements of the detainees after the 'police' interrogation, they sent us to Military Court, where some of us were arrested for 'crimes' based on 'confessions', which are obviously not legal documents at all. Many of the detainees, including *Bastürk* and some other executive members of DISK, refusing their 'police statements', were able to have their torture claims put down in the minutes and so 'confessions' put in their files were nul. And so, many detainees gave 8-10 pages of their torture stories to the examining magistrates or military judges of Military Court No. 3. Now all the torture stories are in the files. On December 27, 1980, Military Court No. 3, presided over by military judge Senior Major Ismet Aytug, released 438 detainees of 506. Bastürk and executive members of DISK were arrested together with the former mayor of Istanbul Ahmet Isvan on the charge of providing DISK with aid during celebrations of the First of May. On January 6, 1981, 15 more union leaders were arrested, out of 39. Meanwhile on January 5, 1981, the Commander of Martial Law of Istanbul dismissed major Aytug from his job to another place; Aytug's effort was simply trying to act as lawfully as possible.

"For the time being the trade unionists are jailed at Davutpasa Askeri Ceza ve Tutukevi, Davutpasa/Bayrampasa, Istanbul/Turkey.

"Probably all the detained union members and leaders, nearly 2,000, will be charged with articles 141, 142, 146 of the Turkish Penal Code which cover the crimes of attempting a coup d'état or takeover, and trying to organize illegally to get power and establish a class dictatorship. What a farce!

"They invaded the headquarters of DISK several times and searched every single corner. They tried to find "hidden" guns, pistols, bombs, just to accuse DISK of being a terrorist organization which resolutely denounced terrorism. Yet, nothing was found, to their distress. They confiscated all the materials, files, letters; everything is in their hands now. DISK worked openly, legally. And its activities were written in detail in its documents, bulletins, magazines, reports.

"On the other hand, NCS closed DISK and MISK (Nationalist Trade Union Confederation which worked in parallel with Nationalist Action Party) but not Türk-Is. So they wanted to create an image in the West that they are against extremist organiztions, an extreme left, DISK, an extreme right, MISK, but not moderate unions. It is ridiculus to compare DISK, with its 500,000 members, with MISK, which had only 5,000 members and at whose headquarters pistols and bombs of fascist squads were found.

"They also put an end to strikes and collective agreements and declared that no worker would be fired from the factories. In practice hundreds of workers were soon fired. After a week, NSC declared a 70% wage increase for those who were working for collective agreements. In Turkey, as you know, the inflation rate was nearly 100% in 1979 and 120% in 1980. Yet many employers did not obey even the 70% wage increase declaration.

"Then Türk-Is gave its secretary general to the Ministry of Social Security of the newly founded government, which docked the social rights of the workers. With the new laws on taxes, they passed tax reduction instead of wage increases won by collective agreements, and with a special law they left the fate of the workers in the hands of the High Court in which Türk-Is holds two seats out of 9. So, Türk-Is, which wasn't closed down, became redundant in actuality. But the passive administrators of Türk-Is are continuing to get their salaries, while its members in the factories are being blamed even more fiercely.

"In Turkey all the conventions and recommendations of ILO have become nul, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Charter are rejected. And now DISK is at the point of being closed forever. This letter is written only for the trade unionists who struggle for union rights under all conditions and also for fair-minded people all over the world who by their silence and indifference may only add to the continuation and spread of torture, to the annihilation of basic rights, including the right to organize, the right to collective agreement and the right to strike. Eighty-two trade unionists are in the Davutpasa Military jail now. While these trade unionists are kept in prison, you can not be liberated indeed.

"Let us show that international solidarity is not a dead slogan.

"Let our aims for Peace and Freedom be realized. — January 9, 1981."

Barrack discipline in prisons

As for the other political detainees, they were under the same conditions or worse ones. Executions restarted, after a 10-year interval. Three young militants were executed within the month following the coup. Torture was a daily practice in interrogation centers or military prisons. Amnesty International announced that, within a one-month period, eight political detainees had died at interrogation centers, mainly because of torture.

A news report published by the daily *Milliyet* of December 7-10, 1980, showed the barrack discipline applied to political detainees:

"- Attention ...!
- Ease!
- You may smoke ...
- Thank you Commandant!
...
- Count for marching ...
- One ... two ... three ... four ... one ... two ...
- Everything for the Fatherland ... everything for the Fatherland ...
- Thanks to God ... Long live our Nation ...
- Have a good lunch ...
- Thank you Commandant ...
- You may eat ...

- Thank you Commandant ...!

"As a result of the increase in terrorist actions in these last years, Mamak is filled up with people who have taken part in those actions. The ratio of fullness has increased much more since the September 12 Military Intervention. Therefore, they started to build new blocks.

"In the prison of Mamak everything is based on discipline, and this is valuable for both prisoners and officers of direction. There is also great discipline in the army between the ranks. For example when the guardian appears in the corridor, an officer shouts 'attention...' and when that is heard in the ward everybody turns his back to the door; they remain like that until the second order, having to stay like that, absolutely motionless. The guardian should see them turning their backs when he enters the ward; if he wants, with another order, they will be in rest position, otherwise they have to stay like that, in straight position, while he gives different commands or explains something. Without the permission of the guardian they cannot express any will or do any action likewise.

"The wards' watchers are mostly corporals or sergeants, but they are called 'commandant' by the prisoners. They cannot talk in a friendly way with them. All the soldiers have a rubber truncheon in their hands. According to the authorities, after September 12, with the help of the strong discipline secured, the prisoners accepted the situation. They realize that there is nothing to make fun about and as a result, there is no need for beating... those who do not obey the orders or act without discipline are forbidden to go out for exercises, have their talking-time with their relatives shortened, or must do some night work. The punishments are the same if the faults are committed by the whole ward. The hair of all prisoners is cut in the same way, equally short like the soldiers. In the meantime they are considered as soldiers according to Law and that's why they cannot have either moustache or beard; their general appearance as well should be in order. On the other hand they can wear anything they want under certain rules: such as not wearing belts, to prevent them from committing suicide, and their shirts should be well buttoned. You can also see many prisoners with neckties too.

One of the greatest problems in the prison of Mamak is the lack of space in the wards. For example, instead of 25 prisoners, 70 or 80 are living on top of one another in the ward.

"In order to avoid desertions, the commander of prison took some precautionary measures. For example, no warden can stay in the same ward more than a certain time. In this way, the prisoners won't have time to make friends. The prison is surrounded by high walls, wires and mines. Also, there always are guardians either in the garden or on the towers, staying on duty for 24 hours. Projectors and specially trained dogs and sound mines also are of great help in preventing night desertions. The machine guns are a special precaution for group desertion. There is strict control even when someone enters as a visitor. They search you, even up to the inside of your shoes.

"As soon as the detainees enter the prison, group soldier education starts. The basic rule of this education is how to obey the orders and how to respond to commands such as 'get set ... ease ... turn right ... march along ...' During the 'fresh air' break all the prisoners in a group do physical education for five minutes. The next five minutes are used for basic soldier training and ten minutes marching with military songs. The rest of the time is free for everyone, and this is the best moment for them because they can get what they lack in the crowded wards all day long: fresh air and some exercise.

"If you enter the blocks during "theoretical education" time, you will hear the different voices arising from the wards. Behind closed doors there is always a prisoner standing still in a straight position who is loudly reading different principles of Atatürk's book while the others listen. In the meantime guardians can interrupt him any time they want and can ask any prisoner questions about Atatürk or Kemalism, and they should be in a straight position when they answer the questions, too. If the prisoner says anything wrong, the guardian will correct him.

"We saw that most of the prisoners were repeating by heart with great emotion the different speeches of Atatürk. As soon as the commands are given they were ready to recite either the "Speech to the Youth" or "Speech of the 10th anniversary of the Republic".

"The education of Kemalism is not finished only with memorizing the speeches, but they are also provided with different recorded tapes either from radio or television. Those tapes which are either about life sequences of Ata-

türk or meetings that took place at different moments or about his personality are heard by all wards with the help of loudspeakers.

"There is no radio or television, only the central broadcasting. They can either listen to heroism folk songs or military marches. They can also read magazines, except daily newspapers, and books about Atatürk.

"According to the order of the prison Commander, the prisoners are not allowed to hang anything on the walls other than the Turkish flag or pictures of Atatürk. Not only may they hang them up but they cannot even bring in any other poster.

"The grouping together of prisoners from different political camps in the same ward is in everyones' interest. The responsible representatives of the prisoners explain that, as they are always afraid of being informed on to the guardian by someone else in the ward, they pay attention to following the rules. In this way there is always order in the ward and there are no fights among them.

"The distribution of meals is done under the attention of both the guardian and the senior of the ward. Forks and knives are forbidden for security reasons. They may use only wooden spoons and plastic cups. Meals are started with orders and praying and end in the same way. Dishes are washed by the prisoners. As the prisons get much more crowded everyday, the prisoners' talking time with their relatives is much more limited. The allowed time is sometimes decreased to 5 minutes once a week. Every block may receive visitors one day a week. According to the rules of military prisons, only blood relatives or those who have the same surname are allowed to visit the prisoners. They should also speak Turkish and loud enough to be heard by the guardian." (Emin Çölasan, *Milliyet*, December 7, 1980).

THE MILITARY REGIME'S STATE MACHINERY

The first legal analysis of the new state machinery of Turkey was made by the *International Commission of Lawyers* in Geneva. This study was presented later on, in April 1981, as a memorandum to the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

As has been explained in earlier chapters, all international institutions, except trade union centers, had not taken a critical position against the military regime and preferred to apply a "wait and see" policy, satisfying themselves with some remarks.

We are reproducing below the most important parts of this legal study:

The Legislative Arm

"The parliament and government established in accordance with the 1961 Constitution were dissolved and replaced by the National Security Council from September 12, 1980. The Council is made up of the Chief of the General Staff and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Air Force, Navy and Gendarmerie. General Evren announced the same day that the NSC, which he chaired in his capacity as Chief of the General Staff, had 'provisionally' assumed legislative and executive power pending the establishment of a new parliament and government. (1)

"Legal force was given to this arrangement by three instruments enacted by the NSC, the first being the 'Rules of Procedure for the NSC in its law making capacity' (2); the second the 'Law on the Constitutional Order' which stipulates that 'the powers and functions assigned by the (1961) Consitution to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey... shall, as from September 12, 1980, be temporarily exercised by the National Security Council' (3); and the third, a law of September 12, 1980, confirming the members of the NSC in their posts by stipulating that they will continue to carry out their duties as members of the Council until such time as the 'Grand National Assembly of Turkey effectively resumes its work' (4).

"The NSC has also given itself the power to revise the 1961 Constitution which, as stated in the Law on the Constitutional Order, remains in force (Art. 1). The same law stipulates that if there is any discrepancy or contradiction between the provisions of the Constitution on the one hand and those of laws, decisions or communiques promulgated by the NSC, the latter shall be deemed 'constitutional amendments' (Art. 6). It should also be pointed out that the same law prohibits all appeals to the Constitutional Court to annul NSC instruments (Art. 3).

"It is clear from this that the NSC enjoys full power to legislate and to amend the Consti-

tution, at least in this initial period of the transitional regime.

"The second phase of that period will begin, apparently, with the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, scheduled (barring unforseen obstacles) for September or October 1981, as General Evren has just publicly announced. He also announced that the political parties, whose activities are suspended and will remain so until the new Constitution and the laws referred to below are adopted, will not be allowed to sit in the Constituent Assembly. (5)

"The Constituent Assembly will be able to assist in the drafting of the new constitution and of the laws governing the electoral system, political parties, associations, public meetings and demonstrations and labour relations (strikes, lock-outs, collective bargaining, etc). The bills it drafts will be submitted for approval to the NSC, whose decision shall in all cases be final. (6)

"In addition, it should be noted that there is a further bill whose scope is no less significant than that of the bills just listed and which is not included among those that will be drafted with, at the very least, the Constituent Assembly's 'participation'. This is the Emergency Powers Bill, which confers full powers on the government for use in the event of national emergencies or disasters and/or in time of economic crisis, and enables it to impose a set of civic and material obligations and responsibilities on the citizens. This Bill, drafted by the Ministry of Justice, will soon be submitted to the government for consideration. (7) It is therefore likely to become law even before the Constituent Assembly is convened.

"It should further be noted that, contrary to the statements of General Evran and General Saltik referred to in paragraph 1 above, the laws governing associations, freedom to meet and form associations and the bill to amend labour legislation are being drafted by the government. It would accordingly seem that they are going to be passed by the NSC even before the Constituent Assembly is convened.

The Executive Arm

"The executive in the present as in the previous system is bicephalous and consists of the head of state and the Council of Ministers. But the dominant partner is the head of state because, firstly, he is Chief of the General Staff and Chairman of the National Security Council, and, secondly, the powers and duties formerly conferred on the President of the Republic are expressly vested in him by Article 2 of the Law on the Constitutional Order. On the other hand, that same law does not unequivocally recognise the Council of Ministers as an organ of state. The only references to it are in Articles 4 and 5 of that law and Articles 18 and 19 of the 'Rules of Procedure', and then indirectly.

"As far as relations between the NSC and the government are concerned, the 'Rules of Procedure' place the latter under the control of the former. (8)

"Furthermore, the legal responsibility of the Council of Ministers is largely revoked or suspended for the transitional period, for the Law on the Constitutional Order prohibits all appeals to annul Council of Ministers decrees (Art. 4). Similarly, it is henceforth forbidden to request the Council of State (the highest administrative court) to suspend the implementation of ministerial decisions affecting the status of public service personnel (Art. 5).

"With regard to the government, consideration must be given firstly to the new relationship which has been established between the central government and the autonomous local authorities, and then to changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities.

"In the first field, local independence is being reduced or removed by the central government: the NSC has, in fact, removed all the mayors from office and announced the dissolution of all municipal and provisional assemblies. (9) This is a temporary measure for the duration of the 'transitional' regime. The NSC's aim here is to create impartial and 'non-partisan' local authorities. To this end, new mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, whose Directorate of Local Government announced at the end of November that appointments had been made to 54 out of the 67 provincial administrations. (10)

"Although these measures are temporary and may be explained by the present emergency, a tendency to perpetuate them is nonetheless visible. Thus the NSC's Administrative Affairs Committee in a report to the NSC on the 'reorganisation of public administration' recommends abolishing municipal elections



The military junta's first ceremonial public appearence: (From left) General Kenan Evren, General Nurettin Ersin, General Tahsin Sahinkaya, Admiral Nejat Tümer and General Sedat Celasun

and adopting a system of appointing mayors. (11)

"Concerning changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities, mention must first be made of a temporary measure placing the General Security Directorate under the control of the Gendarmerie. (12) But the shift in the balance of power between the two emerges much more clearly from the new legislation on martial law commanders. The essential features of that legislation, which is no longer temporary, are as follows:

"Firstly, the responsibilities of the martial law commanders for security and censorship have been extended. The Law of September 19, 1980, amending the Martial Law Act (13), empowers commanders to request the immediate dismissal of any national or local government staff whose continued employment would be 'undesirable' or 'of no value' (Art. 1); to censor or suspend any kind of publication (newspapers, magazines, books, etc); to prohibit the circulation and communication of printed matter; to order the seizure of any kind of printed matter, including musical records and tapes; to halt the operations of printing works and recorded music firms that have printed or published such material; to forbid strikes, lock-outs, trade union activities, public meetings and demonstrations, as well as the activities of associations; to suspend teaching in secondary schools and universities; to request that the authorities of such institutions expel pupils and students whose presence in a region where martial law is in force is deemed incompatible with the maintenance of public order, etc. (Art. 2). The new law also eases restrictions on the use of firearms by the police (Art. 3). The duration of detention without charge is raised initially to 30 days, (14) and may be extended to 90 days, by a recent amendment to the Martial Law Act. (15).

"Secondly, the changes in the superiors to whom the martial law commanders are responsible need to be noted. Unlike the previous system, in which the Prime Minister was

responsible for co-ordination between the martial law commanders in the various regions, and in which the commanders themselves were directly answerable to the Prime Minister, a new law replaces the Prime Minister by the Chief of the General Staff. (16) Henceforth, therefore, the martial law commanders will be responsible to, and their activities co-ordinated by the military hierarchy alone (Arts. 2 and 3).

"A second change, made by the Law of November 15, 1980, concerns the answerability of the martial law commanders and makes it impossible to appeal to the courts against administrative acts by the commanders. The Law stipulates that 'no proceedings may be instituted with a view to annulling administrative actions taken by martial law commanders under the provisions of the present act, nor can they be held civilly liable for personal fault' (Art. 7).

The Judicial Arm

"The most striking change in this field is the virtually complete suspension of judicial review of the legislative and executive processes. The Law on the Constitutional Order prohibits any appeal to the Constitutional Court to challenge the constitutionality of 'communiqués, decisions, decrees and laws' promulgated by the NSC (Art. 3). All right of appeal to the Council of State against NSC acts, against Council of Ministers decrees and against 'orders issued by any of the Ministries is also revoked' (Art. 4). The law also contains a provision on ministerial decisions regarding the personal status of civil servants, the effect of which is to deprive the latter, if not of the right to appeal to the Council of State for a decision to be reversed, at least of the right to request that the implementation of administrative decisions affecting them be postponed (Art. 15). This is simply a temporary regulation that will not outlast the transitional regime.

"With regard to criminal justice, consideration may be given to the somewhat different pattern that is emerging from the legislation introduced since the military take-over and which is likely to affect the military government's successor.

"Firstly, there is a trend towards extending the purview of military justice at the expense of civil justice. This is due in part to the fact that all Turkish provinces are at present under martial law. The NSC was therefore obliged, immediately after the take-over, to set up new military courts in the new martial law regions. (17) The new law has also extended the substantive and territorial jurisdiction of the military courts when martial law is in force. The NSC's afore-mentioned decision not only gives the martial law courts jurisdiction over the offenses detailed in the Martial Law Act, but also adds a further list of crimes, including 'any kind of crime against the Republic, against the NSC or its communiqués, orders and decisions, against the integrity, indivisibility and independence of the fatherland and the nation, and against national security, as well as crimes likely to subvert fundamental rights and freedoms'. (18) This extension of the scope of military justice is legalised and even accentuated by the law amending the Martial Law Act (19), which was followed by another of similar scope. (20) Furthermore, the Military Court of Cassation has strengthened this trend by its decision that military courts shall be empowered to try the 'ideological offenses' provided for in Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code. (21)

"The second trend concerns the relationship between the judiciary and the executive and consists in increasing the former's subordination to the latter, particularly as regards military justice. Shortly after the take-over, the NSC assumed control over the appointment and dismissal of judges in the martial law courts. (22) This power was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Defence, which must act in consultation with the Chief of the General Staff. (23)

"But none of this prevents the NSC from acting directly either to appoint new judges to the military courts or to transfer them, whenever it considers such action is called for. (24)

"Still in the field of criminal justice, a further new departure since the military take-over has been to increase the severity of sentences by amending the Turkish Criminal Code. (25)

"To conclude, let us briefly consider the changes in both civil and military criminal procedure resulting from a series of new laws amending earlier legislation:

Under the Law of September 19, 1980

"The martial law commander is empowered to interpret the law's provisions and decide whether a case should be brought before a civil

or military court (Art. 8, amending Art. 15/2, 3 and 4 of the Martial Law Act).

"Prison sentences passed by military courts under martial law may neither be suspended nor converted into fines (Art. 10, amending the former Art. 17).

"The identity of an informer in a case may not be revealed, even during a trial, without his consent (Art. 11, amending Art. 19/c).

"Crimes for which the penalty is a prison sentence not exceeding 3 years may be tried in absentia (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/1).

"The right of appeal to the supreme court against prison sentences not exceeding 3 years is abolished (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/n).

Under the Law of November 14, 1980

"Martial law courts under a single judge are established and are empowered to try offenses for which the maximum penalty is five years' imprisonment (Art. 4).

"The discretionary power of judges to lighten the sentences on accused persons whose conduct during the hearing is good is abolished (Art. 5).

"The duration of adjournments in hearings and adjournments for the defence to prepare pleadings is reduced respectively to 30 days and 15 days (or 30 days in the case of mass trials) (Art. 6/k).

"The above two laws amend the Martial Law Act of 1971. To them should be added the following two laws which were introduced subsequently:

Law of January 7, 1981

"This law amends the Code of Criminal Procedure and makes two essential changes. Firstly, it revises the procedure for challenging judges, the aim being to forestall excessive questioning by the accused or his lawyer. Secondly, it allows a trial to continue in the absence of the defendant. (26)

Law of January 21, 1981

"This law amends criminal procedure in military courts and merely extends the changes made by the Law of January 7, 1981 to the field of military justice. (27)

Notes and References

1) Radio and television broadcast by General Evren, September 12, 1980.
2) Official Gazette (OG) of September 28, 1980 - 17119.
3) Art. 2 of the Law of October 27, 1980, No. 2324 (OG, October 28, 1980 - 17145).
4) Law on the National Security Council, December 12, 1980, No. 2356 (OG, December 12, 1980 - 17188(b))
5) Taken from General Evren's speech at Konya (see La Presse turque of 16/1/1981).
6) Press conferences given by General H. Saltik on October 28, 1980 and November 1, 1980 (See Le Monde of October 30, 1980, and the Turkish daily Milliyet of November 2 and 3, 1980) and General Evren's speech at Konya (cited above).
7) See statement issued by the Ministry of Justice (Turkish daily Cumhuriyet of January 29, 1981).
8) Articles 18 and 19 of the Rules of Procedure, amended by NSC Decision No. 10 dated February 25, 1981 (OG, March 3, 1981 - 17268).
9) Law of September 25, 1980, No. 2303 (OG, September 29, 1980 - 17120) and Law of September 25, 1980, Nr. 2304 (OG, September 29 1980 - 17120).
10) Milliyet, November 25, 1980.
11) Milliyet, February 1, 1981.
12) Communiqué No. 9 and Decision No. 1 of the NSC (OG, September 12, 1980 - 17103(b), and September 14, 1980 - 17105).
13) Law No. 2301 (OG, September 21, 1980 - 17108).
14) NSC Decision No. 8/12-1633 (OG, September 17, 1980 - 17108).
15) Law of November 7, 1980, No. 2337 (OG, 8 November 1980 - 17154).
16) Law of November 14, 1980, No. 2342 (OG, November 15, 1980 - 17161).
17) NSC Decision No. 7 of September 14, 1980 (OG, September 15, 1980 - 17106).
18) Ibid.
19) Law No. 2301 of September 19, 1980 (OG, September 21, 1980 - 17112). See in particular the amendments concerning Articles 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the Martial Law Act of 1971.
20) Law No. 2310 of October 8, 1980 (OG, October 10, 1980 - 17131/b).
21) Decision of the 4th Chamber of the Military Court of Cassation, October 7, 1980 (Cumhuriyet, October 24, 1980).
22) NSC Decision No. 6, September 14, 1980 (OG, September 15, 1980 - 17106).
23) Art. 4 of the Law of September 19, 1980, No. 2301, amending Article 11/2 of the Martial Law Act (OG, September 21, 1980 - 17112).
24) A few examples:
NSC Decision No. 41/25496. January 19, 1981 (OG, January 21, 1981 - 17227).
NSC Decision No. 42, January 23, 1981 (OG, January 28, 1981 - 17204).
NSC Decision No. 43, February 5, 1981 (OG, February 10, 1981 - 17247).
NSC Decision No. 46 (OG, March 3, 1981 - 17268).
25) Law of January 12, 1981, No. 2370 (OG, January 10, 1981 - 17216).
26) Law of January 7, 1981, No. 2369 (OG, January 10, 1981 - 17216).
27) Act of January 21, 1981, No. 2376 (OG, January 23, 1981 - 17229).

1980-81 IN BRIEF

September 1980

12: Military coup d'état. General Evren takes over political power. The National Security Council takes over the authority of the Government and the Parliament, which the military dissolves. Political and trade union activities are banned. The leaders of the three parliamentary parties, Demirel (AP), Ecevit (CHP) and Erbakan (MSP) are taken under "protective custody." MHP chief Türkes is at large. Mayors of the principal cities such as Istanbul and Ankara are replaced by army officers. Mass arrests of progressive people begin.

13: General Evren named Chief of State.

14: MHP chief Türkes gives himself up to the military authorities. The leaders of the two trade union

confederations, DISK and MISK, are called upon to give themselves up to the authorities. All strikes are stopped. House-to-house search in suburban areas.
16: DISK and MISK leaders give themselves up to authorities.
17: The NSC increases the period of detention without court warrant from 30 to 90 days.
18: General Evren is installed in Office of Speaker of Parliament. 50 former parliamentarians are under "protective custody".
20: Retired Admiral Ulusu is appointed Prime Minister.
21: Authority of martial law commanders expanded. Penalties for offenses during martial law rule doubled.
24: General Evren is installed in the Presidential Palace.

October 1980

1: The 5-man junta gives a vote of confidence to the military-backed goverment.
2: The new government orders all State employees to trim themselves up and forbids long hair for men, and make-up, mini-skirts or pants for women in State offices.
3: The government announces that all workers whose collective agreement terms have expired will benefit from the 70% wage increases ordered by the NSC. Within the same term the inflation rate has climbed to 200%.
6: Questioning of former MPs start.
7: Two political activists are executed.
9: NSP Chairman Erbakan and MHP Chairman Türkes are brought back to Ankara from Uzunada, near Izmir, and put under custody at a military prison.
10: The NSC appoints curators to administer the belongings of the suspended trade unions, parties and associations.
11: Demirel and Ecevit, who were under "protection" at the Hamzaköy military facilities near Gelibolu, are released and they return to their homes. Military court in Ankara decides to arrest Türkes for "instigating civil war", while Erbakan is being released.
14: Evren tells a rally in Diyarbakir that "we will not go until we get rid of terrorism and anarchy."
15: Erbakan and 21 MSP officials are arrested for acting against the secularist principles of Turkey.
16: Turco-American DCA meeting opens in Ankara. Evren, in addition to his titles of "Chief of the NSC", "Chief of General Staff", "Chief of the State", takes on the title of "Chief of the Supreme Military Council".
17: Governors of 27 provinces are replaced by the military.
22: 500 trade union officials are released.
24: A political activist is executed. Demirel and Ecevit are interrogated at their homes.
27: NSC, adopting a "provisional constitution", constitutionalized the arbitrary powers of the military.
29: NSC Secretary says the new law on political parties will not allow party leaders to remain in power beyond a certain period.

November 1980

4: The Council of Europe representative Fellermaier says "We have full confidence in General Evren's promise of soonest return to democracy."
7: All "crimes" or propaganda by communist organizations will be dealt with by military tribunals. Forty-four former MPs are indicted.
8: NSC sets up a commission to pursue the anti-regime activities of Turkish nationals abroad.
10: Publisher Ilhan Erdost is killed during torture in a military prison in Ankara.
11: Turkey's leading opinion daily, the *Cumhuriyet*, is closed down by the military.
17: Evren says: "We are determined to move on, crushing all the obstacles before us."
18: TIKP Chairman and 12 other colleagues are arrested.
26: Turco-EEC talks open in Ankara.

December 1980

1: NATO Military Committee Chief Admiral Falls is in Ankara.
7: Interrogation of 577 DISK officials starts.
12: NSC members will be exempt from old age retirement, which is 62 for generals and admirals.
13: A political militant is executed.
22: NATO Secretary General Luns: "Defense of the Iranian Gulf comes via Turkey."
24: Ecevit is interrogated for two different accusations.
27: 68 DISK officials and former Istanbul Mayor Ahmet Isvan are arrested.
30: Inflation rate for 1980 is announced as 108%.

January 1981

6: 15 DISK officials are arrested.
8: 19 MHP officials are released.
13: It is reported that 31 MPs are still under arrest.
16: It is announced that former political leaders will not be allowed to participate in political activities in future.
17: President Carter appreciates the Turkish Junta's efforts.

20: Turco-EEC adaptation talks open in Brussels.
22: IMF finds Turkey's economic performance satisfactory, will release 125 million dollars.
29: The Council of Europe decides to wait until May to decide on the continuation of Turkey's membership.

February 1981

1: Turco-American Defense Cooperation Agreement is ratified.
3: A new repressive measure: Regime's opponents abroad will be deprived of Turkish nationality if they do not return to the country.
12: US Senate's Armed Forces Committee Chairman Tower: "Turco-American relations has entered a golden age."
16: TIP Chairwoman Behice Boran, currently abroad, is condemned to 8 years and 9 months imprisonment for communist propaganda. She and Gültekin Gazioglu, Chairman of the Teachers' Union (TOB-DER) are deprived of Turkish nationality.
24: MSP trial opens. Erbakan faces a 36-year prison term.
27: New Passport Law goes into effect. Turkish nationals who are carrying out activities against the regime will be deprived of their passports.

March 1981

3: It is reported that DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk and his colleagues are being tortured.
17: NSC decrees that neither May Day nor the Freedom Day (May 27th) will be celebrated any more in Turkey.
26: Evren says 2-day weekend holiday is luxury for Turkey.
28: Membership of Turkish delegation in the Atlantic Assembly is extended.

April 1981

10: European Parliament decides to suggest that the EEC Council suspend Turco-European relations if democracy is not restored within two months.
15: Trial against 58 officials of TOB-DER opens.
24: Trial of Erbakan and 34 MSP officials opens.
29: Trial of Türkes and 587 MHP top members opens. Two hundred-twenty face capital punishment.

May 1981

6: Trial of Peasant Cooperatives (Koy-Koop) officials opens.
11: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided to expel Turkish delegation from the Assembly.
13: Agca's assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II in Rome.
14: Higher Judges' Council is dissolved.

June 1981

2: The NSC issues a decree reminding of the ban on any kind of public or private comment on the decisions or acts of the present administration.
3: Ecevit is banned from writing articles.
4: A political activist is executed.
9: Change in the Martial Law Code. Sentences up to 3 years cannot be appealed.
12: Evren declares: "None of the former political cadres will be allowed to enter the first elections to come."
25: DISK Trial opens in Istanbul. Bastürk and 51 other officials face capital punishment.
29: Law on the Constituent Assembly, composed of the NSC and 160 members to be appointed by the NSC, is enacted.

July 1981

2: The ICFTU suspends membership of the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation of which the Secretary General Sadik Side is the minister of Social Security in the military government.
13: Military tribunals are authorized to deal with "crimes" committed prior to the military takeover.
24: Erbakan and 9 MSP officials are released.

August 1981

19: A left-wing militant is executed.
25: Secretary General of the NSC, General Haydar Saltik, is replaced by General Necdet Ürug. The former takes over the command of the First Army and the Martial Law in Istanbul area.

September 1981

4: Evren threatens former political leaders with opening new legal proceedings against them.
5: The period of detention without court warrant is decreased to 45 days.
7: Publication of a new newspaper or review will depend on the permission of martial law authorities.
20: Chiefs of staff of NATO countries meet in Istanbul. Evren, addressing the meeting, says: "Had we not carried out the September 12, 1980 takeover, you could not be here today."
29: Vice-Premier Ozal: "There is no longer any risk of nationalization for foreign investments in Turkey."



1981-82

A NEW CONSTITUTION MADE TO MEASURE

The second year of the military regime started with the nomination of a rubber-stamp "Consultative Assembly", while all political parties were being dissolved. The new constitution imposed by the military and drawn up by the said assembly laid down foundations of a militarist "democracy". In fact, the new constitution is the harmonization of all anti-democratic laws and decrees issued by the military junta.

RUBBER-STAMP ASSEMBLY INAUGURATED, ALL POLITICAL PARTIES DISSOLVED

Considering that the Turkish junta had no intention to take heed of warnings and suggestions from international institutions, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided to expel Turkish delegation from this European body on May 11, 1981. Thereupon General Evren was obliged to announce that the NSC was to share the legislative power with a "consultative assembly."

In conformity with the calendar established by General Evren, the military junta entered in its second year with the nomination of the so-called "Consultative Assembly" and the dissolution of all political parties whose activities had already been banned. So two more steps were taken for the institutionalization of a militarist "democracy" in Turkey.

The setting up of a "consultative assembly" was a propaganda material for the 5-man junta which mobilizes all means in order to convince the European public opinion that the military was decided to restore "democracy" after having got rid of "political terror and economic disaster" in the country.

But the way that the 160 members of the "Consultative Assembly" were nominated already proved that it would not be a democratically elected and freely working legislative body, but just a rubber-stamp assembly of the military junta.

INFO-TÜRK Bulletin commented this new institution in its October *1981 issue, as follows:*

The "Constituent Assembly Law" announced on June 30, 1981, said the Assembly will comprise the five-man NSC itself with binding powers, along with a 160-member "Consultative Assembly", made up of representatives of the provinces.

The Consultative Assembly (the lower chamber) will comprise 120 members to be nominated by the NSC from among candidates put forward by provincial governors, and a further 40 will be directly appointed by the Council itself.

At first sight, the NSC seems to have ample "raw materials" with which to carry on, as the number of applicants for seats was disclosed to have exceeded eleven thousand when the deadline expired at midnight on August 15, 1981. As a first step, the provincial governors will nominate 360 candidates from among them.

The number of seats allocated to the representatives of 67 provinces of Turkey were set according to their populations. All the members will have to be university graduates of at least thirty years old. But an important feature of the law is that "those who were members of political parties on September 11 (a day before the coup d'état) last year are barred from the Assembly. So, all dynamic forces of the country are kept out of the so-called legislative works. Even if not affiliated with any political party on September 11, 1980, anyone who has the conviction of keeping the democratic rules of the supressed Consitution will not be admitted to take part in the "lower house".

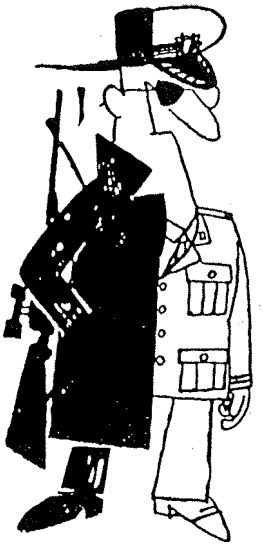
Secondly, the Law, as previously made clear by Evren, grants total power to the NSC within the Constituent Assembly which would function as an upper house. The bills, to be proposed by the Consultative Assembly, the Government and the NSC, will be enacted with the approval of the NSC. The NSC will be able to make amendments which will be binding and final.

The Law sets the Constituent Assembly's first task as drafting a constitution, which will be submitted to a referendum, and only after that "in line with the provisions of the future constitution" will the Assembly set itself to the task of legislating the Political Parties Law. The Election Law will be next in line, and the Constituent Assembly would then continue as a normal legislative body until it turns its tasks over to the next "democratically" elected parliament.

In fact, despite the inauguration of the "Consultative Assembly", General Evren still remains the real master of the country, as he already made clear in his speech on the 1st anniversary of the military coup of September 12, 1980.

General Evren repeated this fact when he gave directives to the 160 members of the Consultative Assembly at the October 23, 1981, inauguration ceremony.

In this address, General Evren stressed that one of the main duties of the Assembly would be to write the new Constitution. He said the



Constitution should help to preserve the strength of the State and mentioned a list of the features expected from a new constitution:

"I would like to emphasize that you should always bear in mind that while trying to enhance and protect human rights and liberties, the State itself also has certain rights and obligations as far as its continuity and future is concerned.

"We do not have the right to put the State into a powerless and inactive position, and the State cannot be turned into a helpless institution to be governed by associations.

"The presidency of the State cannot be left as a protocolar authority entitled solely to sign decrees. The State cannot be left for six months without a President.

"The Parliament cannot be left in a position where it can no more fulfill its legislative and supervisory function for months. Neither the judiciary nor the executive can be in a position to mutually hinder each other.

"You should consider that in our country, parties based upon communist and religious principles cannot be founded. It is therefore not possible to organize demonstrations and rallies as in those regimes by abusing certain dates and holidays.

"In short, the rights and freedoms of individuals cannot be unlimited.

"We have witnessed that previous laws on political parties resulted in the dictatorship of the party leaders; whereby, once a person got hold of the party and became its leader, it was almost impossible to topple him from this post.

"We all together lived through and witnessed how the small parties created problems in coalition governments and concessions given to them just to stay in power. The nation is expecting from you the establishment of an electoral system that will prevent the sad experience of the past and form the nucleus of a system which will eliminate party inflation, being conscious that the citizen is not a robot."

In fact, before this declaration condemning the political parties, the military junta had already dissolved all political parties in a surprise move on October 16, 1981, a day after the administration disclosed the names of the "Consultative Assembly" members.

The law enacted by the National Security Council also confiscated the belongings of the political parties and dissolves organizations affiliated with them.

The activities of all political parties had been suspended the day the military took power. However the decision to dissolve them came 14 months later.

Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic of Turkey, was also the founder of the *Republican People's Party* (CHP). He had left a large sum of his wealth to the CHP, including land and shares in Turkey's leading commercial bank, Is Bankasi. The law announced that the CHP assets would now be handed over to the Secretariat General of the "Head of State."

The diplomatic community in Ankara reacted to the law "as a bombshell" according to the Associated Press news agency.

In the introduction section of the law the Junta claimed some party administrators and former politicians continued their activities despite the bans announced on September 12.

The Junta Chief General Evren announced in a radio speech that the "Consultative Assembly" would prepare laws on political parties within the frame of the new Constitution. But he stressed that the new parties can be constituted only on the principles of "Atatürkism".

In his inauguration speech, General Evren went further and made it clear that "parties based upon communist and religious principles cannot be founded."

Even a pro-government columnist, *Cüneyt Arcayürek*, asked in his article published by the daily Hürriyet of October 26, 1981: "What about the parties based upon fascist principles?"

In fact, the principle of "*Atatürkism*" was a

Turkish version of fascism put into practice by the military junta.

And Evren's speeches hinted that only parties based on this principle would be free after the adoption of the new constitution.

It is the same constitution that would give the "president of the Republic" extraordinary powers. There was no doubt that the first president in the new era would be none other than General Evren.

First reactions against new anti-democratic measures

In Turkey, the first reactions against the anti-democratic measures taken by the Military Junta came from former Prime Minister *Bülent Ecevit* and, in Europe, from the European Economic Community and the European Parliament.

Declaring that he did not approve of the actual military regime, Ecevit expressed his opposition also to the regime prescribed by the NSC for Turkey's future.

This declaration did not appear in the Turkish press, but foreign newspapers and radios echoed it in Europe.

According to *The Guardian* of October 23, 1981, the EEC Commission decided to freeze 600 million ECUs of financial aid to Turkey and to delay the introduction of a new financial agreement, because of dissatisfaction with progress in the restoration of democracy.

At the same time, Ankara Martial Law prosecutor, *Colonel Nurettin Soyer* announced that he was starting proceedings against Mr. Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP), on charges of violating military regulations banning all political statements by the country's former leaders. Colonel Soyer said he would be demanding a jail sentence of between three months and a year for Mr. Ecevit.

DOCUMENT

PARTIES OUTLAWED BY THE MILITARY

■ PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES

The Republican People's Party (CHP): Formed in early 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, it governed Turkey until 1946 as a single party and exercised a dictatorial rule representing the alliance of landowners, emerging local bourgeoisie and state bureaucracy. The 1950 elections were disastrous for the CHP, and the Democrat Party (DP), claiming to be the real representative of the bourgeoisie, kept an overwhelming majority until 1960. The May 1960 military coup enabled the CHP to recover some of its influence. Seeing the steady strengthening of the working class' movement and the success of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) in the 1965 elections, the CHP adopted a left-of-center policy; and after the 1972 Convention, Mr. Bülent Ecevit replaced Mr. Ismet Inönü, chairman of the party since Atatürk's death. The CHP governed the country from 1961 to 1965, from 1973 to 1974 and from 1978 to 1979 in coalition with some small formations or independent deputies.

The Justice Party (AP): Founded in 1961, the AP was the political heir of the *Democrat Party (DP)*, representing the bourgeoisie and rural notables, who governed Turkey for ten years, from 1950 until its ban in 1960.

The AP governed the country for ten years, from 1965 to 1970. On March 12, 1971, the military obliged the AP to withdraw from the government. Although it was beaten by the CHP in the 1973 elections, the AP governed the country two more times, from 1975 to 1977 and from 1979 to 1980, in coalition with other right-wing parties. It was again the AP which was in power at the time of the military coup of 1980.

The National Salvation Party (MSP): Founded in 1972, the MSP was the political heir of the National Order Party (MNP), banned by the Constitutional Court in 1971 for "anti-secular activities". Following a fundamentalist line, the MSP was supported by orthodox musulmans as well as by provincial notables and the local bourgeoisie of Anatolia. It shared power with the CHP from 1973 to 1974 and with the AP from 1975 to 1977.

The Nationalist Action Party (MHP): Continuation of the Republican Peasant National Party (CKMP), the MHP was principally responsible for the political assassinations of the period prior to the military coup of 1980. While it was a centrist little bourgeois party, the CKMP

was seized in 1965 by fascist minded Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes and his fellows through some dirty manoeuvres. After changing its name, the MHP was supported at the beginning by small-town craftsmen and tradesmen as well as by racist youth. After having formed para-military *Grey Wolves* commando units, the MHP was supported also by the big bourgeoisie in order to intimidate the democratic forces of the country. It took part in the "Nationalist Front" coalition governments from 1975 to 1977, and, thanks to this participation, it placed many fascist elements in key state posts. These fascist elements and the *Grey Wolves* prepared the pretext for the military coup by escalating political violence throughout the country.

The two other right-wing parties of the period, the *Democratic Party* (DP) and the *Republican Reliance Party* (CGP) had already disappeared from the political scene before 1980, though they had participated in coalition governments between 1975 and 1979.

■ EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES

Besides the six political parties represented at the National Assembly, there were also many left-wing political parties or groups in Turkey, of which some were legally registered and participated in elections without success and some others were either already outlawed before the military coup or worked clandestinely because of the anti-democratic articles of the Turkish Penal Code which banned any organization or propaganda on a class or ethnical basis.

The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) is one of the two oldest political parties of the country. Founded in 1921 by a congress held in Baku, it was affiliated with the Communist International. But just after its foundation, the TKP was outlawed by the Kemalist power and its 15 leaders were assassinated in Turkey January 28-29, 1922. Since then the TKP has always remained underground and could not be influential in Turkish politics until 1974. In this period, its officials were established in socialist countries. However, after 1974, the TKP began to influence certain trade unions and democratic organisations through its sympathisers in Turkey, certain of whom were arrested after the 1980 military coup.

The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP): Following the adoption of the 1961 Constitution, 12 trade union leaders, independent of the TKP, founded the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) which obtained 15 seats in the National Assembly in the 1965 elections. But a few years later, the TIP also lost its influence on the electorate and was banned in 1971 by the Constitutional Court on the accusation of "separatist activities." After the general amnesty of 1973, members and sympathisers of the TIP were scattered in various political parties and groups of different tendencies. The second TIP, which was founded in 1975 by the last president of the former TIP, was one of these parties. A few years later it approached the line of the TKP.

The Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP): Founded in 1974 by a group of former TIP activists who are also near the TKP line.

The Socialist Revolution Party (SDP): Founded in 1976 by one of the presidents of the former TIP. Near to "euro-communism," it contests the TKP line.

The Labour Party of Turkey (TEP): Founded in 1975 by one of the former leaders of the TKP. It contests the present leadership of the TKP established in socialist countries.

The Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B): Founded by a scission of the TSIP which it considers "pacifist and legalist".

The Workers'-Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP): Founded in 1975 by a group near to the line of China's present rulers.

The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML): Founded by a group which remains loyal to the ideas of Mao-tse Tung.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP): Founded by a group of former youth leaders near to the line of Albanian leader *Enver Hodja*.

The Communist Labour Party of Turkey (TKEP): Founded by a group of peasant and youth leaders of the 60s. It also later approached the TKP line.

The Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): Among all Kurdish organizations, the PKK was the strongest and advocated armed struggle.

The Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP): Founded in 1975 by certain members of Kurdish origin of the former TIP.

The Labour Party of Kurdistan (KIP): Founded in the same period by some Kurdish militants who contest the representativity of the TKSP.

The National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK): Heir to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, a defunct organization attached to the leadership of Barzani.

The Union Party of Turkey (TBP): Founded in the 60s by some leaders of the Alevite Sect and adopted a progressive line.

Of all these Turkish and Kurdish extra-parliamentary parties, only the TIP, the TSIP, the SDP, the TEP, the TBP and the TIKP were

legally registered and participated in elections without success.

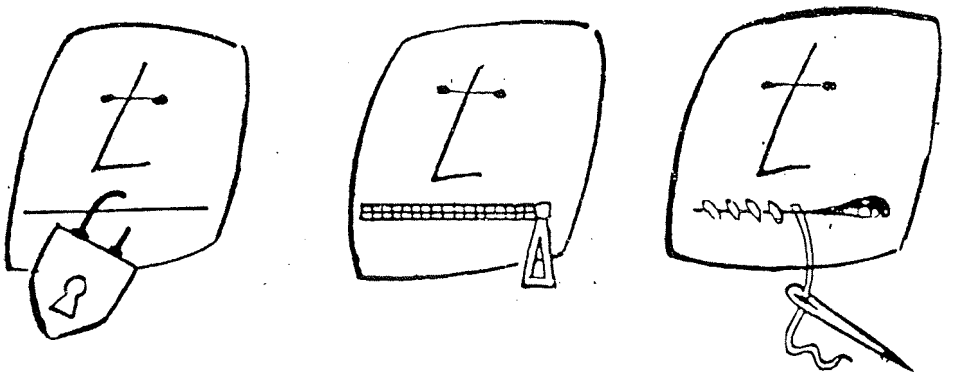
Besides, there were many political groups that are not called "party", but which had a great influence on progressive people. Mainly:

The Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): Independent of all ideological centers of the world. Among all left-wing parties and groups, it was the most influential in the population.

The Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol): A scission of the Dev-Yol. It advocated armed propaganda.

The Liberation (Kurtulus): Founded by a group of former youth leaders. Loyal to the ideas of Stalin.

Also mentioned in this group should be *the People's Path (HY), The People's Union (HB), the Marxist-Leninist Union for Armed Propaganda (MLSPB), the Revolutionary Vanguards of the People (HDO), the Partisan's Path (PY)*, a minor *Trotskyste group* as well as five Kurdish groups: *Rizgari, Ala Rizgari, Kawa, Denge Kawa* and *Tekosin*.



THE JUNTA'S TIMETABLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF "CIVILIAN RULE"

The NSC announced at the end of 1981 a timetable for the "restoration of civilian rule" in Turkey. General Evren said that if the Consultative Assembly drew up the new constitution by the end of the next summer, a referendum could be held in November 1982 and elections arranged for the autumn of 1983. He also indicated that the implementation of the timetable depended on international developments.

The announcement was made just before the visit of the Council of Europe delegation which was charged with preparing a detailed report to form the basis of the decision on the fate of the Turkish regime in this European institution.

But a survey on the social composition of the 160-member Consultative Assembly already showed that the constitution it would draw up would be a text conforming to the interests of the ruling circles.

The social composition of the Consultative Assembly members appointed by the National Security Council:

Categories	*Number*	*(%)*
Worker		
Peasant		
Trade-unionist	*2*	*(1.25)*
Journalist	*1*	*(0.63)*
Artist	*1*	*(0.63)*
Liberal profession	*15*	*(9.37)*
Retired army general and officer	*22*	*(13.75)*
Businessman or manager	*17*	*(10.62)*
High bureaucrat or university member	*102*	*(63.75)*
TOTAL	*160*	*(100)*

The professional composition of the 15-member Committee for Drafting the Constitution:

Chairman *Orhan Aldikaçti* (professor of Law, draft-maker of the Constitution of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus"),

Tevfik Fikret Alparslan (Retired army general, operation commander during the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus),

Ihsan Göknel (Retired army general. He

had served at the headquarters of NATO and CENTO),

Feridun Ergin (Professor of Economy. He had served as governor at the IMF),

Rafet Ibrahimoglu (Businessman, Secretary of the Confederation of Turkish Employers).

Among the members of the Committee were also 4 professors of law, 1 professor of medicine, 1 professor of economy, 1 professor of engineering, 1 high bureaucrat and 2 high judges.

Chairman of the Consultative Assembly, *Prof. Sadi Irmak* gave an address on "Kemalism" to a symposium organized in Bonn and said: "Our new regime will have two principal elements: It will be democratic and it will be based on Kemalist ideology."

The Turkish generals' practices and declaration on "restoring democracy" were very far from being convincing to European democratic institutions.

With the purpose of convincing the *Council of Europe* mission which visited Turkey between January 7 and 14, 1982, General Evren and the censored Turkish press warmly welcomed the European parliamentarians. But the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on January 28 adopted a resolution strongly condemning human rights violations in Turkey and recommending implementation of a council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges.

As for the *European Parliament*, on January 22 it also adopted a resolution asking the European Commission and the ministers of the member countries to suspend financial aid to Turkey.

Thereupon, in a strongly worded statement, *Evren* said: "If some of these governments convert their interest in the developments in Turkey into interference in our internal affairs, our reaction will be decisive and definite."

On February 7, 1982, the *Chief of General Staff* announced a new repressive measure as a ripost to the resolutions of the European parliamentary bodies:

"In order to prevent the internal and external security of Turkey from being influenced, and in order that the rules and regulations put out by the authorities are clearly understood in future, the following points have been decided upon:

"1. Associations, professional groups, trade-unions, funds and such institutions will not be able to invite representatives or delegates from official or unofficial organizations abroad or to organize meetings with such people unless they have obtained the permission of the martial law command in charge of their area.

"2. Such delegations or representatives coming to Turkey without any invitation will not be able to meet, hold contacts or run seminars, etc., without the permission of the Martial Law Commander in charge.

"3. It will not be allowed to report, quote, distribute or publicise any of the broadcasts, publications or articles put out by some radios or press media in countries outside Turkey if they contain baseless allegations, charges, lies or intentionally misleading judgements against the present Turkish administration, even if it is by duplicating."

This new defiance to European democratic circles came also after the appearance in the western press of a statement given by former prime minister Ecevit after he served his prison term. Mr. Ecevit, a 56-year old social democrat, had been sentenced to three months in prison for violating the military regime's ban on public statements by politicians.

In his statement which the Turkish press could not quote, *Mr. Ecevit* said:

"I have been discharged, but so long as the limitations on my freedom of expression continue, I feel as if in prison everywhere." Acknowledging that there were risks, Mr. Ecevit, in his statement that was implicitly critical of the military rulers, added: "I am hopeful about the future because I know that the majority of the people in Turkey are not willing to sacrifice freedom in return for security, and they do not believe such sacrifice to be necessary."

Questioned about the Council of Europe's recent criticism of the military administration's practices against human rights, Mr. Ecevit said, "In my view, the real friends of the Turkish people are those who believe Turks deserve the same democracy they enjoy and refuse to accept a second-rate democracy."

Two weeks later, on February 13, 1982, the military junta issued a new decree, No. 65, allowing the members of the defunct political parties to express their personal views on the

new constitution which is being prepared by the "Consultative Assembly"; but in the same decree, military rulers reminded people that the leaders and high-level officials of the said parties are still deprived of this right.

It was again the United States that assumed the defense of the Turkish regime against European democratic forces. When Danish Foreign Minister *Kjeld Olesen* warned, during a NATO meeting in Brussels, that the Alliance would be applying "double standards" if it focused all its criticism on Poland's military regime but ignored Turkey, US Secretary of State *Alexander Haig* said: "Such attitudes are not only incomprehensible, but dangerous. Isn't it time our western critics stop their double standards and isn't it time that we stop this masochistic tearing down of our values in comparison with dictatorial totalitarianism." NATO Secretary General *Luns* also appreciated the Turkish generals, saying: "The Turkish Generals are working to create conditions for a return to democracy."

However, some other American institutions, for example *the International Herald Tribune*, thought otherwise:

Turkey's generals don't look like democrats

"At a time when the United States is offering a large package of military aid to Turkey and calling for increased defense cooperation, there is growing concern in Europe over the apparent reluctance of the military junta to take concrete steps toward restoration of democracy, which it promised at the start of its rule on September 12, 1980.

"The U.S. attitude seems to be going in a quite different direction. On Feb. 21, the supreme commander of NATO forces, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, urged $5 billion to $6 billion in aid to modernize Turkey's armed forces. In fiscal 1980 U.S. aid to Turkey totaled $450 million; in 1981 it was $547 million, and for fiscal 1982 President Reagan has asked Congress for $703 million, of which $403 million in military assistance. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's recent praise of the junta did more for an Orwellian "1984" than for democracy.

"Today, 15 months after the coup in Turkey, democracy is not being consolidated, only dictatorship and arbitrary military law, leaving all power in the hands of the National Security Council. Furthermore, we can discern the foundations of a coming totalitarian society in which the military may formally withdraw to the barracks but retain power through a number of institutions and bodies that it controls. Thus, university autonomy has been crushed; a State Supervisory Council with sweeping powers to monitor the functioning of all state institutions and organizations has been established; an oppressive labor law is in the making; military control over education and justice has been imposed; parties and independent trade unions have been abolished, and the press has been muffled.

"The handpicked Constituent Assembly has no power. 'Terrorism in the streets has been stopped, it is true, but it was replaced by state terrorism,' I was told in Turkey recently. The main idea behind Turkey's alignment with Europe was to modernize the society through West European influence. The irony is that Turkey is influencing Europe by the generals' introduction of methods borrowed from Latin America. Systematic torture is rampant against political and trade union dissidents.

"The people of Turkey do not want to be treated as a second-class nation. They want the same democratic criteria applied to them as to West Europeans and Americans. They want



those who insist on supporting the junta for strategic reasons to say so openly instead of playing along with the military's sham democracy.

"Turkish journalists who had recently visited the United States told me in Turkey that the Pentagon would like to place the Rapid Deployment Force in their country. They also heard the following argument: 'In Europe, your religion is democracy. Ours is stability.' Not a very comforting view for a Turkish democrat to hear — nor for a democrat in Greece, Portugal or Spain." (*International Herald Tribune,* 16 Dec. 1981)

THE GROWING WRATH OF GENERALS

When the leaders of the *European Economic Community* urged the Turkish military authorities to stick to their timetable for restoration of democracy and insisted that a return to democracy "presupposes in particular the release of those arrested for their views or for trade union activities, and the ending of martial law", *The Guardian* commented that "the Turkish Junta is likely to be angered by the communiqué's insistence" on this subject.

This comment was justified by the sensational speech given by *General Evren* on April 4, 1982, in Bursa.

Turkey's military head of state accused "European friends" of being manipulated by "certain people" who, he said, were trying to have the Europeans wield economic aid as a weapon. He declared that "Turkey's sovereignty could not be sold for money under any circumstances" and that "if Europe is going to allow itself to be swayed by 51 votes at the 434-seat European Parliament, let it do so and expel Turkey. Europe will bear the responsibility for the consequences of such a move."

INFO-TÜRK Bulletin commented this reaction in its April 1982 issue as follows:

Is this wrath against European circles the expression of a sincere reaction to "outside interference in Turkey's affairs"? Can it be considered as a sign of being fond of national pride?

Considering the concessions given by the same military junta to the United States within an 18-month period, it is not possible to give a positive answer to these questions. It is the same military junta that ratified the accord for re-opening the US military bases in Turkey in return for US economic and military aid, and again it is the same military junta that permitted US flags to fly in Turkish territories. These concessions do not offend the *"nationalist"* feelings of General Evren, because Washington has supported all anti-democratic measures taken by the junta and has never asked for establishment of democracy in Turkey. As to European countries, they have always declared that, if the Turkish rulers desire to rest within the European family, they should respect democratic rights and liberties defined in the European Convention of Human Rights. Furthermore, General Evren thinks that the military junta is no longer in need of the 600 million dollar EEC credit, since the United States increased its military and economic *"aid"* to Turkey, and neighbour socialist countries and oil-producing Middle-East countries offered her increasing economic and commercial relations. Especially after visiting Iran, Irak, Kuwait, Syria and Pakistan, the rulers of Turkey started to think that they could play a leading role in this area and easily exploit the financial possibilities of oil-producing countries. Then, they decided that it was the time to defy Europe.

In order to show that he was not against democratic rule, General Evren claimed: "We want to remain in Europe and we know that a prime condition for that is democratic rule. We do not deny that the current rule is not democracy. But it is one of the most democratic and soft military rules seen anywhere. However, it is still a military rule, and let no one doubt that it will continue to be so until democracy is restored in accord with the timetable announced."

But when it is restored, what kind of a democracy will it be?

The answer is again in General Evren's speech:

"The new constitution will ban communism, fascism and religious theocracy. Turkey does not need a communist party!"

Not only a communist party, but the chief of the military junta indicated that they plan to

bar the leader of the Turkish social democrat movement from further political activities.

He openly attacked *Mr. Bülent Ecevit*, chairman of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP):

"If certain people think they will become heroes by going into prison, we shall not hesitate to have their wishes fulfilled. We prefer them to be heroes in jail than becoming heroes outside. Those former politicians who, having seemingly forgotten that their parties were closed (last October), were harbouring illusions that they will be running their same parties but with different names. They are pleasant dreams, and it is nice to live with dreams. But I warn them for the last time to abandon such fantasies. This nation has been able to free its lapels from their grip and does not intend to give them back. I declare here that if they do not heed our warnings, we shall not hesitate for a moment to adopt the sternest possible measures against them. If they count on the support of certain people or institutions in Europe with whom they have developed personal friendships, they will eventually see their hopes dashed."

Even before this verbal attack from General Evren, the military junta had already launched a campaign of terror and intimidation against the social democrat leaders and parliamentarians.

The arrest warrants issued against the leading members of the *Turkish Peace Committee*, the closure of the social democrat weekly *Arayis*, once edited by Bülent Ecevit, the questioning of Ecevit over his defiant statements after his release from prison and the investigation against 132 other deputies of Ecevit's party over their alleged support to the banned trade-union confederation DISK...

The immediate effect of these new measures appeared as more fuel to speculations about the existence of differences within the ruling *"National Security Council"* and that the *"hawks"*, such as General Nurettin Ersin, a member of the NSC and commander of the Land Forces, had got the upper hand.

But General Evren denied these speculations at his Bursa speech. He emphasized that the five members of the NSC were united in achieving their missions and that they shared the same ideas.

He did not stay there but went so far as to defend some former army commanders such as *General Faik Türün* who had gained a reputation for his fascist tendencies and repressive practices during the earlier period of military rule between 1971-1973.

And while General Evren was intensifying attacks on democrat politicians and intellectuals, the large majority of the leaders of the fascist party, MHP, were already released, and only Colonel Türkes and his 5 companions remained in prison. But the demand for their release was also on the agenda of the military court. It will not be a surprise if they are freed one day, because Colonel Türkes and his companions declared at military tribunals that it was unjust to keep them in prison while their views are in power.

It is not an appreciation of only the Turkish fascist colonel, but also one of a Spanish fascist colonel. At his trial on March 17, 1982, *Lt. Col. Antonio Tejero Molina*, who stormed the Spanish Parliament with Civil Guards a year ago, said that their attempt was modeled after the *"Turkish Coup"* and they planned to set up a military government similar to the one established in Turkey.

The Bursa speech of General Evren justified both Colonel Türkes and Colonel Antonio Tejero Molina...

"CONSTITUTION" BEING MADE TO MEASURE!

As the state terror was escalating with the arrest of the former social democratic premier Ecevit, the military rulers of Turkey also accelerated the process for preparing the new constitution which will lay the foundations of an authoritarian civil regime to succeed the actual military one.

Following his wrathful speech of Bursa which gave the military prosecutor the green light to rearrest Ecevit, *General Evren* doubled and even tripled his attacks on democrat politicians in his two other successive speeches.

On April 18, in his address in the city of Balikesir, reiterating that in the present *"transition period"* political activities would not be allowed, the chief of the military junta said: "Those who insist on doing the opposite (engage in political activity) and chase after future political investments, will be subjected to

legal prosecution and the punishment they deserve."

In the same speech, the chief of the Junta hinted that even after returning to civilian rule, the military would not hesitate to intervene again, if necessary: "Many citizens want to know what will happen if after we leave, the country comes to the same point (a crisis situation). Do not be afraid... You will get rid of those who might be responsible (for new crises). Also remember that there are other forces at your side who will protect this country."

Five days later, in a message on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, actually dissolved, General Evren again attacked democrat politicians such as Ecevit whose arrests were protested by European democratic forces: "I am following with grief and indignation the efforts of those who once clamoured for full independence... Forgetting how they brought this country to the threshold of an abyss, they are attempting to take Turkey back to their kind of democracy by getting foreigners to put pressure on Turkey and by playing the part of informants against their own country."

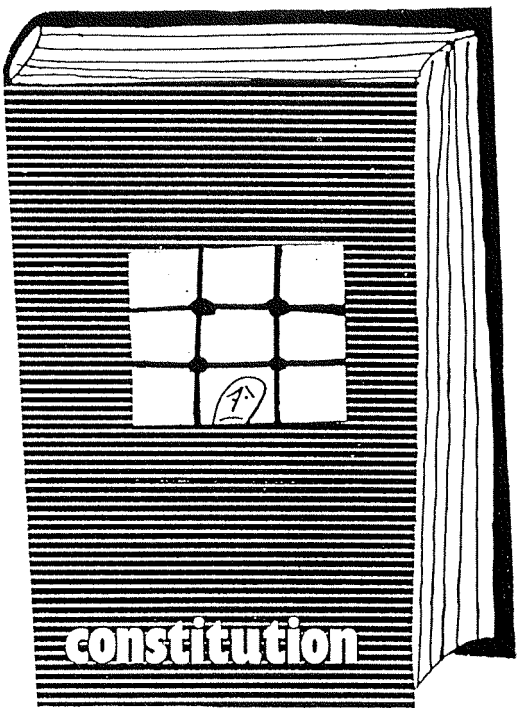
Loyal to the will of the military rulers who designated themselves the law-makers, the members of the Consultative Assembly started in April to draw up the text of the new constitution.

Since its designation in November 1981, the Constitutional Commission led "data collection" activities.

Thirty-one out of 160 members of the Consultative Assembly, governors of 51 out of 67 provinces of Turkey, 37 universities and higher education institutions, supreme courts, pro-governmental workers' union Türk-Is, employers' associations such as TISK, TÜSIAD and the Union of Chambers, some banks and professional associations have given their views on the new constitution to the Commission.

With the purpose of taking the views of the "man in the street", the Commission decided to conduct a poll involving some 200,000 people, but the National Security Council prevented this limited opening to public opinion on the pretext that the 1982 budget of the State Statistics Institute did not contain funds to realize such a poll.

As is known, former political leaders of Turkey were deprived of the right to declare



their opinions on the future constitution. The NSC permitted the Constitutional Commission to seek the opinions of political party members who had not taken part in the administration of the parties they were attached to. However, no political party member was approached for views.

On the contrary, the organizations of businessmen freely expressed their views on the future constitution by publishing well printed pamphlets.

For example, the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchanges declared that the authority of the executive power should be increased and a Council of the Republic should replace the defunct Senate of the Republic. The businessmen also asked that Turkey's political regime be closed to communism and the Turkish state be run according to the principles of Atatürk and Turkish nationalism.

They said: "The position of the Head of State should be more powerful than under the 1961 Constitution, and the Head of State should be able to suspend the constitution for a while by declaring a state of emergency when unable to cope with emerging internal and external threats. The Head of State should also

have the authority to make appointments and to control some of the autonomous institutions... And the new constitution should protect the rights to private enterprise and property."

Other organizations of businessmen such as the Confederation of Employers Unions (TISK) and the Association of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey (TÜSIAD) issued similar proposals for the Constitution. Among them are also restrictions on the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to strike.

In fact, these proposals are generally identical with the directives given by the Chief of the Junta in his inauguration speech and other statements.

Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Aldikaçti repeated on April 6 that the rejection of some of the principles laid down by General Evren's speeches would be impossible.

EVREN'S CONSTITUTION CAUGHT IN THE ACT OF FASCISM

The Constitution draft was adopted as a whole on August 16, 1982, by the Consultative Assembly. Of 160 members, 135 voted for and only one against. As to the 24 other members, they were absent.

Although 25 members who are unofficially classified into "social-democrats" or "radicals" criticized the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly for having drawn up an anti-democratic text, only one of them had the courage to vote against, 24 others preferred to manifest their disapproval by absenting themselves from voting.

The draft was concrete proof of the kind of political system that the military considered suitable for Turkey.

Under the pretext of "preventing the kind of turmoil which disrupted Turkey in the last decade, resulting in two military interventions," the draft openly strengthened the executive branch of the State, restricted freedom of expression, press and organization and granted the military a constitutional role in the affairs of the nation.

Just before the discussions on the draft and with the purpose of forcing the members of the Consultative Assembly to adopt the text, General Kenan Evren declared on July 25, 1982, in Erdek: "That draft has not been finalized but I simply wish to stress that the troubles we went through were because of the past Constitution (of 1961) and that we shall take whatever measures are necessary to prevent the repetition of past mistakes. Once finalized, no one would be able to say anything against the new constitution. The Turkish people's ideology is Atatürk's principles and ideals. We shall teach that ideology to the generations to come and we shall include that ideology as a lesson in our schools. Individuals have rights and liberties, but they have transferred all of them to the State. Of course there will be associations, but they will limit their activities to their original reasons for existence." As to limitless powers accorded to the President of the Republic, General Evren said: "If we cannot have faith in a president elected from within the nation, who are we to trust? Associations?"

During the debates at the Consultative Assembly, General Evren, together with four other members of the military junta, visited this rubber-stamp assembly a few times and followed the works in order to influence its 160 members. During his first visit to the Assembly, one of the members declared on the floor that the only candidate for the first President of the Republic of the new era is General Evren.

Although the leaders and prosecuted deputies of the defunct political parties were forbidden to declare their opinions on the draft constitution, many Turkish intellectuals, editorialists and public figures have declared their reactions against anti-democratic provisions of the draft. Below are some examples:

Sevket Yilmaz, Chairman of the labour confederation Türk-Is: "The new constitution will put an end to the labour movement in Turkey."

Daily Newspaper *Cumhuriyet:* "Some articles of the draft on social rights are the reproduction of the proposals of the Confederation of Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists (TISK)." (In fact the 15 members of the Constitutional Commission included the Secretary General of the TISK, whilst there was no representative of the labour movement).

Nail Güreli, Chairman of the Turkish Journalists Union (TGS): "The draft constitu-

tion is conservative and behind the times. It restricts freedom of press, basic freedoms and rights and distorts the social characteristics of the Turkish State."

Professor Erdem Aksoy, former president of the Black Sea Technical University: "The new constitution aims at insecurity, stagnation and it fails to take into consideration the realities of Turkey."

Ismail Cem, editorialist of the daily *Günes*: "I wonder what my Swiss law professor would think about this Constitution. If I had produced this text as homework, my Swiss professor would have failed me in the examinations."

Mümtaz Soysal, professor of constitutional law and editorialist of the daily *Milliyet*: "This coat which was found too loose for the public has now become too tight. The Turkish people are not that much behind the times or that primitive to be condemned to such a constitution."

Attila Sav, president of the Union of the Turkish Bar Associations: "This sui-generis constitution that has not enough faith in justice and on the other hand provided excessive authority to the administration, can easily open roads to an authoritarian regime."

Professor Ulkü Azrak of the Law Faculty of Istanbul: "The provision on the presidential appointments is totally against the notion of a contemporary state governed by the rule of law".

Ugur Mumcu, editorialist of the daily *Cumhuriyet*: "This development is a sad and bitter step in the two-centuries-long Constitutional tradition of Turkey."

Oktay Eksi, editorialist of the daily *Hürriyet*: "This draft is what you call feeding with a spoon and taking an eye out with the handle of the same spoon."

Server Tanilli, professor of law who has been paralyzed since 1978 after an armed attack by the fascist Grey Wolves: "With this constitution, democracy cannot be restored in Turkey; at the very most fascism can be founded."

Defying critics of the constitution draft, General Evren had already launched an intimidation campaign. On August 29, he said in Afyon: "We have an obligation to prepare a constitution taking into consideration our own structure, characteristics, conditions and the strategic position of our country. We have no obligation to comply with the constitutions of the West. We have never said the new constitution would bring more freedoms than the 1961 Constitution. In the West, they set their daughters free after 18 years old. But this is not compatible with our traditions. We cannot set free, after 18 years old, not only our daughters but also our sons. Accordingly, we cannot copy western constitutions. The 1961 Constitution was too loose for us.

"As the time of transition to normal democratic order is nearing, those who are longing for the former system, the slaves of communism, the uncaught anarchists and terrorists, the traitors, and the enemies of the nation and the motherland among us are operating sometimes openly, and sometimes covertly to slander this administration. The collaborators of foreign powers tried very hard to ensure severance of foreign assistance to Turkey, and when they understood that they could not succeed, they started a campaign to prevent the new constitution from being approved. The collaborators of anti-Turkish activities have coordinated their efforts inside the country in parallel with a communist radio station."

GENERAL EVREN'S STAB-WOUND

In the face of numerous criticisms and protests emanating even from the circles in favour of military, a part of the public opinion expected considerable amendments from the junta on the constitution draft.

It was rather quickly forgotten the way that the Consultative Assembly was formed and charged with the preparation of the constitution. The framework of the constitution had been previously set up by the laws enacted by the junta since the time that it took office. If one remembers that these laws "can in no case be declared against the constitution," according to a decree by the junta, it was a "première mondiale" in the field of constitution: the constitution was to obey the laws and not the contrary.

The military junta, without any considerable modification, adopted the final text on October 19, 1982.

Main changes in the text were the addition of some provisions which turn General Evren into the "President of the Republic", the other members of the Junta into the members of the "Presidential Council" and deprive the leaders of the dissolved political parties of the right to re-enter politics for 10 years and the members of the last legislative assembly for 5 years.

According to another amendment, no responsibility can be claimed against the members of the junta, the members of their Consultative Assembly, their governments and, even against the members of the state administrative bodies who implemented the decisions of the junta and its governments, for their acts following the coup d'état, and no lawsuits can be entered against them. On the other hand, it takes a big risk in placing de facto all of the former politicians and even the conservators, however favorable to the military, in the ranks of the opposition. Nevertheless, this risk is surely taken into account, since both the text of the constitution and the way the referendum will take place leave no freedom of expression or action for any opposition.

This interdiction of politics does not only concern the leaders of the parties but also, to a certain extent, the members of these parties, since, according to a provisional article, the members of a dissolved party shall not form the majority in new parties. This measure is especially aimed at the Republican People's Party (CHP) of Ecevit, as this party is the only one which had registered all of its members on computer while the members of others were lost in the local archives.

The progressive trade union movement decapitated and put on trial with the demand of capital punishment for its 62 leaders was out of the scene at that moment. The pro-governmental trade union, Türk-Is, which had raised its voice against some of the restrictions on the trade union rights, got by way of a bribe the disappearence of the clause suppressing the check-off on the final text. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Türk-Is who hastened to declare their submission to the power and their faith in this new constitution, could not, in spite of all their efforts, dissemble the fact that the constitution conforms almost entirely to the wishes expressed by the employers' federation congress held in April 1982 about the regulation of labour life.

According to the final text, the lock-out becomes a constitutional institution. The trade unions shall not be involved in politics nor have relations with a political party. They can neither support political parties nor be supported by them. They cannot have relations with democratic or professional associations. The right to strike although existing on paper is submitted to several restrictions, and it may exist only in the case of disputes on wages: strikes for solidarity, political and general strikes, etc. are prohibited. Social disputes will be settled by the Supreme Council of Arbitration.

The trade unions will be under the financial and administrative control of the state. In other respects, according to an article added by the junta, in order to be a trade union leader one must have worked actively for ten years as a worker. This will not facilitate the organisation of the trade unions, particularly if one lays stress on the fact that this measure is not only valid on the national level but also on the level of the workplaces.

The Higher Education Institution (YOK) guilty of assassinating academic life and the autonomy of the universities, also made its appearance on the constitution by the hand of the military, who added it to the text at the last moment. It is obvious how much the generals stand forth as protector of their YOK. So they confirmed that youth and science are considered the hereditary enemies of the military obscurantism.

For the first time since the existence of the secular Turkey, the courses of religion and ethics became compulsary in the elementary and secondary schools and made their appearances in the constitution. The "faithful" representatives of the kemalist ideology and principles and the "worthy" successors of Atatürk were therefore caught in the act of demagogy, since one of the reforms of Atatürk was precisely the secularity of education.

Freedom of the press is removed de facto from the constitution, since henceforth even the police can confiscate all publications - even in the printing stage without court warrant. In other respects, Article 28 on the press forbids all publication in a language prohibited by law. Here, of course, what is in question is the interdiction of publication in the Kurdish language. Thus, Turkey becomes one of the few countries in the world where a whole people is banned

from expressing itself in its mother tongue, in the circumstances kurdish for about 8-10 million Kurds in Turkey.

The despotic powers previously granted to the president of the Republic remained unaltered. Only the directors of the TRT (Turkish radio-TV), the Central Bank and religious affairs would no longer be designated by the president of the Republic as foreseen in the draft. However, the president kept all his powers, among others, to name all of the members of the Constitutional Court, of the State Supervision Council and, of the Higher Educational Institution (YOK), one fourth of the members of the Council of State, the members of the Military Court of Cassation, the members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors, the university rectors, etc.

More serious is the fact that this "chief" once elected - and according to the text, Evren would become president for seven years in the case of the constitution being approved - would not be submitted to any judiciary control and can do as he pleases.

So, this presidential regime which was described by an old politician as the return to the Sultanate, putting almost all legislative, executive and judiciary powers in the hands of only one man and the executive apparatus that he designates, makes nothing but a woolly and arbitrary amalgam.

Arbitrary is indeed the right word to designate the articles of this constitution drafted with a vulgar ruse, since each paragraph first of all decrees that such liberties exist and are under the constitutional guarantee, but the next paragraph enumerates a whole range of circumstances in which the executive can arbitrarily decide their limitation or even their mere suppression... for reasons concerning the internal security of the state... or the common ethics... or in the case of economic crisis(!) etc., etc.

The executive is, moreover, seriously reinforced at the expense of the legislative and the judiciary, who see their powers diminishing and limited. The executive also has the power to proclaim the state of emergency or simply the martial law for a whole line of arbitrary reasons, and in the course of these periods (and there will not be lack of emergency cases, if one remembers that Turkey has lived under military regime for 32 years over the past 72 years) the executive has unlimited rights and can suspend or render void all of the liberties provided by the constitution.

"The old constitution was a large cloth for the Turkish nation," therefore General Evren made up another which is much tighter than the old one, and even the supporters of Demirel's conservative party consider it too tight. In order to ratify this text of legitimisation which provides a legal basis to the dictatorship and thus to "return to democracy" with military without uniform, the junta organized a referendum masquerade on November 7. It was beyond doubt that even in the case of refusal the destiny of Turkey would not change in the short-run. Only, in spite of all, in order to avoid all unpleasant surprises, the military took all their precautions:

- None of the leaders of the dissolved political parties had the right to express themselves on the constitution.

- It was forbidden to lead a campaign against the constitution.

- It was forbidden to criticize the statements of Evren, who had started to conduct a campaign for the presentation of the constitution.

- Those who would not betake themselves to the polling-booths would be liable to heavy punishments, participation was compulsory.

- Those who say "no" to the constitution would be considered terrorists and tools of the subversive alien forces.

- The votes bearing signs would not be canceled. (This measure was an artful manoeuvre to force people to make their choice known, and it surely would be efficient, particularly in small localities.) The clause which renders void all indicated votes - with name or other signs - were repealed by the junta doubtlessly for this purpose.

Evren, who would automatically become president of the Republic for seven years (the other members of the junta would form a presidential council which would function as an upper house) furthermore started violently his campaign for the constitution. He attacked in violent terms the traitors who want to refuse the constitution. He declared himself the guarantor of the constitution and, thus challenged the moderates who, while supporting Evren, formulate some timid criticism about the final text of the constitution.

MAIN POINTS OF THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION

"Following the operation carried out on September 12, 1980, by the Turkish Armed Forces in response to a call from the Turkish nation, of which they form an indissociable part (...), this Constitution was prepared by the Consultative Assembly, which is the legitimate representative of the Turkish nation, finalised by the National Security Council, and adopted, approved and directly enacted by the Turkish nation, and is entrusted for safekeeping by the TURKISH NATION to the patriotism of its democracy-loving sons and daughter," says the Preamble of the Constitution.

While the former Constitution put forward the principle of "Social State", this principle has been excluded from the new one. "Attachment to the conception of nationalism and the principles and reforms introduced by Atatürk" has been made the pillar of the new regime.

A despotic presidential system

The President of the Republic is empowered to act as supreme ruler of the country, whereas he had only some ceremonial functions under the previous constitution.

He exercises the following functions and powers:

- To summon the Assembly when necessary, to promulgate laws, to refer draft legislation to the Assemby for further consideration, to submit to referendum, if he deems it necessary, legislation amending the Constitution, to bring to the Constitutional Court applications for the annulment of laws, legislative decrees and Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, or specific provisions thereof, on grounds of unconstitutionality as to form or substance, to call new elections for the Assembly.

- To act as Chairman of the Council of Ministers or call meetings of the Council of Ministers under his chairmanship when he deems it necessary.

- To hold the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish armed forces on behalf of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, to decide to use the Turkish Armed Forces, to appoint the Chief of General Staff, to summon the National Security Council, to act as Chairman of the National Security Council, to declare martial law or a state of emergency and issue legislative decrees in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Ministers meeting under his chairmanship.

- To appoint the members and Chairman of the State Supervisory Commission, to instruct the State Supervisory Commission to carry out inquiries, investigations and verifications.

- To appoint the members of the Council of Higher Education, to appoint the rectors of universities.

- To appoint and dismiss Ministers on the proposal of the Prime Minister.

- To appoint the members of the Constitutional Court, a quarter of the members of the Council of State, the Chief Public Prosecutor in the Court of Cassation and his deputy, the members of the Military Court of Cassation, the members of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Armed Forces and the members of the Judicial Service Commission. (Art. 104)

- No appeal shall be made to the courts, including the Constitutional Court against decisions or orders signed *proprio motu* by the President of the Republic. (Art. 105)

According to the provisional articles:

General Evren, on the proclamation of the adoption of the Constitution, assumes the title of President of the Republic and shall exercise this function for a period of seven years. As for the four other members of the National Security Council, they become the members of the Presidential Council for a period of six years.

The functions of the Presidential Council:

"To consider laws adopted by the Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, to consider, and give an opinion on, matters relating to the holding of new general elections, the exercise of emergency powers and the measures to be taken during a state of emergency, to consider and investigate matters relating to internal and external security and such other matters as are deemed necessary, and submit its findings to the President of the Republic."

According to another provision, all persons or organs in authority during the period from September 12, 1980, to the date of the formation of the Bureau of the Turkish Grand

National Assembly have been exempted from all legal responsibility, and their decisions and acts can never be brought before the Constitutional Court.

Powers of the Military Many provisions of the new Constitution provide the military with extraordinary powers even in the period of civilian rule. The President of the Republic, namely General Evren, remains as the Commander-in-Chief:

"The office of Commander-in-Chief shall be held by the President of the Republic. The Chief of the General Staff shall be appointed by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers." (Art. 117).

The Constitution, besides the Presidential Council which is composed of four members of the military junta, creates a new National Security Council which disposes the power to dictate decisions to the Council of Ministers:

"The National Security Council shall be composed of the Prime Minister, the Chief of the General Staff, the Ministers of National Defense, the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the commanders of the army, navy and air force and the commander of the military police. The NSC shall inform the Council of Ministers of its views on the decisions to be taken concerning the establishment, formulation and implementation of the state's national security policy and on the measures required to secure the necessary coordination. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to decisions of the Council concerning the measures that it deems necessary for the preservation of the existence and independence of the state, the integrity and indivisibility of the country, national peace and public order. The agenda of the NSC shall be drawn up by the President of the Republic, who shall take account of the proposals of the Prime Minister and the Chief of General staff." (Art. 118)

As is seen in the article, in the NSC the military holds absolute majority.

State of emergency "In the event of a natural disaster, a dangerous epidemic or a serious economic crisis, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may declare a state of emergency, in one or more regions or throughout the country for a period not exceeding six months. The State of Emergency Act shall regulate the financial and material obligations, and obligations relating to work, the procedure governing the restriction or suspension of fundamental rights and freedoms." During a state of emergency, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may issue legislative decrees." (Art. 121)

Martial Law "The Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may, after consultation with the NSC, declare martial law in one or more regions or throughout the country. During the period of martial law, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may issue legislative decrees on matters relating to martial law. Martial law commanders shall exercise their functions under the authority of the Office of the Chief of the General Staff." (Art. 122)

State Security Courts "State Security Courts shall be established to try offences committed against the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and people, the free democratic order of the Republic or directly relating to the internal and external security of the state. SSCs shall be composed of a President, two members, two substitutes, a prosecutor and a sufficient number of deputy prosecutors. One member and one substitute shall be appointed from among military judges of the highest grade, and the deputy prosecutors from among public prosecutors and military judges. In the event of the declaration of martial law, the SSC may be transformed into a military court. (Art. 143)

Constitutional Court "The Constitutional Court shall be composed of eleven regular members and four substitutes, all appointed by the President of the Republic." (Art. 146)

Restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms

"Fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted by law in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution in order to safeguard the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and people, national sovereignty, the Republic, national security, public policy, public order, the public interest, public decency and public health. (Art. 13)

"None of the rights and freedoms shall be exercised with a view to violating the integrity of the state with its territory and people, endangering the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, ensuring the rule of one social class over the others, creating discrimination on grounds of language, race, religion, or sect, or establishing by any other means a political system based on the above concepts and opinions." (Art. 14)

These articles take as target all attempts to organize on the social class, ethnic or linguistic group basis. That is to say, the working class, the Kurdish population of the country and other religious and ethnic minorities are deprived of the right to organize and to spread their opinions.

"In time of war or mobilisation, under martial law or during a state of emergency, the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms may be partially or completely suspended." (Art. 15)

Authority to kill citizens

"Death shall not be regarded as inflicted in violation of the right to life when it results from the execution of a death sentence, the exercise of self-defense or the lawful and necessary use of arms to carry out an arrest warrant or a detention order, prevent the escape of a person detained pending trial or following conviction, quell a revolt or rebellion or, under martial law or during a state of emergency, execute orders issued by the competent authorities." (Art. 17)

Forced or compulsory labour

"Forced or compulsory labour shall not include work required in the course of detention, pending trial or following conviction, services exacted from citizens during a state of emergency, or physical or intellectual work forming a part of normal civic obligations in fields dictated by the needs of the country." (Art. 18)

Detention without court warrant

"Persons arrested or detained shall be brought before a court within 48 hours, or in the case of collective offences, within fifteen days. The periods may be extended during a state of emergency, under martial law or in time of war. (Art. 19)

Restriction of the right to express

"The right to express and disseminate their thoughts and opinions may be restricted in order to prevent crime, punish convicted offenders, prevent the disclosure of information lawfully declared to be a state secret or ensure the proper functioning of judicial authority." (Art. 26)

"The right to disseminate information shall not be exercised with a view to securing the amendment of the provisions regarding the state, character of the Republic and the integrity of the State, official language, flag, national anthem and capital." (Art. 27)

Restriction of Freedom of the press

"Nothing shall be published in a language prohibited by law. *(That is to say the Kurdish or Assyrian languages, etc.* - Ed).

"Persons who write, cause to be printed, print or transmit to another for that purpose information or material of any description threatening the internal and external security or the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and people, inciting to commit an offence or to rebellion or revolt or relating to state secrets shall be liable to prosecution under the relevant legal provisions.

"Distribution may be forbidden as a preventive measure under a court order or, in cases where delay is considered prejudicial, an order of the authority expressly empowered by law.

"Periodical and other publications may be

seized under a court order or an order in the authority expressly empowered by law in cases where delay is considered harmful to the protection of the indivisible integrity of the state.

"Periodicals may be temporarily suspended by court order if convicted of publishing material inconsistent with the indivisible integrity of the state, the fundamental principles of the Republic, national security or public decency. All publications constituting a clear continuation of a suspended periodical shall be prohibited and shall be seized by court order." (Art. 28)

"Printing houses and accessory premises shall not be seized or confiscated (...) unless they are convicted of an offence committed against the indivisible integrity of the state, the fundamental principles of the Republic or national security." (Art. 30)

Restriction of right and freedom of assembly

"Associations shall not contravene the general restrictions set forth in Article 13, nor shall they pursue political aims, engage in political activities, support or be supported by political parties or take joint actions to that end with unions, professional organisations instituted under public law or foundations. Associations deviating from their original aims and conditions or failing to fulfil their statutory obligations shall be considered dissolved of their own accord. In cases where delay is considered harmful to the protection of the indivisible integrity of state, national security, national sovereignty, public policy or to the prevention of crime, the activities of an association may be suspended by an order of the authority specifically empowered by law." (Art. 33)

"The competent authority may prohibit a particular meeting or demonstration or postpone it for a maximum of two months if there is a strong likehood that serious disturbances will occur, national security requirements will be infringed on or acts designed to destroy the fundamental character of the Republic will take place. Associations, foundations, unions and professional organisations instituted under public law shall not hold meetings or demonstrations exceeding their own scope and aims." (Art. 34)

Restrictions on education

"No activities other than those connected with learning, teaching, research and study shall take place in educational establishments. No language other than Turkish shall be taught to Turkish citizens as their mother tongue in educational establishments." (*A prohibition on official teaching of Kurdish or Assyrian, etc.* - Ed.) (Art. 42)

Restrictions on trade union right

"The statutes, management and mode of operation of unions and union federations shall not be inconsistent with democratic principles or with the character of the Republic.

"Officials of trade unions or trade union federations shall be required to have been actually employed as workers for at least 10 years." (Art. 51)

"Unions shall not contravene the general restrictions set forth in Article 13, nor shall they pursue political aims, engage in political activities, support or be supported by political parties, or take joint action to that end with associations, professional organisations instituted under public law or foundations." (Art. 52)

"The right to strike shall not be exercised, nor shall lock-outs be practised, in a manner contrary to the principles of goodwill or prejudicial to the community or national wealth. The trade union shall be liable for any material damage caused in the workplace during a strike, either deliberately or accidentally, by the striking workers and union.



"The National Arbitration Board shall settle disputes in cases where strikes and lock-outs are prohibited or, in the event of postponement, at the end of the period for which they are postponed.

"Politically motivated strikes and lock-

outs, sympathy strikes and lock-outs, general strikes and lock-outs, sit-in strikes, go-slows, work-to-rules and other forms of obstruction shall be prohibited.

"Strikers shall do nothing whatsoever to prevent those who are not striking from working in their workplace." (Art. 54)

Conditioning of the Youth

"The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the training and development of youth, into whose keeping our independence and our Republic are entrusted, in the light of positive science, in accordance with the principles and reforms of Atatürk and in opposition to ideas aimed at the destruction of the indivisible integrity of the state." (Art. 58)

Restrictions on Universities

"The state shall supervise and inspect universities and their subsidiary units and shall ensure their security. University rectors shall be appointed by the President of the Republic and deans by the Higher Education Council (YÖK). Universities, members of teaching staff and their assistants shall be free to engage in scientific research and publication of all kinds. However, this shall not include freedom to engage in activities directed against the existence and independence of the state or the integrity and indivisibility of the nation and the country. The Higher Education Council shall be composed of members appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the universities, the Council of Ministers and the Chief of the Republic himself." (Art. 131)

Restrictions on Radio-TV

"Radio and television stations shall be established only by the State and shall be managed by an impartial public corporation. The law shall ensure that broadcasts are made in such a way as to safeguard the existence and independence of the Turkish state, the indivisible integrity of the country and the nation, national peace, public decency and the fundamental character of the Republic as defined in Article 2 of the Constitution." (Art. 133)

Atatürk National Academy of Culture

"The Atatürk National Academy of Culture, Language and History shall be established under the moral aegis of Atatürk, under the supervision of the President of the Republic, and shall, with his support, conduct scientific research, produce publications and disseminate information on the thought, principles and reforms of Atatürk and on Turkish culture history and the Turkish language." (Art. 134)

Professional organisations

"Professional organisations shall not engage in activities other than those for which they were formed, nor shall they become involved in politics or take joint action with political parties, unions or associations. Political parties, unions and union federations shall not nominate candidates in elections to the organs of professional organisations or their umbrella organisations, not shall they engage in activities or propaganda in support of, or opposition to, particular candidates." (Art. 136)

Stripping of nationality

"No Turkish citizen shall be deprived of his nationality provided that he does not engage in an activity with loyalty to this country." (Art. 66)

Discrimination in amnesty procedure

With the purpose of depriving many political prisoners of a possible amnesty in future, the military put in the Constitution the following article:

"The Turkish Grand National Assembly decides the proclamation of amnesties and pardons, except in respect of persons convicted of offences under Article 14 of the Constitution." (Art. 87) The said article mentions acts against the integrity of the state, endangering the existence of the Turkish State, aiming the rule of one social class over the others, creating discrimination on grounds of language, race, religion, or sect." These acts are liable according to articles 140, 141, 142 and 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted, on October 8, 1982, a resolution stating that the new Constitution drawn up by the Consultative Assembly did not answer to the requisites of a real democracy and calling upon the Turkish authorities to revise it.

The new Constitution was criticized also in the report on the southern flank submitted to the meeting of the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly held in London.

A socialist member of the Parliamentary Assembly, *Mr. Claude Déjardin,* studied, in collaboration with *Mr. Jack Deboek* from the University of Liège, the compatibility of the new Constitution with the European Convention on Human Rights and prepared a report to submit to the Assembly.

Below are the large extracts of this important report demonstrating the "constitutional" violation of human rights in Turkey:

"The Turkish Constitution is not perfectly conformable to the European Convention of Human Rights.

"1. Concerning all rights warranted by the ECHR:

"Article 13 of the Constitution enumerates the hypothesis of legitime restriction of fundamental rights. Besides it states that these general reasons set forth (...) are valid for all fundamental rights and freedoms.'

"This disposition is contrary to the ECHR, because:

"a) Some warranted rights do not suffer from any exceptions: It concerns the right not to be submitted to torture or to degrading treatment (Art. 2 ECHR), the right set forth by article 7 ECHR, the right to get married (Art. 12 ECHR), the right to the grant of an effective recourse in the case of the violation of a right set forth (Art. 13 ECHR) and, the right to equality of treatment in the exercise of warranted rights Art. 14 ECHR) as also the right set forth in an absolute manner by article 6 of the Convention.

"There is no doubt that, regarding these rights, article 13 of the Turkish Constitution, stated in a general manner and without restriction, is contrary to the Convention.

"b) Other rights are set forth in a less absolute manner by the ECHR: The Convention provides possibilities for impairment, but they are provided in a very precise manner. It concerns the right to life (Art. 2 ECHR), the right set forth by Article 4 ECHR and, the right not to be deprived of one's freedom (Art. 5 ECHR).

"Article 13 of the Constitution is formulated in such a way that it authorizes, indeed, the derogations provided by articles 2, 4 and 5 of the ECHR in the exercise of these rights but, it equally allows others. In that degree, it is contrary to the Convention (...).

"2. concerning articles 9, 10 and 11 - freedom of thought, of conscience, religion, expression and associations. (*)

"I. Art. 9, 10 and 11 ECHR

"The Turkish Constitution gives expression to the will of privileging and protecting, by all means, a philosophical and political doctrine.

"a) To protect Atatürk's Doctrine

"The *'principles, reforms and modernism'* or the *'nationalism'* of Atatürk is the essence of the Turkish Republic (Art. 2). The ideas which are contrary to it do not deserve any protection (Par. 9 of the preamble - NB Art. 176).

"Article 2 gives this doctrine a value equivalent to the fundamental rights", adoption of a definite position which shall never be modified (Art. 4) as also the restrictions on all fundamental rights are legitimate when they are condemned by the safeguard of Atatürk's doctrine (Art. 13).

"This will of protection directly violates the freedom of thought and the consequent liberties that are of expression and association. The Constitution itself consecrates this violation.

"b) Consequences on the freedoms of expression and association.

"The freedom of expression cannot be used with the object of imperiling the Republic, so, especially Atatürk's doctrine. Indeed, the freedom of science and the arts and, the freedom of expression through the channels of press or TV are set forth, but only to the extent that 'the fundamental characteristics of the Republic as they are defined in article 2 of the Constitution' are preserved (Art. 27, 28 and 133). The freedom of association as it is concretized as trade unions and political parties is also warranted provided that their statutes are in conformity

'with the principles of the Republic' and they do not use the freedom of expression with the object of jeopardizing the Republic (Art. 68, 69 and 51). In the event of the non observance of these prescriptions, these trade unions and political parties shall be dissolved. In addition, president and members of Parliament take the oath that they *'shall remain committed (...) to the principles and reforms of Atatürk'* at their induction into office (Art. 81 and 103). The legislative immunity of a member of Parliament shall be suspended in the case of the breach of this oath (Art. 83).

"Under these conditions what remains to us from the freedom of press, individual expressing and, collective expressing set forth by the Constitution?

"c) Used means

"The Turkish Constitution, on the one hand, ensures the freedom of conscience, religion and education, on the other hand it imposes preventively an education and a formation *'dispensed in the spirit of the principles and reforms of Atatürk' (...)*

"In fact, those who would, in spite of all, attempt to show the wrongness of the doctrine of Atatürk or the rightness of another one would be sanctioned by an exceptional court: the State Security Court. Indeed, the Constitution institutes 'State Security Courts charged with knowing (...) crimes and misdemeanours which aim at the Republic as they are defined in the Constitution (...)' (Art. 143).

"II. Art. 10 ECHR: The Freedom of Expression in Particular.

"a) The freedom of expressing by written ways, records, recording, video or thought is warranted but, some languages banned by the law cannot be used (Art. 23 and 28)

"A language constitutes the vehicle of thought and banning it is to interfere with the freedom of expression and in a wider sense the freedom of thought, for example in the case of those who are in Turkish territory and can only speak one of the banned languages (f.e. the Kurdish).

"On the other hand, to assure the individuals who speak the authorized languages and not to assure those who speak a banned language reverts to a discrimination in the exercise of freedom of expression, discrimination contrary to article 14 of the ECHR.

"b) In order to ban the publication of events of the day or to suspend, confiscate, seize periodicals and non-periodicals, a court judgement is sufficient (Art. 28 and 29).

"Art. 10 ECHR requires that such a decision be made only when it is necessary for the pursuit of the objectives enumerated in the art. 10 par. 2 ECHR.

"c) Art. 67: 'The soldiers and junior officers on the active list, students of military academies as well as prisoners and condemned men in prisons and gaols cannot vote.' (...)

"The downfall of the right to vote constitutes then a sanction without trial (violation of Art. 6 par. 1 ECHR) and a violation of the principle according to which 'Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.' (Art. 6 par. 2 ECHR).

"Moreover, this sanction is contrary to and violates Art. 10 ECHR (freedom of expression) without any possible justification regarding the outline of Art. 10 Paragraph 2 ECHR.

"d) Art. 76 states the conditions in order to be elected a deputy.

"Its 2nd paragraph provides that 'whosoever (...) was condemned for (...) participation in ideological actions (...) shall not be elected a deputy even if he were granted a free pardon.'

"For lack of precisions and the notion of 'ideological actions', this paragraph of Art. 76 opens the door for the worst abuses and is capable of grounding violations of freedoms of thought and expression set forth by articles 9 and 10 of the ECHR (...)

"III. Art. 11 ECHR: The Freedom of Association in Particular.

"1. Trade Unions (Art. 51)

"Conditions provided by the law are hardly to suspend and to ban trade union activities. The 2nd paragraph of art. 51 is not in conformity with art. 11 ECHR , to the extent that suspensions or interdictions can be set in cases other than thoses provided by art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR.

"Besides, the statutes of the trade unions shall not infringe especially 'the characteristics of the Republic as they are defined by the Constitution' (Art. 2 and 51). This obligation could be equally sanctionned by paragraph 2.

"The last paragraph is also contrary to the Convention since the doctrine of Atatürk cannot be integrated to one of the interest of art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR.

"2. Political Parties (Art. 68)

"Here, also restrictions arise, because parties' statutes have to be in conformity especially 'with the principles of the republic'. In default, the Constitution Court can pronounce their dissolution (art. 68 and 69). This restriction in so far as it can be set for the safeguard of the doctrine of Atatürk is not in conformity with art. 11 ECHR since it does not fall within those provided by art. 11 par. 2 ECHR.

"In addition, 'the judges and prosecutors, members of higher courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, State civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments except for those who are regarded as workers, students and members of the armed forces *cannot join political parties*'.

"This last paragraph of art. 68 directly violates the freedom of association set forth by art. 11 ECHR. Nothing can justify, in the sense of article 11 paragraph 2 ECHR, such a restriction on the freedom to join a political party with respect to this people.

"If, contrary to all logic, we came to the point of admitting that article 68 presents a justified interference, then we would have to admit that, in this case, there would be a violation of art. 14 ECHR which warranted the equality of treatment in the exercise of the fundamental rights. Indeed, there would be a discrimination between:

- the members of the higher courts and those of others;
- the teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions and those of others;
- State civil servants regarded as workers and others.

"In addition, the Constitution itself sets this sanction of obligation for the magistrate, Art. 129 for the State civil servants and, Art. 130 for the teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions.

"3. Professional Association in the Nature of Public Organizations.

"Art. 135 seems to aim at professional associations of individuals who cannot be regarded as workers or employers in the sense of the first paragraph of art. 51: those who carry on free or independent professions and State civil servants.

"Professional associations in the nature of public organizations are set up by law and, therefore, individuals shall not have the right to initiate in this respect. In this case, there is violation of art. 11 ECHR since, the persons aimed do not have any possibility of founding a trade union.

"On the other hand, contrary to the foregoing, the persons aimed by art. 135 other than the State civil servants shall be bound to join these organizations and, so the freedom of association shall not be guaranteed for them.

"4. Other Associations (Art. 33)

"Here also, restrictions arise in the extent that conditions provided by the law have to be fulfilled hardly to the dissolution.

"This article is not in conformity with art. 11 ECHR in the case that the dissolution can arise in circumstances other than those provided in art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR. On the other hand, this obligation set forth in the 5th paragraph is not favourable to the judicial security. It is even contrary to art. 6 ECHR in the case that the dissolution would be automatic without interference of a judge.

"Finally, this article 'does not prevent putting restrictions on the rights of armed forces personnel and security forces members to form associations, or to ban them from exercising this freedom'.

"It should be necessary, at least, to state precisely that these restrictions or interdictions can exist only for the safeguard of one of the objectives of art. 11 par. 2 ECHR. In the case that restrictions and interdictions can exist beyond the limits allowed by art. 11 par. 2 ECHR, there is a violation of this article. It is violated if there is no justification conformable to its 2nd paragraph. In fact, none of the objectives of art. 11 par. 2 can justify such restrictions or interdictions.

"Freedom of Expression of Associations

"1. Trade Unions

"Art. 51: '... functioning of trade unions and trade union confederations shall not infringe... the characteristics of the Republic as they are defined by the Constitution.' This means that, if the doctrine of Atatürk implies choices in economic and social matters, trade unions cannot criticize it. In this case, whereas the doctrine of Atatürk cannot be included in art. 11 par 2 ECHR, there is violation of the freedom of expression of associations.

"Art. 52: 'Trade unions... cannot foster political objectives, cannot devote themselves to political activities, cannot support or be supported by political parties, and cannot collaborate with vocational institutions and founda-

tions which are in the form of public establishments'. Here, it is a disposition that can be found also for political parties (art. 69), for professional associations in the nature of public organizations (art. 133), for other associations which is in question. In other words, the Turkish Constitution far from recognizing the freedom of expression of associations and the freedom of association as two general principles, recognizes four types of associations and each of them lives and functions in an insulated 'world' with respect to others. They would not become allies and express their identical opinion by common consent, when they have identical objectives. Here, it is a bursting violation of their freedom of association and expression.

"On the other hand, these dispositions are far from being clear. Particularly:

- for trade unions, it means that a trade union cannot have a political colour. Then, where is the trade union plurality? It means that a trade union cannot protest against a governmental measure unfavourable to the workers. Then, what do their freedom of expression and their role come to?

- for political parties, does it mean that a party cannot have an objective in the way of workers' interest? If so, then the Turkish Constitution does not agree to the existence of a socialist party such as in Western Europe.

"Art. 52 and provisional art. 14: '... financial inspection and incomes and expenditures of the trade unions shall be regulated by law... they shall deposit all their incomes in national banks'. It is quite easy to take the necessary measures to make them ineffective by controlling their incomes. The government can prevent the trade union from carrying on a social policy, thus its freedom of expression is impeded. Finally, knowing their incomes and expenditures the government will know their resistance capacity in the case of strike (if strike is possible!).

"Thus, in Turkey everything happens in view of a pure and simple role for trade unions without allowing them any opposition.

"The first paragraph of art. 54 recognizes a right to strike for workers, but this recognition is completely devoid of its contents.

"Paragraph 2: the right to strike cannot be exercised 'in any way which contradicts principles of probity which harms the society, or which destroys social wealth'.

"Such a restriction with so fuzzy terms allows even itself to prevent any strike, whatever it is. Nevertheless, the Constitution does not stop at that point. The last paragraph of art. 54 which forbids a good many strikes, as a matter of fact, finally prohibits all strikes.

"It is quite true that the ECHR does not guarantee the right to strike, but it guarantees the freedom of expression of associations. Well then, what is the use of being free to express an idea, if one cannot convince of its rightness? Precisely, striking is a tool disposed by the trade unions and workers to convince the State or employers. And, it is the only efficient tool which is in question. (European Social Charter).

"Since striking is repressed, the freedom of expression of associations is violated.

"2. Political Parties

"- According to the 4th paragraph of art. 68, political parties cannot preach to a doctrine other than Atatürk's. Art. 11 ECHR is violated.

"- The 2nd paragraph of art. 69 is violating Art. 11 ECHR.

"- The 6th paragraph of art. 68 is contrary to art. 11 ECHR to the extent that such restrictions are possible out of the bounds of art. 11 par. 2 ECHR.

"- The last paragraph of art. 83: 'political party groups shall not hold debates and pass resolutions in connection with legislative immunities,' when the suspension of the immunity of any member of Parliament is in question. Such an interference with the exercise of freedom of expression of associations is not allowed by art 11 par. 2 ECHR. There is again violation of this article of the Convention.

"- It is the same way with the 2nd paragraph of art. 84 and the 4th paragraph of art. 135.

"- SANCTIONS FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THESE OBLIGATIONS: art. 69 paragraphs 6 and 7.

"3. Professional Associations in the nature of public organizations.

"Identical commentaries to those concerning the trade unions and the political parties are to be expressed concerning similar dispositions applicable to these associations."

(*) Art. 11 ECHR warrants at one and same time the individual freedom to associate and the collective freedom of associations, that is to say the freedom of expression of associations.

1981-82 IN BRIEF

October 1981 :

1: It is reported that the General Secretariat of the NSC comprises 11 departments formed by more than 70 officers and civilian employees who are engaged according to the NSC's various needs.

2: Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe recommends the continuation of Turkish membership at least until next January.

6: Necmettin Erbakan is rearrested on grounds that new evidence relating to the trial has been found.

12: A delegation of former Turkish parliamentarians attends the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO which is due to last four days.

15: The names of 160 members of the Consultative Assembly are made public.

16: The NSC makes a surprise announcement dissolving all political parties.

17: Erbakan is released again. It is reported that Yilmaz Güney, famous Turkish actor and movie director who was sentenced to 19 years as victim of a plot, has fled Turkey while he was given a 6-day pass during the public religious holiday.

19: Evren says: "We have punished all political parties."

21: Ecevit is questioned by the military prosecutor in connection with a statement he made to foreign correspondants.

23: The Consultative Assembly is inaugurated by Evren. "Liberties cannot be unlimited," he said.

27: The vacant positions of President of the State Supervisory Council and of General Director of the Post, Telegram and Telephone Administration are filled by two Army generals.

31: A newly built primary school in the district of Osmaniye in Adana province is named after Kenan Evren.

November 1981 :

2: For the first time in Turkish Republic's history, Central Bank issues banknotes worth 5 thousand Turkish liras, due to the high rate of inflation.

3: A martial law court sentences Ecevit to four months in prison for disrespecting Martial Law bans.

4: The NSC adopts a new law on Higher Education. Administrative and academic autonomy of universities is lifted, and higher education is placed under the competence of a 15-man Higher Education Council (YOK) whose members are all to be named by General Evren.

5: The European Parliament approved by 218 votes to 53, with 9 abstentions, a roll call vote Amendment which seeks a temporary freeze on the 4th EEC-Turkey financial protocol.

14: In Brussels, the European Commission has decided to delay the application of the 4th Financial protocol between Turkey and the EEC until the situation is clarified by the Turkish authorities.

16: Extraordinary security measures are taken during Evren's visit to the Agronomy Faculty of Ankara. "I have been a bit ashamed of this. But, what can you expect? The situation all around the world and in Turkey is obvious... These measures have been taken for safeguarding the State," he says.

21: Three hundred of the 1,623 mayors of Turkey are, at present, army officers; the others are civilians without a political label.

22: Evren's first visit to a foreign country, Pakistan.

29: *The Daily Telegraph* announces that a presidential system will be set up in Turkey and that the first President of the Republic will be Evren.

December 1981 :

1: Due to the modification of legislation on juridical apparatus, many judges have been obliged to resign from their posts. There is pessimism among judges because of the constitution of the Supreme Judges and Prosecutors Council which is dependent on the "Chief of the State".

2: 450 university professors issue a declaration criticizing the new legislation on universities.

3: Ecevit begins to serve his four-months prison sentence in Ankara.

4: It is reported that a Turco-US Defense Council will be formed.

5: The European Commission strongly regrets the imprisonment of Ecevit.

7: Ulusu announces that his government will break off all relations with European countries if they withdraw their support from Turkey.

8: The foreign ministers of the Ten announce that the EEC will suspend its economic aid to Ankara unless democracy is restored and former political leaders such as Ecevit are released.

24: DISK Trial starts in Istanbul. The defendants are being tried according to the exceptional rules of war periods.

25: The High Arbitration Council decides in favor of a gross 25 percent hike in wages in 1982 while the annual inflation rate is still 50 percent.

26: A military tribunal closes the Teachers' Union of Turkey (TOB-DER). 50 members of the association face prison sentences ranging from one to nine years.

27: The municipality of Istanbul decides to change the name of Hürriyet Meydani (Liberty Place) and

rename it Beyazit Meydani. The place was named Liberty Place after university students' resistance to the Menderes' repressive regime in 1960.

29: Speaking at Kirikkale during the unveiling ceremony for the Atatürk statue, Evren says some people - those who want Atatürk to be forgotten - are criticizing the fact that so many Atatürk statues are being erected instead of the money being used for better purposes. "We have to keep developing on one side and keep Atatürk's memory alive on the other side," he said.

30: Evren announces that general elections in Turkey will be held in the fall of 1983 or the spring of 1984.

January 1982 :

1: With the exception of six, all leading officials of the MHP have been released.

14: The President of the European Commission Gaston Thorn declares the anxiety of the Commission and the Ministerial Council of the EEC regarding the fate of detained trade union leaders in Turkey.

17: With the new laws enacted since the military takeover, General Evren has been given the authority to appoint members to many very important councils and departments, mainly the new Supreme Council of Judges and Magistrates, the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic and his assistant, the State Supervisory Council, the Higher Education Council. He has been recently authorised to nominate the members of the Council of State, local administrative courts and tax courts.

18: During the debates on the 1982 budget, the Consultative Assembly unanimously adopts a resolution expressing its gratitude and loyalty to the Chief of State, General Evren.

22: The European Parliament adopts a resolution condemning the military regime of Ankara and decides not to renew the mandate of the Turkish members of the Turkey-EEC Association's Joint Parliamentary Committee.

28: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopts a new resolution strongly condemning human rights violations in Turkey and recommending implementation of a council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges.

February 1982 :

1: Ecevit is released.

6: The Turkish General Staff issues a communiqué banning invitations or visits of foreign delegations to Turkey without permission from the martial law authorities. It is reported that Council of Europe missions will no longer be accepted to Turkey.

8: The legal advisors of the foreign ministries of five European countries, Norway, Denmark, France, Holland and Sweden, study different ways of bringing complaints against the Turkish regime before the European Commission on Human Rights.

19: To put Atatürkism into practice, the NSC has decided to constitute ATA-BIRLIK (Ata-Union). Chaired by General Evren, this new union will open branches everywhere in Turkey.

20: Members of the Turkish Peace Association are arrested.

24: According to data from the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues in Paris, 170,958 people have been detained in Turkey between September 12, 1980 and January 24, 1982. Among the detainees are also 102 members of Parliament, 79 writers and journalists, 92 attorneys and judges, 35 district governors, 1,485 mayors or municipal officials, 6,191 teachers and 6,758 State employees. Actually 46,721 people are tried before military tribunals. 3,359 death sentences have been requested, 139 prononced and 10 political activists already executed. 70 people have been killed during torture in prisons.

25: While 44 members of the Peace Association are being arrested for advocating good relations with the socialist countries, General Evren starts an official visit to Bulgaria and is decorated by Jivkov with the Order of the "Star of Great Balkans".

March 1982 :

10: Ecevit's request for a passport is denied. He is interrogated by a military prosecutor.

11: The European Commission gives a note to the Turkish representative in Brussels and protests against the arrest of the Peace Association members. The note is turned down by the Turkish Government.

11: The European Parliament discusses the recent violations of human rights in Turkey.

13: The Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe asks the Ministerial Committee of the Council to act immediately for the release of the people arrested in Turkey. The Turkish Government refuses the Council of Europe's demand for an investigation in the country.

16: Turkish Government's spokesman says that only 15 people have died in prisons.

26: A political activist is executed.

27: 132 left-wing MPs are interrogated by military prosecutors for having collaborated with DISK.

April 1982 :

1: The Municipality of Denizli decides to change the names of streets in conformity with the ideological orientation imposed by the military regime. Names such as Peace, Labour, Liberty, Revolution will be replaced by the names of some historical figures of the Ottoman Empire period.

5: General Evren starts his visit to Romania.

6: A retired general is appointed as the head of the Education and Training Department of the National Education Ministry. He decides to insert sayings of Atatürk in school textbooks of all levels.

9: An invitation from Turkey to attend the 20th anniversary ceremonies of the Constitutional Court has been accepted by only one European country: Switzerland.

10: Ecevit is taken into custody for an article he wrote in a Norwegian paper.

11: The Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions (TISK) expresses its view that the principle of "social state" be excluded from the new constitution.

15: The trials of the defunct Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) starts in Instabul.

16: The Council of Ministers decrees that the members of the Consultative Assembly will be authorized to carry fire-arms as long as they keep this post.

17: Turkey turns down Danish Premier Joergensen's request to visit Ecevit.

22: A political activist is executed.

23: The ETUC adopted a resolution on Turkey asking for immediate suspension of Turkish membership to the Council of Europe.

26: A military judge in Ankara issues second arrest order for Ecevit for a letter he allegedly wrote to a Dutch journalist.

May 1982:

1: A political activist is executed.

2: Turkish Lira is devalued 47.8 percent against the dollar.

8: Many Turkish businessmen and industrialists declare that the present minimum wage is far from meeting the demands of the working population. The fall of purchasing power causes slowing down of industrial production.

13: US Secretary of State Haig, during his visit to Turkey, declares: "Turkey is a valued, steadfast friend of the United States an irreplaceable member of NATO."

20: Movie director Yilmaz Güney, who is in exile, wins Cannes Golden Palm Awards for his film "Yol". Turkish Government protests to France for failing to extradite Güney.

June 1982 :

1: An undisclosed amount of Army officers and cadets have been expelled from the Armed Forces for their links with illegal organizations. Six are in custody.

3: Ecevit is released.

4: The ambassadors of five European countries to Turkey are given a warning with regard to their countries' efforts to file a complaint to the European Commission on Human Rights about the violation of human rights in Turkey.

5: During a visit to a high school in Istanbul, Evren says: "If the enemy has a weapon which the other side does not, how can a war be won? Why should we not own a nuclear bomb like other countries?"

6: Istanbul Martial Law Command announces that 133 members of the defunct CHP are not allowed to travel abroad.

16: About 2,000 judges and prosecutors have resigned, declaring that juridical autonomy does not exist anymore.

21: General Evren's answer to some complaints from peasants in a village of the Bala district: "If God gives us, then we can meet your wishes..."

22: According to a new law on State Personnel, newly nominated public servants start work by taking an oath of allegiance to Atatürkism, putting their hands on a table covered with a Turkish flag and looking at a bust of Atatürk.

24: The Trial of the Turkish Peace Committee starts in Istanbul.

25: On claims that his trips in the country were like election campaign trips, General Evren says: "We have no need to be elected. We shall serve the country as long as we are alive and well, but we do not need to beg for votes."

27: Prime Minister Ulusu announces that since the military takeover, 411 draft laws have been submitted to the legislative by the government, and 282 of them have been approved by the NSC. Besides, 96 laws have been enacted on the proposal of NSC members, thus, 378 laws have gone into force.

July 1982 :

1: Five European countries announce their referring of Turkey to the European Commission on Human Rights.

5: A new case against DISK leaders.

6: The Ankara municipality decides to change the names of all streets which were named for victims of the Grey Wolves terror.

7: Ecevit is sentenced again to 2 months and 27 days in prison.

8: The European Parliament adopts the Von Hassel report in favour of the military regime. 104 MP voted for, 100 against and 9 abstentions.

14: Turgut Ozal resigns from the position of Vice-Premier.

16: The Speaker of the Consultative Assembly says: "For future President of the Republic, General Evren is the only candidate."

17: Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Consultative Assembly presents the Constitution draft to the Assembly.

18: The Turkish Central Bank decides to make a change on the coin of 5 Turkish Lira. The crescent and the star on the coin will look towards the right whilst it has been looking to the left until now.

25: Evren names new Presidents for 27 Turkish universities.

August 1982 :

9: It is reported that there are 77,295 prisoners or detainees in civilian detention houses or prisons.

12: A political activist is executed.

15: The Justice Ministry reports that Turkey asked several foreign countries for the extradition of 118 Turkish nationals.

20: Ecevit starts serving his 34-day prison sentence for giving a statement to *Der Spiegel*.

25: New newspapers or magazines can be published only after obtaining a permission from Martial Law authorities.

September 1982 :

6: A 39-man NATO delegation visits Turkey.

13: Request of the death sentence for ten more DISK defendants.

14: Mayor of Istanbul is replaced by another army general.

23: The General Council of the Consultative Assembly adopts the Constitution draft with a 135-1 vote. Twenty-four members abstain or do not vote.

October 1982 :

1: Evren starts his campaign for the adoption of the new Constitution by referendum.

7: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopts a resolution stating that the new Constitution does not correspond to the requisites of a real democracy and calling upon the Turkish authorities to revise it.

11: The trial against the TSIP officials opens.

12: The General Staff Martial Law Coordination Department announces that military tribunals have given verdicts on 20,526 court cases out of a total of 37,200 in the period between September 12, 1980, and August 25, 1982.

15: Ecevit is released.

16: Chief of the CIA William Casey made a 36-hour visit to Turkey just before the referendum on the Constitution.

19: The NSC announced the final text of the draft Constitution to be submitted to referendum. It also decrees a total ban on criticism against the speeches of Evren on the Constitution.

21: The National Education Ministry announces that 4,968 teachers have been dismissed since the military takeover.

24: Evren says: "I vouch for this Constitution".

28: Prize winner Güney is stripped of Turkish citizenship.

1982-83

THE MILITARY'S PASSAGE TO A "CIVILIAN" REGIME

Banning all criticism before a mockery of a referendum, held on November 7, 1982, the military brought about the adoption of the new constitution by a majority vote. At the same time, General Evren was automatically named the "President of the Republic" for the next seven years. While the Junta was carrying on its legislative functions by adopting a series of anti-democratic laws on political parties, trade unions, associations and the press, only those who had the military's benediction were allowed to found new political parties.

A REFERENDUM WITHOUT CHOICES!

"The result is virtually a foregone conclusion. With voters subject to intimidation and all criticism banned, the generals are likely to obtain an endorsement of their authoritarian constitution, and, simultaneously and questionably, a seven-year term for their leader, General Kenan Evren..."

This comment appeared in The Guardian of October 29th, 1982, sharing the analysis which took place in the *Info-Türk* Bulletin and being confirmed by the results of the November 7th referendum: 91.27 percent of 20.7 million voters cast their votes. The approval rate was announced as 91.37 percent. That is to say, out of 20.7 million Turkish citizens above 21 years old, 17.2 million voted for the "constitution", 1.6 million against and 1.9 million refused to cast their votes in spite of the fact that voting was compulsory.

Taking into consideration that the clandestine campaign against the "constitution" was carried out in two directions, "No to the Constitution" or "Boycott the Voting", 3.5 million out of 20.7 million, that is to say 83 percent, have manifested their disapproval of the "constitution" and thus the presidency of General Evren.

After putting on his tail-coat and top-hat as the "President of the Republic", General Evren thanked the nation, on November 12, 1982, for "demonstrating magnificient national unity and a high-level of political awareness and maturity in the referendum", and added: "You have renewed and raised the prestige and the respectability of the Turkish State in the eyes of the whole world."

The truth of the matter, as reflected by the world press, is diametrically opposed to General Evren's claim.

The expression of political awareness and maturity depends on a free process of voting. Some formal demonstrations such as secret balloting and open counting of votes are not enough to assure a democratic process. For democratic voting, the elector should have at least two choices.

However, at the November 7th referendum, the military junta did not permit the opposition to present an alternative constitution plan or another candidate for president of the Republic. In his electoral campaign, General Evren forced the people to choose between an authoritarian regime and the chaos that reigned prior to the September 12th, 1980, coup d'Etat.

Benefiting from the ban on propaganda against the constitution, General Evren, in his one-man show, presented himself and the actual military rulers as the heros who halted political violence and as the only guarantee for preventing the repetition of it in the future.

In world opinion, this argument of General Evren has been interpreted as one of the most important factors in assuring a 91.27 percent favorable vote for the constitution. It is true, but...

One should never forget that it was the military itself which planned and organized political violence throughout Turkey with the purpose of creating the necessary pretext for a military coup. It was the Counter-Guerilla Organization situated at the headquarters of the Turkish General Staff which encouraged and protected the "Grey Wolves" of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party. Although this party and its side-organizations were the main authors of political terror in Turkey, thanks to this protection, the number of the arrested "Grey Wolves" did not surpass a thousand, while about 50 thousand progressive and democrat people were being subjected to inhuman repression. The trial of Colonel Türkes, chief of the neo-fascist party, and his fellows was but a manipulation aimed at persuading world opinion of the junta's "neutrality".

Before the referendum, a British newspaper reported under the headline of *"The Generals turn right"*:

"The military government in Turkey celebrated its second anniversary on September 12. The programmes on the state television clearly reflected the newfound ideology and the alliances of the generals. For the first time since the coup, the Left was presented as bearing the full responsibility for the near-civil war conditions which preceded the take-over. The Right were portrayed as nationalists who defended themselves under the attack from the Communist left. This view corresponds to a drastic shift in the politics of the generals. (...) This change of tone was presaged by other developments pointing in the same direction. At the end of July new chancellors were appointed to the universities, by the head of the state. The



appointments were surprising from a Government whose declared aim was to establish social peace; for five of them were known to be active members of the fascist movement. Most of the rest had been committed to the right wing of the now defunct Justice Party, which cooperated with the fascists.

"Promotions and appointments within the Armed Forces took place in August. Those who were retired were the 'moderates' who had advocated a quick re-instatement of civilian rule, a more liberal constitution, and a clear stand against the fascists. It thus emerged that the new strong man was the commander of the Army, General Ersin. Simultaneously, martial law commanders known for their sympathy for the fascists retained their posts.

"The prime minister of the junta publicly lunches the 'organisation man' of the former Nationalist Action Party, the second-in-command, although Alparslan Türkes, the 'leader' is still in prison. Official rhetoric becomes more nationalistic, militaristic and xenophobic. Repression grows, not only at the level of left-wing intellectuals and politicians but also aimed at the remnants of working class organizations at the local level". (*The Guardian,* October 29th, 1982).

This process also relieved Türkes, although he is still in prison. In a petition to the military court on October 8, Türkes, indicating similarities between his pre-coup declarations and General Evren's speeches, said: "All demands formulated in the electoral manifesto of the National Action Party have been put into practice today." And he added that his party supports all steps taken in the process of creating a "Powerful State".

The "Constitution" and General Evren's presidency represent the "powerful State" Colonel Türkes dreamed of.

When Türkes' party had not been able to obtain more than 6.4 pc at pre-coup elections, how could a 83 pc approval for the same party's ideas at the referendum be possible?

It can be explained first by the unprecedented repression applied during the one-sided propaganda campaign:

- Counter propaganda was officially banned. Those who dared to take no heed of this ban found themselves in prison. As a deterring example, on october 27, 50 activists of three left and one right organizations distributing tracts against the "constitution" were arrested in Istanbul, and this event was propagated through newspapers, radios and televisions. On

the day of referendum, even a member of the Prime Minister's guard-corps was detained for having declared that he voted against. Later on, he was dismissed from his post. In Diyarbakir, another guard was arrested for not having apprehended those who tore up posters in favour of the "constitution". In Gaziantep, an employee at the polling-center was arrested for having suggested to an elector to vote against.

- While preceding elections were held under the surveillance of representatives of the political parties, this time only the state employees assigned by the Junta controlled the voting and the counting of votes.

- In many booths, there were "white" bulletins. Above the top of some booths, partisans of the junta placed inclined mirrors allowing them to see the color of the bulletin used by the elector.

- The blue bulletin had a clearly darker outline in the envelope; in addition these papers were thicker and could be perceived by the officials.

- It was announced earlier that the bulletins bearing signs would not be canceled. This measure was an artful manoeuvre to force the people to make their choice known.

Despite these repressive measures, if 9 percent of the voters refused to go to the polling-booths and 8 percent voted against, it is the result of courage which deserves admiration.

This defiance was registered in higher percentages in the Kurdistan of Turkey where the repression has been felt more strongly. In Diyarbakir, 14 percent of the voters refused to vote, 17 percent voted against, 69 percent said "yes". The percentages are, respectively, 13-19-68 in Bingöl, 21-14-65 in Hakkari, 22-14-64 in Tunceli and 12-13-75 in Elazig.

Beyond all these factors, as noted above, the main reason for such a high vote for the "constitution" is the absence of a reliable alternative to the Junta's imposition. Unfortunately, the democratic forces of Turkey were not able, within a 2-year period of repression, to constitute a democratic union with a concrete programme which could be an alternative to the military's imposition.

While the marxist left was leading, at the expense of a great deal of sacrifices, a resolute campaign against the military junta, the Republican People's Party of social-democrat Ecevit preferred to stay inactive and to follow a "wait and see" policy. In the international arena, Ecevit, instead of supporting acts to isolate the Junta, appeared as one of the champions of the policy of keeping ties between Turkey and the Council of Europe. He repeated this stand to Dutch deputy Van de Bergh who was in Turkey to observe the referendum on behalf of the Council of Europe.

As for the Justice Party, the big business who had always supported it during the pre-coup period declared their full satisfaction with the new "constitution" and prevented party leaders from leading counterpropaganda.

Türkes' neo-fascist party was naturally in favor of the new "constitution" for the reasons already explained above.

Besides the marxist left, the only political force which led a clandestine-campaign against the Junta's imposition was the fundamentalist National Salvation Party of Erbakan.

However, since the two major mass parties of Turkey could not make a resolute stand against the Junta the majority of the population was obliged to vote for the only choice. The allusion made by General Evren during his campaign to the fact that if the "constitution" is refused the military junta will not leave power, also played a decisive role in the result of the referendum. The electors were obliged to vote for the "constitution" in the hope that only such a vote could assure the replacing of the actual military regime by a civilian one, even if the latter will be authoritarian.

In short, electors voted for the lesser of two evils...

EUROPEAN REACTION AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Three days after the referendum on the constitution, the foreign ministers of the 21 adopted a waiting attitude at their meeting in Strasbourg, avoiding any decisive position on the Turkish question. "Watsoever will be the institutions in Turkey, it does not fall on us to judge the constitutional system adopted by that country," said André Chandernagor, French minister charged with European Affaires.

Besides, following the accord between German Premier Helmut Kohl and US Presi-

dent Reagan to support the Turkish regime, the German foreign Minister Genscher, during his visit to Turkey on November 19, announced that the German Parliament would release 400 million DM in economic aid to Turkey within the framework of the OECD. In return, the Turkish authorities accepted the repatriation of 100 thousand Turkish immigrant workers living in FRG.

However, European parliamentarians reaction against the new Constitution was not as comprehensive as that of governmental circles.

At the end of a two-day debate, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, adopted on January 28 1983, with the vote of a great majority, a resolution which "takes seriously into consideration" the eventuality of Turkey's exclusion from the ministerial committee of the organization.

The resolution, adopted by 97 votes to 15 and 5 abstentions, asks the Turkish Government to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is also again represented in the parliamentary organ of the Council of Europe.

The Rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, Mr. Ludwig Steiner (Australian Christian-democrat) indicated that "this resolution constitutes for the time-being the most severe warning addressed by the Council of Europe to the Turkish authorities" and that "the numerous pressures, exercised recently by the Government of Ankara to prevent the adoption of this resolution, failed before the firm position of the Council".

During the days preceding the vote, "friends" of the Turkish Junta had taken out full-page advertisements in European newspapers on the theme: "Turkey: A break with Europe might be irretrievable!".

Despite this campaign, the European deputies chose the right way and; adopting the following Resolution, unmasked once more the ugly face of "constitutionalised dictatorship".

The Council of Europe's resolution reads:

"The Assembly,

"Regretting that no free campaign and that no free discussion of the final version of the Constitution were allowed in the period between its approval by the National Security Council and the referendum itself, and that the issue was confused by the fact that the same vote confirmed General Evren as Head of State for seven years;

"Considering that there are a number of dangers and weaknesses inherent in the new Constitution which include the far-reaching restrictions of its provisions on human rights, the extensive powers of the President of the Republic and the apparent shortcomings in the independence of the judiciary;

"Considering that Turkey has not yet returned to a situation fully compatible with the Statute of the Council of Europe and the European Convention on Human Rights and that this will not be the case until a freely elected parliamentary democracy can be seen to be operating satisfactorily and full respect for human rights is guaranteed;

"Stresses that Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe is only conceivable if all political and other fundamental rights and freedoms, including rights of minorities in accordance with Turkey's international obligations, are respected, and the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights are fully applied;

"Decides to give serious consideration to making a recommendation to the Committee of Ministers aiming at application of Article 8 of the Statute of the Council of Europe;

"Urgently appeals, in the meantime, to the Government of Turkey:

"i. to implement the new Constitution in a democractic manner;

"ii. to allow for a free discussion, at all stages, of further legislation to implement the Constitution in a democratic way, in particular the electoral law and the law on political parties;

"iii. to do everything to ensure for political parties all the freedom necessary to organise and to prepare themselves for parliamentary elections;

"iv. to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is also again represented in the parliamentary organ of the Council of Europe;

"v. to abolish martial law and end the derogation it made under Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"vi. to recognise in accordance with frequent appeals the Assembly made to member states in the past, the optional clauses of the European Convention on Human Rights, ie

the right of individual application (Art. 25) and the compulsory jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (Art. 46);

"Calls on the governments of the member states to use every opportunity to urge on the Turkish Government, at all levels, the necessity of an effective improvement in respect of human rights and of a prompt return to a real democracy".

During the debates, the European parliamentarians expressed the following views on the situation in Turkey:

RICHARD MULLER (Switzerland): "The regime that had been established in Turkey on September 12, 1980, did not fulfil the conditions necessary for remaining a member. The many concerns expressed by the Assembly about violations of human rights in Turkey had been ignored; hundreds had been imprisoned and killed, and the press had been muzzled... The constitution itself could not be reconciled with the European Convention of Human Rights. The autumn elections would not be truly democratic because so many would be prevented from voting. The constitution did nothing except reinforce an authoritarian government."

MR. ALEMYR (Sweden): "The shortcomings of the constitution, particularly as regards the safeguarding of human rights, are well known. The impossibility of former members of parliament and other politicians engaging in political life in the Turkey of tomorrow is, to say the least, difficult to understand. Neither the form of government practiced today nor the one portrayed in the Constitution meets the requirements of the Statute of the Council of Europe or of the European Convention on Human Rights. What is at stake is not Turkey or its relations with the Council of Europe but the credibility of the Council itself".

MR. BUDTZ (Denmark): "Democracy has not yet been established in Turkey and the human rights outlined by the Council of Europe are violated every day - I dare to say every hour in Turkey. The terrible truth is that the generals are even proud of it. Therefore we are forced to act. We must, for obvious reasons, give serious consideration to making a recommendation to the Committee of Ministers aiming at the application of Article 8 of the Statute of the Council of Europe. We should put all necessary pressure on the so-called Turkish Government to return to true democracy, and at the same time we should tell them that if they do not do so, they must of course leave this organisation."

"MR. HESELE (Austria): "There were serious flaws in the way in which the referendum had been conducted and the Constitution imposed limitations on human rights."

"LADY FLEMING (Greece): "Since the Turkish coup d'Etat of 1980, there have been numerous atrocious abuses of human rights. The new draft Constitution conferred mainly illusory freedoms on the Turkish people. There has been no free campaign before the referendum to endorse the Constitution, and its most significant effect has been to confirm the existing President in power for seven years. There are still political executions and imprisonment, strict limits on free speech, and brutal reprisal against acts of dissidence and rebellion. The duty of democrats is to defend fellow democrats in Turkey. It is in the interests of Greece to see an enlightened and a progressive Turkey; and the Council of Europe will lose its credibility if it is misled by the 92 p.c. support in a bogus referendum into believing that such a Turkey is in prospect. I call on the Council of Europe to live up to its own principles, express its solidarity with Turkey's suppressed democratic politicians and expel Turkey immediately from its ranks."

Mr. van den BERGH (Netherlands): "I should be the happiest of Assembly members if Turkey would return to democracy. Unfortunately, although this Assembly has shown patience in relation to the problems in Turkey, the situation there remains very bad. The Dutch Labour Party, after considering a number of dilemmas, came to the conclusion that the Council of Europe has no alternative but to start the procedure for the suspension of Turkey from the Council of Europe. On the two occasions when I was in Turkey I began to admire that country. The sense of democracy is deeply rooted in the population. It would be tragic if we had to exclude Turkey from the Council of Europe. However, I think that in the end we should stick to the unshakeable principles of this body."

Mr. GUTERRES (Portugal): "The position of Portuguese socialists on Turkey had already been stated; only a country where all human rights are respected should belong to the Council of Europe. I did not believe that the

GENERAL EVREN'S PASSAGE TO CIVIL REGIME

As the "witch-hunt" was hitting hundreds of openminded university members, the puppet "Higher Education Council" (YOK), acting on behalf of all Turkish universities, presented General Evren with the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" and honorary university professorship, on January 14, 1983, for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order to the country and his respect for laws while doing it". The ceremony was attended by all university rectors and faculty deans who had been nominated a few months ago by General Evren himself.

On the other hand, after Evren's installation in the Presidential Palace, by the order of the military junta, works were started for the construction of a "State Quarter" surrounding the Presidential Palace on the heights of the capital city, Ankara. The Turkish press reported that only the four members of the actual military junta, who would automatically become members of the Presidential Council after the legislative elections, and high bureaucrats would have the privilege of residing there.

referendum, constitution or the elections were satisfactory, and hence I had tabled certain amendments on behalf of Portuguese socialists, whose patience was now exhausted."

Mr. EASTHAM (United Kingdom): "We are given to understand that the proposed new Constitution was overwhelmingly accepted by the Turkish people. I seriously question that. Frankly, I think that the whole thing is quite bogus. I am always very suspicious when people from outside a country who are invited to be witness of certain things come back and report that everything is better and that we can be optimistic. That kind of report is rather irritating. Turkish politicians should be free to come and address people like us and tell us at first hand about the current situation. Trade unionists are also entitled to voice. We have on occasions been critical about activities in Poland and delegates have quite rightly expressed their concern for the freedom and the rights of the Polish people. The situation is no different in Turkey. The whole situation of the current regime is a complete sham. To me it stands condemned.";

Mr. SENES (France): "Although terrorism has been eradicated, this is because the dictatorship has used terrorist type activities against trade unionists and others, and dissenters of the Left are being denied their basic rights. The Turkish referendum solved nothing. Had the result been less of a landslide, observers would not have queried the circumstances before the vote was taken. The United States welcomed the result because she was more concerned with law and order than with democracy, especially where defence was involved."

Mr. VOYATZIS (Greece): "The Council now needed to ask itself whether its own moral standing could be retained if it continued to have within its membership a country which was violating democratic principles so blatantly. There can be no compromise on such basic principles and Turkey's breach of those principles amply documented and scarcely denied by Turkish authorities made her continuing membership difficult to justify. Although the Turkish Constitution laid the way open for legislative elections, the continuation of rule by decree is, in effect, still possible. A cautious approach is wise but I believe that Turkey should be expelled from the Council of Europe for the period before she could send legislative representatives to the Council."

Mr. DEJARDIN (Belgium) said that nobody denied that Turkey was failing to conform to the European Declaration of Human Rights. He enumerated the many articles of the new Turkish Constitution which did not conform to the requirements of the European Declaration of Human Rights. He pointed out that the requirements of conformity to the doctrines of Kemal Atatürk was as antidemocratic as the demand for conformity to the doctrines of Marxism would be. He also pointed out that the new Constitution failed to recognise the rights of minorities, particularly the Kurds (See: "Constitutional Violation of Human Rights" in the preceding chapters).

Mr. VECCHIETTI (Italy): "I assure the members of the Assembly that if you had witnessed Italian fascist elections, you would have found them regular in form and if the results were a landslide, that was because of the pres-

tige of Mussolini. It is not right to fight terrorism by means of state terrorism. Italy showed that terrorism could be overcome by democratic means."

Mr. BLAAUW (Netherlands): "There is no guarantee of democracy in the new constitution although its adoption by the electorate was technically correct. Many people believed that the military takeover might help Turkey back on to the road to democracy but we must now recognise that that has not been the result. If Turkey wished to remain a full and honourable member of the Council of Europe, it must abide by the rules."

Mr. BARTHE (France) said that the need for another debate on Turkey showed in itself that democratic conditions did not yet prevail there and raised fundamental questions about Turkey's continuing membership in the Council of Europe. He believed that the conditions of repression in which the referendum had been held made it invalid as an endorsement of the constitution.

Mr. ANASTASSAKOS (Greece) said that nothing had changed in Turkey. The only positive thing to emerge from the invalid referendum was its hint of popular opposition to the junta. Since the Council of Europe's statute did not allow it to embrace a country with such a constitution, he urged the expulsion of Turkey, saying that what the Turkish people most wanted from the Council was a signal of condemnation for the Turkish Government's conduct.

Mr. FERNANDO MARQUES (Portugal) said that the Portuguese delegation would defend the rights of the Turkish people. They could not accept as democratic either the Turkish Constitution, or the referendum or the techniques of terror employed by the Turkish government - the mass arrests, the summary executions and the unexplained disappearances of dissidents. For historical reasons the people of Portugal could not passively allow a military dictatorship to continue and the delegation would therefore support amendment No. 9.

Mr. KAZAZIS (Greece): "The constitution of the Turkish military proved it to be more autocratic than that of the Greek colonels now in gaol... For those of us who suffered under milder regimes than that in Turkey, there is a limit to our courage and to the disappointment we can bear."

Mr. EDWARDS (United Kingdom): "As the chairman of an international trade union I addressed many trade union meetings in Turkey, helping to build up trade unions. Many of my trade union colleagues are in prison in Turkey and are subject to some of the most undignified torture imaginable. Their heads are shaved and they are compelled to sing patriotic songs under pressure of torture."

Mr. HARDY (United Kingdom): "If democracy is terminated within a member state, no matter what Conservative members may argue, that must mean the cessation of the country's membership. A state cannot continue in membership unless and until there is a guarantee of democracy."

Mr. BEIX (France): "Many essential freedoms were restricted in Turkey, human rights abuses are increasing and the referendum has been a misleading record of public opinion. The very modest request being made, that Turkey should forego her voting rights in the Committee of Ministers, is a sensible one."

European Parliament, too, against the constitution

Following the European Council, a severe debate on Turkey took place in the session of the European Parliament on March 8, 1983.

Gérard Israel (Fr, Pr Dem) opened the debate on the political situation in Turkey by referring to the 15 people who had been tortured and the imprisonment of trade unionists. He called for an immediate ban on the death penalty and questioned whether the new constitution would provide adequate safeguards on human rights.

Georges Frischmann (French, Com) pointed to deficiencies in the constitution as people under 21 will be banned from joining a political party, the right to strike is severely curtailed and the freedom of trade unionists and professors is limited. He trusted that the fourth financial protocol would remain suspended.

Ernest Glinne (Bel, Soc) said it was not enough for new elections to take place on time; political prisoners should be released, the sacking of teachers and professors must stop and intimidation brought to an end. He was concerned about the new agreement between Turkey and West Germany.

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Replying for the Council, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the Council had decided to review the situation in Turkey in May or June. He thought some progress had been made towards restoring democracy but only time will tell whether a sham or real parliament is to be elected and this will affect the Council's attitude towards the financial protocol.

As to the question of Turkey's membership in the Community, this would not be decided on until an application had been received and so far one had not. At present contact between Turkey and the Community is at Ambassador and not Ministerial level.

He did not accept the view that errors by previous governments justified any violation of human rights.

Opinion in the debate was divided between speakers such as Kai Uwe von Hassel (Ger, PP) and James Spicer (Wessex, Dem) who considered that the generals had adhered to the timetable for a return to democracy and did not want to see a return to the pre-1980 violence, and Vassilios Ephremidis (Gr, Com), Jaak Vandemeulebroucke (Bel, Cord), Spyridon Plaskovitis (Gr, Soc) and others who were worried about present restrictions of democratic rights.

Mr. Ephremidis thought all EC aid should be cut off pointing out that 18 death sentences had been carried out with a further 87 people awaiting execution.

Luc Beyer de Ryke (Bel, Lib), on the other hand, agreed that state terrorism existed but was not in favour of a complete break since Turkey formed a bridge between East and West.

Mr. Vandemeulebroucke was concerned about the 6 million Kurds who are denied basic democratic rights.

Marco Panella (It, Cord) and Ioannis Pesmazoglu (Gr, Ind) compared the present situation with that of Greece under the Colonels and thought all aid should be suspended.

Winnie Ewing (Highlands and Islands, Pr Dem) spoke in support of the President of the Turkish Peace Association who faced the threat of further detention even though he was just released from prison.

Leonidas Kyrkos (Gr, Com) did not think that Mr. Genscher was looking after the Community's interests. "He should be defending democracy in Turkey," he said.

Both Ernest Glinne, in the name of the socialist group, and Von Hassel, in the name of the German Social-Christians, had brought motions on Turkey before the meeting.

In the socialist group's motion it was stated that "only an inclusive appreciation of the democratic validity of the elections in the course of the fall of 1983 and parallel improvements made in the direction of the re-establishment of the freedom of the press and trade union activites and also of the total respect to the human rights would allow us to judge whether Turkey became a democratic country again or not".

Von Hassel's motion was, however, in favour of the Turkish regime and suggested the immediate normalization of European-Turkish relations.

Intense discussions in the lobbies resulted in the withdrawal of Von Hassel's bill by the Turkish Lobby so that the socialists did not propose their motion. The result: there would be no decision of the European Parliament on Turkey until the summer sessions which would take place after the meeting of the Council of Ministers in May or June".

Debates at the United Nations

The Human Rights Committee of the UN decided to continue the investigation of the Turkish regime at its meeting in Geneva on March 11, 1983.

The reports and communications of divers human rights organizations and trade unions on the violation of human rights in Turkey were made public in the course of the meeting.

The French delegate stated that the public could get information about 542 torture cases then, of which only 119 were transmitted to the judiciary and only 16 were subject to proceedings.

The Pakistani delegate moved a proposal for the removal of the investigation arguing that "there was no violation of human rights in Turkey and order was restored".

The motion by Pakistan was rejected by 14 votes against 10, 16 countries abstained.

Two socialist countries, Cuba and Nicaragua voted against while the People's Republic of China voted in favour of the motion. As for the USSR and Bulgaria, they abstained.

The Executive Committee of the International Labour organization also examined the report from the Freedom of Association

Committee on Turkey at its meeting held on March 1st-4th, 1983. At the end of the meeting, the Committee requested the release of all trade-unionists, prosecution of torture cases, and the punishment of those, stressing the fact that trade union rights could not be suspended on the pretext of terrorism.

POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE MILITARY

After the adoption of the Constitution, the National Security Council took a second step to allow a "gradual and controlled recovery" of political activities by announcing on April 24, 1983, the law governing the formation of political parties.

This alleged "return to the democracy" portrayed only a caricature of the political life because the junta decided a good many interdictions:

"- The members of the old dissolved parties may not make any susceptible statement, in the eyes of the military, to "revive the tension which was ruling before September 12, 1980". In a like manner, the new formations including their leaders should refrain from pronouncing any judgement on the dissolved parties.

"- The decisions of the junta and the speeches which have been or will be made by the 'President of the Republic' in the course of his tours in the countryside and the measures taken by the Martial Law Commanders should not be subjected to any debate or criticism.

"- The old leaders banned from political activity for the next ten years may not express their opinions "either orally or written" on the former or present political and jurisdictional situation in Turkey. The ban is extended to the presidents, general secretaries, and the members of the national or regional offices of the old parties in power or in the opposition until the date of the coup of September 12th.

"- The law equally bans all former parliamentarians from asking for or complying with a request for any responsibility in the new formations for the next five years.

"- The junta headed by General Evren reserves in this connection the 'right to examine' the lists of the founders of the new formations and to decide eventual replacements of those who would be "deemed unacceptable". The founders (whose number should be at least thirty to be able to found a party) may propose different names to replace those who would be removed by the junta.

"- The parties which preach communist, fascist, national socialist, religious or separatist ideologies are banned. Parties are equally banned from having any tie with associations and trade unions and from receiving funds from these organisations.

"- Those who were sentenced for simple or 'ideological' crimes may not be members of the new parties.

"- The law determines the limits of the re-election of the party chiefs. The president of a party elected for two years can only be re-eligible for five times in succession that is to say for twelve years in total."

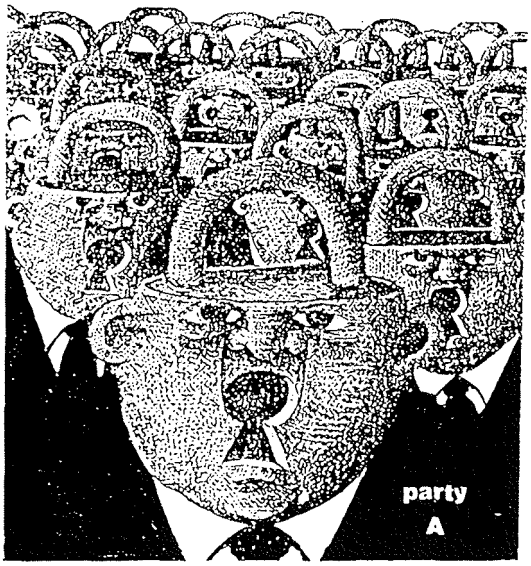
The law passed by the junta was nothing but a detailed second edition of the Constitutions' provisions on political parties. According to both of the texts "political parties cannot preach a doctrine other than Atatürk's. That is to say, the foundation of political parties on an ideological basis other than that of the junta will be banned." In other words, there would not be a real pluralism in Turkey.

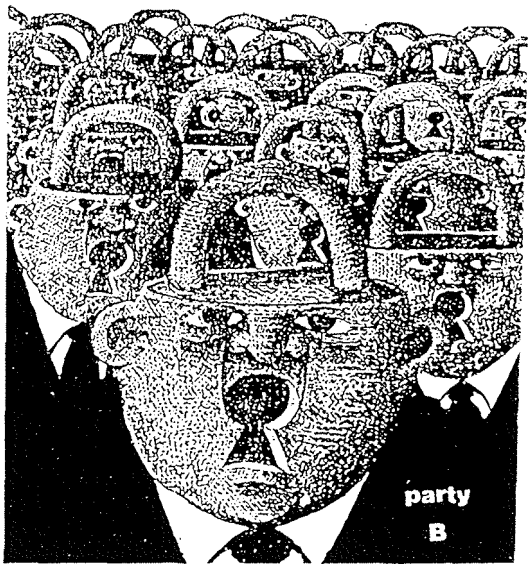
In addition, "the judges and prosecutors, members of courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, state civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments except for those who are regarded as workers, students and members of the armed forces cannot join political parties".

"As for the workers, they are deprived of the right to found their proper class party and obliged to act within the parties which preach the doctrine of Atatürk: 'Neither the working class nor the Kurdish people, only a Turkish nation without classes and without ethnical and linguistic differences...'

"Besides, trade union organisations will not be able to take part in political life since they have already been deprived of the right to establish ties with political parties or to support any political party or to have elected any of their officials to a political or parliamentary post."

The NSC refused to grant the new parties governmental subsidies and banned them from receiving funds from the trade unions and associations. Founders of the new formations would be bound to collect donations from pri-





vate persons for which the extreme limit is fixed as one million Turkish Liras (About $ 5,000) per year. It was obvious that only businessmen could afford such high donations in a country where the per capita GNP does not exceed $ 1,000. Consequently, the new parties would be dominated by the ruling circles.

The day before the approval of the new law on political parties, General Evren started a personal campaign, as he did in the fall, to defend the draft constitution, with the purpose of indicating to the masses, even directly, that only the "new" politicians and political movements would enjoy the confidence of the junta.

"We shall never permit the banned political parties to come to life again under new labels. The Turkish nation is determined to go forward, not behind the fellows of former political leaders, but in the light of the projectors of new men and formations".

As "President of the Republic", General Evren underlined that the "Turkish army's solid structure" guaranteed, in spite of interventions in political life from time to time, that democracy took the "right road". "But," he said, "it cannot always happen in such a way. It is possible that the next time people who do not believe in democracy as much as we do could intervene."

This was a clear and obvious threat.

Under this threat, in the labyrinths of the new legislation, the "acceptable" people would try to form new "Atatürkist" political parties whose mission would be to apply anti-democratic and anti-popular measures determined by the military junta. And this masquerade was called "return to democracy".

General Evren would say many times before the elections that the new parliamentary life should be based on a 2-party system: a powerful Atatürkist party in government while a second Atatürkist party played the role of opposition. Nevertheless, despite all these strict precautions taken in advance by the military, the dynamic forces of the country did not delay in showing themselves on the political scene by using the smallest legal possibility.

The foundation of the first political party was announced on May 16, 1983, by a fascist-minded former army general, *Turgut Sunalp,* supported by the military junta. This was the *Nationalist Democracy Party* (MDP).

However, despite all the propaganda organized in favour of this party, it was *the Great Turkey Party* (BTP) that was welcomed with enthusiasm by the members of the defunct Justice Party (AP).

Meantime, a third right-wing party, *the Motherland Party* (ANAP) was launched by *Turgut Ozal*, former vice-premier of the military government, who also was the author and executor of the drastic economic decisions applied since January 24, 1980.

Former Premier Demirel's decision to support the BTP became an unexpected strike at General Evren's political plan. He did not

delay in delivering riposte by announcing the dissolution of the new-founded BTP on May 31, 1983. The same decree by the military junta ordered the exile and compulsory residence for the two principal founders of the BTP as well as Demirel and 13 other former politicians.

Besides, the decree extended the ban on former politicians to the province and district officials of the dissolved parties, as well as to the mayors elected prior to 1980. So, only those who could get special authorization from the junta were allowed to be founders and officials of new parties. Thereupon, the supporters of the defunct AP and the newly dissolved BTP founded another one: *The Correct Way Party* (DYP).

On June 13, 1983, the military junta also approved a new electoral law including a good many new restrictions and interdictions in order to avoid losing control of the new parties and others to be established.

- The NSC allowed itself the power to veto, not only founders and officials of new parties, but also candidates, until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of its speaker. Thus not only party candidates could be removed when they appeared on the lists before the elections but also the elected ones could be ousted from Parliament, if the five generals disliked them, in spite of the popular vote.

- Besides, those who do not have a school diploma, those who were banned from public services, those who made public State secrets, and those who were condemned for political or ideological "offenses" could not stand for Parliament.

The new electoral law brought forth a double barrage system allowing only two parties to survive in Parliament.

Despite all these restrictions, the popular masses which had voted for the defunct left-wing parties, began to look for a new political party through which they could express their dissatisfaction regarding the military regime and could air their most urgent demands.

But at the opening of the period for registration of political parties, the rank-and-file of the defunct CHP of Bülent Ecevit found itself in disarray. Contrary to the determined position of Demirel, Ecevit once more showed his feebleness.

Instead of orienting the former members of his party with a concrete target, he preferred to play the role of the propagandist of the new US "project for democracy". Addressing the Socialist International Congress, held on April 9, 1983 in Portugal, Ecevit criticized European socialdemocrats for carrying out an international campaign against the military regime, saying that "this might create reaction among the population; and such reaction, in turn, could be exploited by authoritiarian or totalitarian administrations to set nationalism against democracy or independence against freedom." Instead, he suggested that such a campaign should confine itself to propagating the merits of democracy, and launched the following proposal: "The American Secretary of State George Schultz has expressed his determination to initiate and pursue a so-called 'project for democracy' to support and spread, mostly through educational and training programmes, the development of democracy arround the world. (...) The very commendable American 'project for democracy' ought to be supplemented and supported with the initiatives and active contributions of democratic countries and organizations outside the United States. I am confident that Socialist International can play an invaluable role of leadership and coordination in this respect."

According to press reports, this US project foresaw an annual aid of 65 million dollars for training political, trade-union, academic and business leaders in underdeveloped countries such as Turkey.

These efforts of Ecevit highly pleased the United States and the US Ambassador Strauzs-Hupe paid a visit to the former social democrat leader of Turkey on May 13, 1983 in Ankara. But Ecevit's stand disappointed the popular masses who were waiting for determined leadership.

Since Ecevit lost all his prestige with the left-minded public by failing to show a way-out, the rank-and-file of the defunct CHP took different initiatives to create a new center-left party.

Benefitting from this disarray, *Necdet Calp,* a veteran civil servant who had been in the service of the military junta until the last days, set up a "center-left" party, to be called *the Populist Party* (HP).

But the chances of this party, considered a "test-tube baby" by the press, were lessened at the end of May when it became clear that the

center-left was regrouping, despite its divisions, around *Professor Erdal Inönü,* the son of Kemal Atatürk's comrade-in-arms Ismet Inönü, second president of the Republic.

Although its name was *the Social Democracy Party* (SODEP), this second center-left party was also far from being the heir of the dissolved CHP regarding both its many founders and officials and its announced programme. In a statement he made before the foundation of the party, Inönü said: "Attachement to and respect for the Constitution and laws will be the basic principles of our activities." So, he was engaged to work in the framework imposed by the Junta.

The business circles were so satisfied with this development that the right-wing Istanbul daily *Tercüman* had as headline: "We are like a tight fist against foreigners," pointing out the similarities of the programmes of the MDP, the ANAP, the HP and the SODEP, after the last one's programme was made public.

While 15 new parties were set up after the adoption of the new Political Parties Law, the BTP was officially dissolved by a military junta decree and 11 others were denied the right to register for the poll as a result of the Junta's vetos. According to the Election Law, to be allowed to register for the polls, a political party was obliged to have at least 30 founders who were not vetoed by the NSC. Until the deadline, August 25, 1983, the Junta vetoed 453 out of 750 party founders without any concrete justification.

Among them were also the SODEP and the DYP which had the support of the voters of the defunct CHP and AP.

Thus, only three political parties were allowed to register for the poll: *the Nationalist Democracy Party* (MDP) headed by the Retired Army General Turgut Sunalp, *the Motherland Party* (ANAP) headed by the former Vice-Premier of the ruling military government, Turgut Ozal, and *the Populist Party* (HP) headed by the former undersecretary of the same government, Necdet Calp.

All three parties shared the same programme, the main lines of which were laid down by the military junta. All of them were led by representatives of the privileged strata of Turkish society. According to a survey, of 1,200 candidates of the three parties, 231 are businessmen, 206 lawyers, 198 architects and engineers, 190 military and civilian and bureaucrats, 54 doctors and pharmacists, 31 journalists. There were also 30 trade union officials on the candidate lists of the three parties, but all of them had been supporting the military regime, whereas thousands of trade union officials and representatives were suffering in military prisons.

But the Generals obviously did not completely trust even the candidates announced by these parties and also vetoed 89 candidates of the HP, 81 of the ANAP and 74 of the MDP. Besides, independent candidates - of whom there was a record number - were virtually eliminated. Some 483 came forward, but only 55 were approved. All candidates linked with the pre-coup Justice Party and Republican People's Party were rejected.

The three parties immediately replaced the victims of veto by new candidates, but 21 of them were also vetoed. So, for 400-seat Parliament, MDP came forward with 394 candidates, the Ana-P with 389 and the HP with 378.

Under these circumstances, the opposition had only one means left: To call of the population not to go to the polling stations or, if they were forced to go, not to cast a valid ballot.

The *Correct Way Party* and the *Social-Democracy Party* announced that they would not support any of the three parties being allowed to stand in the elections. It was an indirect way of calling on the people to boycott the elections.

Thereupon, the military junta launched a new campaign of threat and intimidation with the aim of forcing the citizens to go to the polling stations and to cast a valid vote.

First, on october 16, 1983, the Interior Ministry issued a communiqué announcing that all propaganda and activity aimed at inciting the people to stay away from the election, would be considered a crime and that those who commit this crime would be prosecuted.

Five days later, the Turkish press reported that "the security forces arrested 17 presumed members of the Communist party on the charge that they carried out a propaganda campaign to incite people to boycott the election."

Finally, instead of his "one-man-show", organized during the propaganda campaign for the Constitutional referendum, this time, General Evren launched a "four-man" show,

staged by himself and three "tolerated" party leaders.

In a speech delivered on October 20, General Evren threatened all those who intended to boycott the elections: "The illegal Communist party is secretly distributing leaflets urging the nation not to vote and not to believe in the present Turkish administration. The nation should not tolerate such propaganda. Don't believe them. Don't be tricked... I expect a minimum 90 percent turnout at polling places on election day ."

The next day he announced another threat: "It is rumoured that martial law will be lifted after the election. Don't believe them. It is indispensable to maintain martial law for a certain period, because the organizations have not yet been completely crushed. Unless they are exterminated, martial law will never be lifted."

This campaign of intimidation was accompanied by a 2-week color TV program to popularize the new party "leaders" and to push the people to vote for any of them.

EUROPE: NO CERTIFICATE OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE COMING TURKISH PARLIAMENT

Shortly before the legislative elections which were to be held on November 6, several European institutions examined the latest developments in Turkey, denying that the future Turkish Parliament had any democratic content.

Council of Europe

The Parliamentary Assembly of the 21 member countries of the Council of Europe declared in a resolution adopted on September 30, 1983, that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey on November 6 could not be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner, and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe."

The Assembly nevertheless rejected an amendment submitted by Belgian Socialist MP Claude Dejardin demanding Turkey's exclusion from the Council of Europe, where her representative was still allowed to sit on the Committee of Ministers. The Assembly preferred to wait until the next session in January to raise this question.

On the other hand, the Parliamentary Assembly had opposed an appeal submitted by some socialist MP's following the suicide of the Turkish refugee Cemal Altun in the Federal Republic of Germany - requesting European governments "to refrain from extraditing Turkish citizens seeking asylum."

European Parliament

On October 13, 1983, in Strasbourg, the European Parliament this time condemned the Turkish military regime, insisting that Turkey should respect human rights and rejecting in advance the results of the upcoming elections on November 6, which straight off were called a "farce" by certain MP's.

Denouncing the continued practice of torture, the politically motivated arbitrary arrests, the pressure put on the Press, the European Parliament adopted by 124 votes, against 4 "no" votes and 11 abstentions, a resolution regretting mainly "that the rules under which the elections of 6 November will be held prevent them from being a true expression of democracy."

The MP's of the Ten EEC countries also urged the military authorities to refrain from enforcing the death penalty for political offences and to stop practising torture.

Atlantic Assembly MP's

And yet, the North-Atlantic Assembly - consisting of some 200 MP's from the member countries of the Alliance - rejected at its meeting in The Hague, on October 6, 1983, a draft resolution that had the "audacity" to regret the restrictions imposed on political life and Press freedom, and requesting that the Turkish military authorities made sure that "the elections of November 6 will be as free, as open and as democratic as possible." This draft resolution was rejected due to the particular insistence of US and British delegates, who regarded this initiative as inopportune.

European Human Rights Commission

The European Human Rights Commission was still waiting for the Turkish government's answer to the complaints relating to human rights violations in Turkey, lodged by

five European countries, Denmark, France, Norway, The Netherlands and Sweden.

The hearing which had been scheduled at the October session, was adjourned by request of the Turkish government, on the grounds that one of its advisers, whose presence at the hearing was considered indispensable, had fallen gravely ill.

European Trade Unions Confederation

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Unions Confederation decided at its meeting in Brussels, on October 13-14, that maximum pressure should be brought to bear on the Turkish government, in order "to have the trial against DISK and its leaders stopped; to have the trade unionists released from prison; to restore normal trade union rights in Turkey; to achieve rapid progress towards democracy."

At a press conference, Chairman Georges Debunne declared that "the ETUC can no longer accept a dictator regime who denies their people human rights and democracy, and is a member of the Council of Europe."

On this occasion, the ETUC informed the general public that "the so-called elections in Turkey on November 6 is in no way an election that will lead Turkey back to democracy."

The Executive Committee also decided to carry on with its humanitarian aid on behalf of the families of the imprisoned trade-unionists.

International Trade Union Confederations

On September 8, 1983, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions along with the ETUC organized a joint round table on Turkey at the Brussels-based International Press Center with trade union leaders and journalists taking part, along with DISK representative Yücel Top.

At this occasion, Mr. John Vanderveken, secretary general of the ICFTU, made the following statement: "In view of the fact that participation in the forthcoming elections has been restricted to only three parties, those which were kindly permitted by the military to take part so as to prevent the new social democrat party from standing for election, the polls due to be held in November are no longer being taken seriously. The ICFTU once more appeals to the governments of democratic countries that they make their economic and financial aid to Turkey dependent on the restoration of both democratic and trade union rights."

During the round table, the ICFTU leaders revealed that the AFL-CIO, the US trade union confederation which was again a member of ICFTU, had also decided to contribute to the humanitarian aid granted by the ICFTU to trade-unionists imprisoned in Turkey and to their families.

On the other hand, the Brussels-based World Labor Confederation condemned the military regime in Turkey, on the 3d anniversary of the coup.

As for the Federation of Trade Unions, which has its headquarters in Prague, it published a pamphlet called "Stop Fascism in Turkey!" with a foreword by its secretary general Ibrahim Zakaria, stating: "the WFTU is convinced that the admirable solidarity actions with the workers and the people of Turkey which are being achieved at the present time will grow stronger and stronger, until democracy is restored in Turkey and trade unions are allowed to function freely."

1982-83 IN BRIEF

November 1982:

5: New regulation on universities is put in practice by the YOK; many university professors are dismissed.

7: New Constitution is adopted; Evren becomes "President of the Republic".

12: Evren officially assumes presidential duties.

26: The Junta allow Ecevit to travel abroad with a diplomatic passport.

29: In Brussels, Turkey and the USA sign the Memorandum of Understanding, initialed in Ankara in September, and finalize the accord for the modernization of more than ten airfields in Turkey and the stockpiling of US arms.

30: Soviet Premier and Turkish Foreign Minister reaffirm their commitment to improve bilateral relations. A new political trial opens against 17 leading members of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS), accused of communist propaganda.

December 1982:

12: Evren flies to Pakistan for a 14-day tour of Asian countries.
14: Turkish Government announces that two journalists from Info-Türk, Dogan Ozgüden and Inci Tugsavul have to return to Turkey and give themselves up to the military authorities, otherwise they will be stripped of their nationality.
15: In Peking, China signs an accord with General Evren to increase economic cooperation between the two countries.
29: Two people are executed.

January 1983

12: Turkey's biggest mass trial starts before a military tribunal in Amasya. Sixty of the total 740 presumed DEV-YOL activists risk the death penalty. Premier Ulusu announces that free zones will be established in Turkey for foreign investments.
22: Penalties in articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Penal Code are increased.
23: Two convicted people are executed.
28: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe votes to give "serious consideration" to Turkey's expulsion from the Council because of human rights violations. Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister starts official contacts in Ankara.
29: An Armenian and four Turkish activitsts are executed.
30: Another political activist is executed.
31: Ozal announces his intention to found a political party.

February 1983:

5: Five people are executed.
9: NSC adopts new legislation on labour relations and unions.
21: NSC issues a stiff warning against premature political activity.
22: A governmental decree makes it necessary for foreign individuals and companies wishing to make films in Turkey to get authorization through Turkish embassies.
24: Erbakan is sentenced to 4 years.
25: One more execution.

March 1983:

3: Political Parties Law is adopted by the Consultative Assembly.

April 1983:

10: Legal Action has been taken against 203 former parliamentarians following the 1980 coup, General Staff Headquarters announces.
14: Former Army General Turgut Sunalp announces that he will found a political party.
15: US Government official defends the Turkish administration's human-rights record against criticism by European watchdog groups.
24: Political Parties Law enters in force. From May 16 on, new political parties can be founded.
30: Evren announces that elections will be held on November 6.

May 1983:

4: Dogu Perincek, chairman of the defunct TIKP, is sentenced to a 12-year prison term.
16: The Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) is founded.
20: The Great Turkey Party (BTP), the Motherland Party (ANAP) and the Populist Party (HP) are founded.
26: Turkish military units enter Iraq territory for an anti-Kurd operation.
31: The BTP is closed down by the NSC. 15 former political leaders are taken into custody. They include former Premier Demirel and former Foreign Minister Caglayangil.

June 1983:

1: Evren says that the NSC may postpone the announced elections if it considers such a step necessary.
4: With a modification in the code on martial law, suspected persons can be exiled for up to 5 years.
5: The Social Democracy Party (SODEP) is founded. Bulgarian leader Jivkov visits Turkey.
6: The NSC begins to veto many party founders.
13: The new Election Law is put in force.

July 1983:

1: Evren hands over the title of "Chief of General Staff" to General Nurettin Ersin, member of the NSC.
8: Info-Türk editors Dogan Özgüden and Inci Tugsavul are stripped of Turkish nationality.
19: The Welfare Party (RP) is founded.
31: It is reported that 5,854 people are still wanted by martial law authorities.

August 1983:

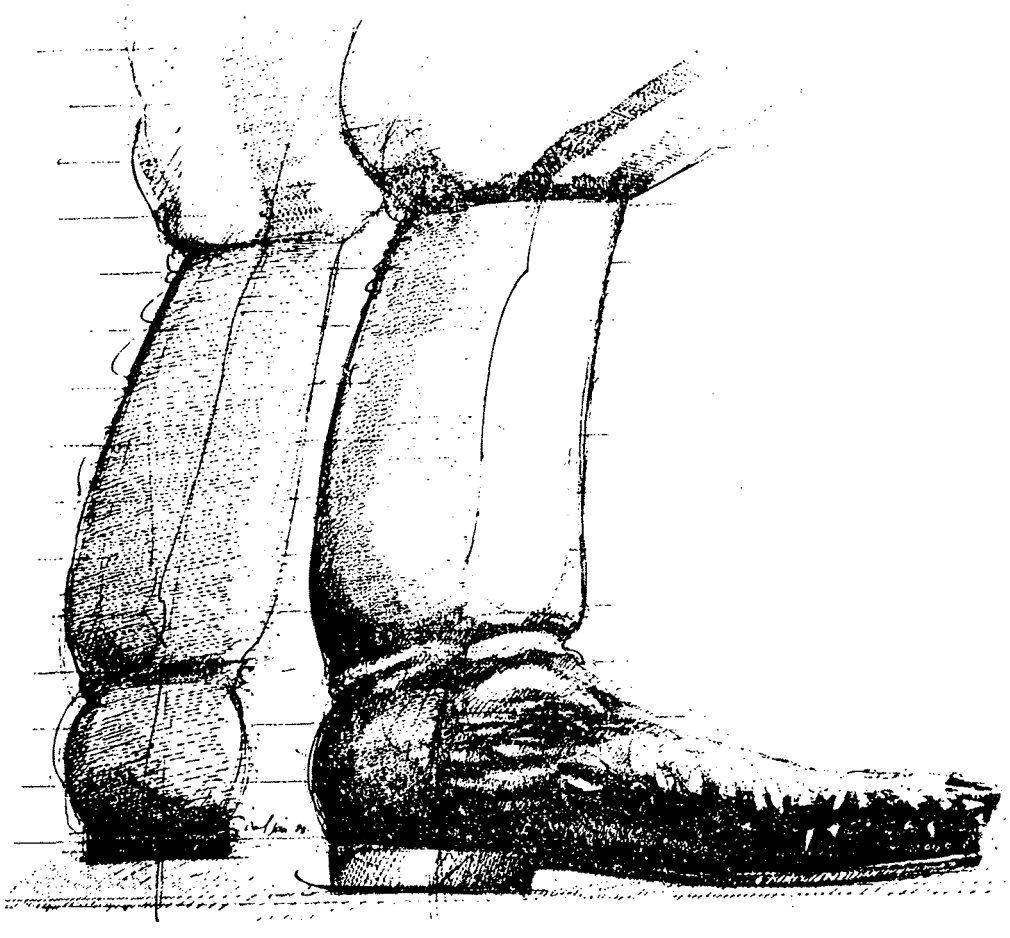
17: A new decree of the NSC: Evren's declarations will be exempted from the election ban.
25: It is announced that only three out of 15 newly founded parties can participate in legislative elections.

September 1983:

21: NSC vetoes 672 of 1,683 candidates to the National Assembly.
29: 15 former political leaders detained in May are released.
30: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe declares that "the Parliament to be elected in Turkey cannot be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner."

October 1983:

26: The NSC adopts the Law on State of Emergency.
27: The NSC adopts the laws on Associations, Rallies and Meetings.



EVREN'S ONE-MAN SHOW DURING THE REFERENDUM

"If you do not wish a return to before September 12th 1980, you should say 'yes' to the Constitution" (24.10)

"We have drawn up a new Constitution without feeling an inferiority complex, without copying other moderls in the admiration of the stranger... A new constitution which is compatible with our traditions..."

"Do you have confidence in me? Do you have confidence in my friends of the National Security Council? If you do, I am the guarantee for the Constitution. You should say 'Yes' to it".

"Let alone the refusal of the Constitution, even if only one Turk rests on these sacred lands, those enemies of the Turk, those brainwashed and sold traitors and degenerates can never touch even an inch of the lands of the Turkish fatherland." (25.10)

"Those who oppose this constitution have put on dark glasses and seen everything black. The good of the society always takes precedence over the interests of individuals, otherwise, anarchy emerges." (26.10)

"Those people are brainwashed. You cannot change their minds. Even if you cut their heads off you can not separate them from their ill ideologies." (27.10)

"After 1970, some of the young army officers had been involved in activities very far from the direction of the democracy. And we had liquidated them without hesitation. If the same thing had been made in all State institutions, they would not have fallen in the pre-September 12 situation." (28.10)

"The master of the Constitution is the Turkish Armed Forces. The Turkish Armed Forces is an indispensable part of the Turkish Nation. Therefore, the Constitution will be the property of the society. It will belong to everyone." (30.10)

"Our aim is not to clean the dirty pots and pans and hand the country to them (former politicians) so that they dirty the pots and pans again." (31.10)

"Trade union 'fathers' dragged labor to poverty and hunger throughout the strikes period. Nowhere in the world workers dance and sing outside strike quarters, but in our country wherever there was a strike, the strikers used to sing and dance in a merry atmosphere. Idleness is no accomplishment, people should not show jubilation because they are not working." (31.10)

"The leaders of the banned political parties secretly send messages to their old organisations. They still dream that the members will obey whatever they say. A person who sees everybody other than himself as a fly and believes that nobody else can lead the State, is one of whom to be afraid."

"If the presidential election had been held with the participation of two, three or four candidates, it would be necessary to permit an electoral campaign. But the actual situation of the State is not compatible with a propaganda campaign.

"They say that Atatûrk eyes were also blue. Do you see those imprudents? They add that the colours of the sky and the sea are also blue... That is to say, one should use blue vote and say 'no' to the Constitution. Yes, the colour of the sky is blue, but that blueness is not of use. The fertility comes from clouds and rains. Now the eyes of Atatürk are on us. His spirit is with us. With his blue eyes, he looks indignantly at them. If it had been possible, he would break them to bits, be sure of it!...

"In our age countries are no longer fighting to shed blood, rather they are fighting with money. There is a secret ideologic and economic war. We have won the first round of this war. But the war is not over. Several other rounds will follow. It would have been impossible to win that war if we had kept the 1961 Constitution in effect." (1.11)

"Once the Constitution is approved, it shall make European countries shut up!"

"Nobody will be permitted to organize rallies seeking abolition of articles 141-142 (barring communist propaganda and organization) of the Penal Code as happened before 1980."

"About everyday we are receiving letters of threat, bu we give no heed to them."

"In a report they (trade-unions) claimed that NATO is an aggressive organization and urged the administration to withdraw from it, They, and the whole world, know that NATO is not an aggressive organization, but a defence organization." (2.11)

"If the Turkish Armed Forces had not taken over the administration and extremists had done so, this Taksim Square (of Istanbul) would have become Red Square."

"The State could not remain a spectator while revolution was in preparation."

"If a publication is secterian, provocative or contains State secrets, those who wrote the news and articles and those who published them would be punished. Publications having such characteristics may be banned from distribution."

"The associations were controlled by those who wanted to create turmoil in Turkey. An association cannot engage in politics. All associations that do not operate accordingly will be closed." (4.11)

"The only objective of our enemies is to suppress the existence of the Turkish nation and to wipe off Turkey from the map. You should never forget this fact."

"Some skillfull traitors, being aware of the success of the military regime say that if you wished the military to stay in power, you should vote against the Constitution, Don't believe them. Vote 'Yes' for the sake of the future of our country, State, our children and our nation. The question is whether we want to return to the chaos of pre-September 12 or not." (5.11)

1983-85

A MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY" IN EUROPE

A mockery of elections on November 6, 1983. Out of 15 new political parties, only three were allowed to participate in the first legislative election after the coup. While four other members of the military junta were constituting a "Presidential Council" close by the "President of the Republic" Evren, the IMF's confidant Turgut Ozal became Prime Minister. Although the military's political parties underwent a collapse in the 1984 local elections, the militarist "democracy"'s state institutions go on to disregard human rights and freedoms and General Evren defies all attempts to change the Constitution

PERIOD OF MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY" OPENS

The people of Turkey voted on November 6, 1983, not for expressing its confidence in any of the three "privileged" parties, but for giving General Evren a slap on the face. Although the military junta, which has been ruling the country since the coup of September 2, 1980, was confounded by the voter's refusal to vote for its favorite party headed by another army general, the big winner is the IMF, which backed the party headed by its tried and tested collaborator in Turkey.

According to the official results announced on November 14, 1983 by the Supreme Elections Council, 18,214,104 voters, that is 92.27 percent of the registered 19,740,500, went to the polling stations and cast their ballots. 885,369 of these votes (4.86 percent) were declared invalid, that is to say 95.14 percent of the participants voted for any of the three running parties.

Party	Votes	%	Deputies	%
Motherland Party (ANAP)	7,823,827	45.15	211	52.75
Populist Party (HP)	5,277,698	30.46	117	29.25
Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP)	4,032,046	23.27	71	17.75
Independents	195,164	1.12	—	—
Vacant	—	—	1	0.25
TOTAL	17,328,735	100.00	400	100.00

The voters rejected not only the military-backed MDP by putting it at the bottom of the list, beneath the HP, but also three out of seven ministers of the present military-backed government running as MDP candidates.

As indicated in our preceding Bulletin, the observers consider that the voters would manifest their reaction against this mockery of elections by refusing to go to the polling stations or, if they were forced to go, by casting an invalid ballot. The *Correct Way Party* (DYP) and the *Social Democracy Party* (SDP) which enjoyed more popular support than the three running parties and were denied the right to participate in the elections of November 6, launched a campaign for boycotting the polls.

Nevertheless, two days before the elections, a grave error of General Evren gave the voter the chance to manifest his opposition to the military in another way.

The opinion polls carried out by some daily newspapers indicated that, despite the fact that about 40 percent of the persons whose opinion was asked were saying that they were undecided, the rest were of the opinion that the party of *Ozal* was much more preferable than that of *General Sunalp*. Besides, the election rallies of Ozal were much more successful than those of Sunalp.

At their debates and electoral speeches on television, Ozal was distinguished from Sunalp.

Thereupon, being sure that his "popularity" still existed, General Evren went on television to address the voters with a thinly-veiled appeal to support the MDP and not vote for the ANAP.

In effect, one year ago more than 80 percent of the electorate, having no alternative and being intimidated, voted for General Evren's election as "President of the Republic" and said "yes" to a constitution which provides the latter with extensive new powers. This vote was depicted by Turkey's official publicists and even by the world press as a sign of deep affection for the "man who rescued his country from the scourge of terrorism."

But one year later, that image was shattered.

Boycotting the elections turned out to be dangerous for the voter. General Evren declared that those who would not vote, were traitors or their puppets. The Interior Ministry announced that all those who made propaganda for the boycott would be prosecuted. And many people were arrested for distributing leaflets calling for a boycott. The military government banned the introduction into Turkey of 204 newspapers and periodicals published abroad, calling on the people to boycott the elections.

Instead of risking being branded a traitor and, consequently being detained, the voter preferred to give a clear slap at the Generals by rejecting the military's choice.

As emphasized by *The Guardian*, there cannot be any real doubt that it was the mil-

itary who let in *Mr. Ozal.* By suppressing all other right-wing parties, including the supporters of Demirel who was Prime Minister at the time of the coup, the way was cleared for Ozal to pick up most of Turkey's conservative votes. Without a ban on his rival, the *Correct Way Party* (DYP), Ozal's party would perhaps have been confined to the sidelines. But in the absence of a reliable alternative, the conservative voters and even some centrists and left-wing voters thought that a vote for Ozal's party would be a vote for civilian political supremacy.

So, the MDP paid the invoice for the past 3 years' repression and unpopular economic measures carried out by the military.

The most paradoxical aspect of the election result is that the winner was, in fact, the principal author and mastermind of those unpopular economic measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

The day after the coup, The Financial Times of September 13, 1980, published the following commentary from its Washington correspondent: "Both the IMF and World Bank negotiations had been conducted very closely with a small number of former Premier Demirel's advisers, in particular Turgut Ozal, the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. Ozal's fate will be a pointer to whether IMF and World Bank relations will continue smoothly with Turkey."

In fact, Turgut Ozal stayed at a key position as Deputy Prime Minister in the military government and a few weeks later, on October 5, 1980, he flew to Washington to reassure the IMF and World Bank directors. They soon proved to be satisfied with the economic policy led by the Junta, approving a few weeks later fresh credits.

Although he was compelled to resign from the post of Deputy Prime Minister, when a major scandal broke out following the bankruptcy of numerous brokers who had mushroomed as a result of the application of the IMF policies, this withdrawal from the scene proved also to be an opportunity for financial circles who were looking for a new "civilian figure" to represent their interest in the case of a "transition to a parliamentary regime." Just after his resignation, Ozal started to declare that he contemplated forming a political party able to achieve the mission of "returning to civilian rule." As a matter of fact, the ban on political activities of the former conservative party leaders provided Ozal with the possibility of carrying out this mission. Although the military might have preferred to entrust a former



army general, Turgut Sunalp, with this task, international financial circles, as they did just after the military coup, forced the military to allow Ozal to take part in the general elections. As it turned out, it was clear that Ozal was more succesful than Sunalp in recruiting a young and well-trained brain trust consisting of people who had the confidence of big business.

According to a survey published by the daily Milliyet of November 25, 1983, the average age of the newly elected ANAP deputies was 45.

Out of its 211 deputies, 187 held at least a university diploma. The distribution of these 211 deputies according to their professions:

50 architects and engineers, 45 lawyers, 40 economists, 15 doctors, 8 teachers, 7 high bureaucrats, 6 retired army officers, 5 pharmacists, 12 businessmen, 4 religious dignitaries, 2 farmers and 1 journalist.

On the other hand, because of his personal views which were close to those of the defunct fundamentalist party MSP, of which his brother had been one of the distinguished leaders, Ozal had also enjoyed the solidarity and indirect aid of the oil-producing islamic countries.

During the two months' electoral campaign, the two right-wing parties used enormous funds for their american-style propaganda: whereas the total expenditure of the center-left *Populist Party* stayed at 26 million TL, the MDP spent 246 million TL and ANAP 238 million TL. The daily *Cumhuriyet* highlighted the fact that the ANAP collected within the last week preceding the polls a sum of 47 million Tl, the sources of which have not yet been disclosed.

There is no doubt that the election result was an unexpected blow for the military and, particularly, for General Evren's personal prestige. Nevertheless, as underlined by the *Wall Street Journal* of November 9, "the military has reason to rejoice in the election of a government that will hold an absolute majority in parliament, even if it isn't the government they preferred." Furthermore, "as deputy Prime Minister and economic overlord until the middle of last year, he (Ozal) worked comfortably with his chiefs."

In order to reassure the military, Ozal was quick to offer an olive branch to the Generals who sought his defeat. In his firt post-election message to the nation, he said: "I thank the Turkish armed forces and the National Security Council for their efforts to establish law and order in the country and to restore democracy." Thereupon, General Evren who held hasty meetings with other military chiefs when the results of the elections first became known, received Ozal at the Presidential Palace and pointed out that the Motherland Party would be asked to form a government.

This was a compromise between both wings - military and civilian - of Turkey's ruling circles that gave relief to Turkish businessmen as well as international financial institutions. Yet, as it turned out, this was a precarious compromise.

In fact, whatever the result of the elections, it was the military who would rule the country for at least five more years. According to the Turkish Constitution, General Evren, as President of the Republic, would retain a veto over the bulk of parliamentary actions. With his extensive powers, he would have some liberty of action on economic subjects as long as he remained loyal to the directives of the IMF, but the re-establishment of respect for human rights and basic freedoms would be out of the Prime Minister's power.

CHICAGO BOYS AT THE HEAD OF TURKISH ECONOMY

The process of so-called "returning to democracy" was concluded on December 13, 1983, with the formation of the technocrat-dominated government of a staunch monetarist, election winner Turgut Ozal. After that, it was the Turkish *"Chicago Boys"* who would be at the head of the Turkish economy.

The curtain of the new political theater designed for staging the play of militarist "democracy", was raised on November 24 with the convention of the new-elected Turkish Grand National Assembly. All day, the people of Turkey listened to the oath broadcast 399 times by the State Radio, as the deputies of the three parties swore on their honor to remain loyal to Atatürk's principles and to General Evren's Constitution.

Following a 12-day interval, on December

6, with the election of the Speakership Council of the Grand National Assembly, the National Security Council which had ruled Turkey since the coup of September 12, 1980, was automatically dissolved and turned into a *Presidential Council.*

First, Motherland Party's deputy from the province of Trabzon, *Necmettin Karaduman*, 57, was elected Speaker at the second turn supported by the ANAP and the MDP. In fact, retired Admiral Bülent Ulusu who headed the military government for three years, was an early favorite to become Speaker. However, his candidacy was strongly opposed by the deputies of the ANAP which holds 211 seats in the 400-seat Parliament. Party officials and deputies warned Ozal that Ulusu's election might embarrass the new civilian administration in the eyes of the international community, because the Speaker would be No.2 in State protocol and would assume all powers as acting President of the Republic, should General Evren travel abroad or die. The argument put forward by the deputies was accepted by the Presidential Council and by Ulusu himself, and Karaduman, a former governor who later turned business manager, happened to be the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly. Two days later, the posts of deputy Speakers were shared out without any problem among the three parties.

The election of the Speakership Council opened the way to hold pretentious ceremonies, well planned by the Junta, to celebrate the conclusion of the "return to democracy" process.

On the retirement of five army chiefs who formed the military junta, new heads of the Armed Forces,Cheif of General Staff *Necdet Urug,* Commander of Land Forces *Haydar Saltik,* Commander of Air Forces *Halil Sözer,* Commander of Naval Forces *Zahit Atakan* and Commander of Gendarmery *Mehmet Buyruk,* officially started their new duties, following separate ceremonies held at their respective headquarters.

As for the four retired commanders, they settled themselves this time in the seats of the 4-man *Presidential Council.*

Nevertheless, before leaving legislative power, the National Security Council enacted at the last moment a new law which strictly forbade 242 top leaders of pre-coup political parties, already banned from politics for 10 years, from making "derogatory statements" on Turkey's past, present and future: but making "positive" statements was allowed.

The valedictory law of the Junta also forbade leaders, former administrators and members of parties, banned either by the Court of Constitution or the NSC, from making statements that might resurrect the "political bickering" of the pre-September 12 days, on pain of three months to one year imprisonment. Another article extends this restriction to all citizens, who face an equal term in prison should they violate the law.

Most important, the decrees passed and decisions made by the NSC would not be subject to discussion or criticism according to the law, which imposes a three month to one year prison term for violators. If any of the offenses mentioned in the law are committed within martial law zones, trials will be held before military tribunals.

Military rule, had it really ended? As pointed out by the Guardian of December 8, "the phasing out of military rule has left the army entrenched in many key areas, and through General Evren it can exercise a veto should the new Parliament try to undo the political system created in the past three years... In effect, the straitened version of democracy set up by the generals will continue only on the terms set down by them. All potential critics and deviations have been proscribed, and a tough new press law went into effect only a few days after the elections."

As for the new chiefs of the Armed Forces, although they were not members of the military junta, new Chief of Staff *Necdet Urug* and new Commander of Land Forces *Haydar Saltik* had already figured in the planning and execution of the coup d'Etat. In fact, following the military takeover, the *International Herald Tribune* of September 13, 1980 reported: "One of the key leaders, General Haydar Saltik, who was named secretary general of the new ruling security committee, has attended numerous seminars and planning sessions of the NATO command and was described by one NATO source as a 'familiar figure'." *General Urug,* Commander of the 1st Turkish Army in Istanbul at the moment of the coup, was also another familiar figure for NATO sources since he had worked in NATO headquarters. Both of them were distinguished during the 3-year period of military rule as the two "strong men"

of the Army. In 1981 they exchanged their posts; while General Saltik was heading the 1st Turkish Army and Martial Law Command of Istanbul, General Urug assumed the post of the Secretary General of the NSC. So, they both had enough experience in the army's interference in State affairs.

Furthermore, according to the new Constitution, a new *National Security Council* would be set up and this new council, chaired by the President of the Republic and made up of the Chief of Staff, the four commanders of the Armed Forces as well as the Prime Minister and the ministers of National Defence, Interior and Foreign Affairs, would submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring necessary coordination for formulating, establishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers should give priority consideration to the decisions of the new NSC.

Once this mockery of passage to civilian rule was concluded, the next day, four retired generals appeared in civilian clothes in public for the first time as they listened to the speech of their chief, "President of the Republic" Evren, from the parliamentary gallery.

In this speech claiming that the Army was withdrawing to barracks, Evren told the new Parliament: "The September 12 Military Intervention of 1980 was carried out in order to stop the terrorism which had hampered democracy in the country. The Turkish Armed Forces should not be left in the face of circumstances in which there is no solution other than military takeover."

He did not forget to defy western critics of the regime he created: "It is not possible for me to equate the good will of certain European countries with their negative attitude towards Turkey while she is aiming to return to full democracy. I sincerely believe that you (new deputies) will give an appropriate reply to such countries in the future, whenever they attempt such an approach again."

And after these ceremonies, receiving *Turgut Ozal* in the Presidential Palace, Evren named this Turkish *Chicago Boy* Prime Minister of Turkey. It was not a surprise since Ozal was the winner of the elections. Moreover, after his election despite the opposition of Evren, Turgut Ozal assured the "chief" that his future government would share the military's attitude on human rights questions. After his designation as prime Minister, he confirmed his loyalty to Evren: "I thank you and the Turkish Armed Forces for bringing the country back from the brink of the abyss. I strongly believe that under your guidance we will emerge successful through this period."

The only anxiety was to set up a Cabinet acceptable to Evren and to put into practice his monetarist programme. A week later, when he went to the Presidential Palace to present his Cabinet list to Evren in the hope of obtaining its immediate approval, he returned empty-handed. It was announced that the President was exercising his right to scrutinize the names of ministers. In fact, it looked very much as if a tussle for supremacy was taking place.

On December 13, the cabinet list of 21 ministers headed by Ozal was approved by Evren. The new government was dominated by 10 engineers and 6 economists who had already worked with Ozal in the past and shared his monetarist views. The cabinet also included 2 medical doctors, one former governor, one retired Air Force general and one career diplomat.

The new Prime Minister reaffirmed his free market stance on December 19, when his government's programme was presented to Parliament.

As expected, to assure the boss at the Presidential palace and the army commanders, the government programme pledged to continue the fight against terrorism and said martial law would be lifted in phases. As for human rights, the new government gave verbal allegiance to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

The Ozal Government was in complete accordance with the directives of the Junta as formulated in the Constitution.

On the other hand, despite the centralization of the economic administration, the key posts at the head of many state economic enterprises had already been occupied by yes-men of the military. Before leaving the Prime Minister's Office, *Admiral Ulusu* signed more than 2,000 appointments with whom the new administration of Ozal will be obliged to collaborate. Besides, the National Security Council extended for one more year the terms of the army officers who had been appointed to civil posts after the coup. Under these conditions, it would be rather difficult for Ozal's "brain trust" to apply its programme without problem.

	ELECTIONS 1983		ELECTIONS 1984		DIFFERENCES	
ANAP	7,823,827	(45.15)	7,263,492	(41.26)	– 560,335	(– 3.89)
HP	5,277,698	(30.46)	1,545,593	(8.78)	– 3,732,105	(– 21.68)
MDP	4,032,046	(23.27)	1,252,549	(7.11)	– 2,779,497	(– 16.16)
	17,133,571	(98.88)	10,061,634	(57.15)	– 7,071,937	(– 41.73)
SODEP			4,119,365	(23.40)	+ 4,119,365	(+ 23.40)
DYP			2,349,068	(13.35)	+ 2,349,068	(+ 13.35)
RP			837,043	(4.76)	+ 837,043	(+ 4.76)
Independent	195,164	(1.12)	235,487	(1.34)	+ 40,323	(+ 0.22)
	195,164	(1.12)	7,540,963	(42.85)	+ 7,345,799	(+ 41.73)
TOTAL	17,328,735	(100,00)	17,602,587	(100.00)	+ 273,862	

LOCAL ELECTIONS 1984: A STRIKE AT THE POLITICAL SCHEME

At the local elections held on March 25, 1984, Ozal's party, through obtaining 41.26 percent of the votes and taking over the control of the city administration in 54 out of 67 provincial capitals, strengthened its power and ruled out, at least for a few years, an early parliamentary election.

However, this second election after the military coup d'Etat was, in fact, a new strike at the political scheme of the military. All three political parties which had had the privilege of participating in the general election and being represented in Parliament lost, without exception, the support of the masses in the local election. On the contrary, the three other parties which had been excluded from legislative elections, the *Social Democracy Party* (SODEP), the *Correct Way Party* (DYP) and a new fundamentalist formation, the *Welfare Party* (RP) took part in the local elections and made successful scores.

The three "favourite" parties managed to obtain 10 million out of 17.6 million cast votes (57.15 pc), while they had previously won 17.1 million out of 17.3 million votes (98.88 pc) at the general election; as for the three other parties, they obtained 7.3 million (41.51 pc).

Ozal's party - in spite of its hasty claim of "victory" - lost 560,335 of its votes obtained in the general election. This result represented a 3.89 pc fall in the confidence of the electors. But the fall in votes for the two other favorite parties was quite disastrous for them. The MDP lost 2.7 million of its 4 million votes. So, its percentage fell from 23.27 to 7.11. As to the HP, it lost 3.7 million of 5.2 million votes cast for it at the general election and its percentage fell from 30.46 to 8.78 pc.

Thus, the non-representative character of the National Assembly came to light in the aftermath of the local elections. Since then, this fact has been one of the main preoccupations of Turkey's democratic forces as well as of European institutions. In fact, the European Parliament, in its Resolution of October 23, 1984, recognized that "political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey."

As for the Council of Europe, the rapporteur of its Political Affairs Committee said: "The Turkish Parliament elected in this way presents an anomaly which can only be removed by fresh elections."

Nevertheless, this anomaly will subsist as long as the present Constitution remains in force, because it is this fundamental document that makes enjoying a political pluralism in Turkey impossible.

A radical change in this Constitution depends first on the formation of a two-third democratic majority in the National Assembly and later on, the replacement of General Evren by a new President of the Republic coming out of this majority.

According to the Constitution, the new legislative elections will be held in 1988 while the term of General Evren as head of State will end in 1989.

STRUCTURE OF THE MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY"

After 5 years of military rule, what kind of state structure has been set up in Turkey? As is clearly seen in the Table, all the state's key organs have been attached to the President of the Republic. This structure has been provided for in the Constitution. The new laws detail the foundation and functioning of each institution. Since the adoption of a proposal for a constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority of the total number of members of the National Assembly and considering that the first National Assembly will be made up of deputies enjoying the confidence of the Military Junta, it will be impossible to amend the Constitution. Thus, the new structure of the State based on a despotic presidential system will exist at least until the next legislative election due to be held in 1988.

1. *President of the Republic:* Whereas before the military coup the President of the Republic was a symbol of the State, now he has extensive powers for "ensuring the implementation of the Constitution and the regular and harmonious functioning of the organs of the State": he is now empowered mainly to promulgate laws, to return draft bills to the Assembly to be reconsidered, to submit to referendum - if he deems it necessary - legislation regarding the amendment of the Constitution, to appeal to the Constitution Court for the annulment of laws, to call new elections for the National Assembly, to dismiss ministers. He is no longer accountable before the National Assembly.

In the exercice of his functions, the President of the Republic commands organs which either did not exist before the coup, or were independent of him:

2. *Presidential Council:* According to a provisional article of the Constitution, the four members of the present military junta acquire the title of members of the Presidential Council. For a period of six years, this council examines laws adopted by the National Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, gives advice on matters relating to the holding of new general elections, the use of emergency powers and the measures to be taken during a state of emergency, and investigates matters relating to internal and external security.

3. *General Secretariat of the President of the Republic:* Already the former commander of NATO Forces of South-East Europe, Retired General *Sedat Güneralp,* has been appointed Secretary General. Advisers are attached to his office for State affairs, Intelligence and State Security. It means that, apart from the *National Intelligence Organisation* (MIT) and the *Army Intelligence,* the President of the Republic has his own intelligence service.

4. *The Armed Forces:* The President of the Republic represents the office of the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, empowered to declare war and to decide to use the Turkish Armed Forces. According to a new bill drawn up by the military government, a *High Council of War* will be set up under the absolute authority of the President of the Republic. This council will be entrusted with evaluating the situation in case of war or mobilization and with taking all necessary measures and employing all citizens, both civilians and the military, in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Thus, despite the fact that General Evren has already retired from the post of Chief of General Staff, he remains the real military chief of the Armed Forces.

5. *Judicial Power:* Although the Constitution provides that judges shall be independent in the discharge of their duties, the key posts in the judicial apparatus are dependent on the President of the Republic . According to the same Constitution, members of the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Supreme Military Administration Court, the Military High Court of Appeal and the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors as well as the Chief Public Prosecutor are appointed by the President of the Republic and act in conformity with the directives of the latter.

6. *Scientific and Cultural Life:* In order to reshape the country's scientific and cultural life within the ideological framework imposed by the military junta, the President of the Republic has been provided with extensive powers. First of all, all universities and other higher educational institutions have already been placed under the authority of the *Higher Education Council* (YOK), all members of which have been appointed by the President of the Republic. Besides, the latter is also entitled to appoint the rectors of all Turkish universities. In order to express their gratitude, the rectors who have already been appointed by Evren,

bestowed on him, on January 14, 1983, the title of *"Doctor Honoris Causa"* and an honorary university professorship for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order in the country and for respecting the law while doing it". A similar honorary title was also conferred on the military chief of Pakistan, General *Zia Ul-Haq* during his visit to Turkey.

The Constitution provides also for the establishment of the *"Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History"* under the supervision of the President of the Republic, in order to "develop scientific research, to produce publications and to disseminate information on the thought, principles and reforms of Atatürk, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and the Turkish language."

7. *Executive Power:* Although the Constitution provided for forming a Council of Ministers from the members of the National Assembly, or from those who are eligible for election as deputies, this organ merely is a rubber-stamp council, designed to implement the general policies determined by the military.

According to the Constitution, a *National Security Council* has been set up under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. It is made up of the Chief of Staff, of the Commanders of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, and of the general Commander of the Gendarmerie as well as of the Prime minister and the ministers of National Defence, Interior and Foreign Affairs. It is this council which shall submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring the necessary coordination for formulating, establishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to the decisions of the National Security Council. The Agenda of the NSC shall be drawn up by the President of the Republic.

Moreover, a *State Supervisory Council,* whose Chairman and members are appointed by the President of the Republic and attached to his office, has absolute authority to supervise the functioning of the administration. All public bodies and organizations, all enterprises in which those public bodies and organizations share more than half of the capital, public professional organisations, employers' associations and labour unions at all levels, as well as public benefit associations and foundations shall be subject to inquiries, investigations and inspections carried out by this supervisory body. Then, the Council of Ministers has no authority over the state apparatus which has been placed under the direct supervision of the President of the Republic.

Moreover, the President of the Republic has the authority to preside over the Council of Ministers and to dismiss any minister.

... AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

What is the composition of the political fan of Turkey two years after the elections? Are they part of a development which can give way to radical change of this anti-democratic constitution after future elections?

The *European Parliament,* in its Resolution of October 23, 1985, "recognizing that political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties remain unrepresented in the country's parliament, while leading political figures remain excluded from active political life, while the Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban," called on the Turkish regime to remove all these restrictions.

Since then many former political leaders such as *Demirel, Ecevit, Erbakan* and *Türkes* have been able to express their opinions, despite a formal ban, through the new political parties set up by their followers, and the *Social Democracy Party* (SODEP) has achieved the possibility of being represented in parliament, thanks to merging with the *Populist Party* (HP).

No doubt, all these new developments can give rise to greater satisfaction regarding the right to engage in democratic politics in Turkey. Yet, it should not be forgotten that this progress is not the consequence of a voluntary democratisation carried out by the present rulers of the country, but rather a gain of Turkey's democratic forces who, with the support of the popular masses, oblige the regime, which has lost all its credibility, to step back.

Whatsoever the level of this progress, antidemocratic practices continue and an important slice of the political fan, the marxist or Kurdish parties, cannot take their place in the legal political life.

Right-wing parties

The Motherland Party (ANAP): For the moment it appears in the right side of the political fan as the most powerful one. Profiting from the lack of serious rivals in the 1983 elections, it obtained an absolute majority at the National Assemby and enjoyed financial, economic and political support from national and international business circles.

In the course of the 1983 electoral campaign, *Turgut Ozal* managed to group together, within his electoral members and sympathizers of the three defunct right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) as well as some elector of the Republican People's Party (CHP).

It is a fact that, in the absence of organizations with these tendencies, respectively liberal, fundamentalist, neo-fascist and social-democrat, Ozal succeeded in gathering these four antagonist tendencies within the ANAP. But the hard-core of his party has been composed of activists of the fundamentalist and neo-fascist parties.

After the 1984 local elections, the ANAP suddenly found itself in a multi-dimensional turmoil, having failed to maintain its popularity because of the concurrence of the DYP and the SODEP. It is a matter of fact that, due to rapidly rising inflation, Ozal had already begun to suffer from a fall in popularity. Even the daily press close to big business launched a campaign of criticism against the Government's policies by dramatizing the effects of the high inflation rate. *General Evren,* who had been obliged to name Ozal as Prime Minister in 1983, attempted to lay the responsibility for all unpopular economic decisions on Ozal when he began to receive complaints from citizens: "If the President of the Republic interferes in the economic policy of the Government, in that case it will be regarded as the policy of the President of the Republic. Furthermore, if I interfere in the government's policy, they can claim, in case the situation should deteriorate, that it happened due to interference by the President of the Republic".

The Premier Ozal's troubles have been aggravated especially because of conflicts among the four opposing tendencies which allegedly had come to terms within the framework of the ANAP. In order to maintain the co-habitation of these tendencies within the party, Ozal has been obliged a few times to make shifts within his government. However, the 1st Grand Convention of the ANAP held in April 1985, unveiled the conflicts between the different tendencies.

While certain ANAP founder-members coming from the defunct right-wing parties, were keeping their posts in Government or in party administration, a shift towards other parties that claim to be real heirs of the defunct parties has been observed in the rank and file.

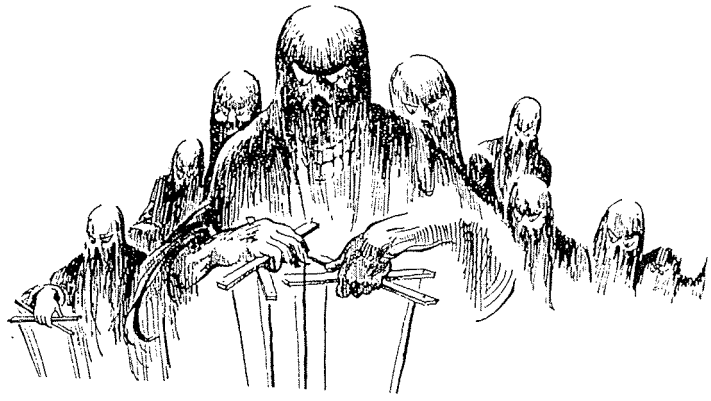
An opinion-poll showed that the percentage of those who would vote for the ANAP was 31.05 in November, 1985, while its election score was 45.15 in 1983.

In the fear of losing his absolute majority in the National Assembly because of the possible transfers of some deputies to the DYP, Ozal has already launched a series of political manoeuvres, even before the general elections of 1988, to draw some deputies of the MDP who are looking for another alternative because of the electoral disasters of their party.

The *Correct Way Party* (DYP): Overtly supported by former Prime Minister *Demirel,* it pretends to be the legitimate heir of the defunct Justice Party (AP). Nevertheless, in the 1984 local elections, it hardly obtained 13.35 pc of cast votes while the latest score of the AP prior to the coup d'état was 47.84 pc. Disappointed with the feeble performance of the DYP, Demirel suggested to the party officials that they change their chairman at the 1st Convention held in May 1985. Of the two candidates running for the party's presidency, Lawyer *Hüsamettin Cindoruk* and Businessman *Mehmet Yazar,* it was the former who obtained Demirel's support and was placed at the head of the party. Yet, since this convention, the new chairman has not succeeded in drawing the former electors of the AP to the DYP. Some partial local elections which were recently held showed once more that the DYP is still very far from arriving at the level of the ANAP.

The opinion-poll gives it a chance of 17.24 p.c. which is hardly a few points higher than its electoral score in 1984.

As a last remedy for overcoming this stagnation, Demirel has recently taken initiative in his own hands and, by defying the ban on making political declarations, he has started to give press interviews and to make significant visits to the electoral strongholds of his defunct party.



NEW STRUCTURE OF THE TURKISH STATE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
Chief of the Junta

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL
Made up of the 4 members of the Junta

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PRESIDENCY
A former NATO Commander

ADVISORS FOR STATE AFFAIRS AND INTELLIGENCE
Mainly former army officers

EXECUTIVE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
Made of five Army commanders and four ministers; chaired by the President of the Republic

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Appointed and chaired, if necessary, by the President of the Republic. He can dismiss any of the ministers

LEGISLATIVE

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Made up of 400 deputies of the parties that are considered compatible with the Constitution. Parties of the working class and of the Kurdish people are outlawed

SECURITY FORCES

ARMED FORCES
Commander-in-chief is the President of the Republic - In the case of martial law, army commanders take over all executive powers

HIGH COUNCIL OF WAR
Chaired by the President of the Republic - In the case of war, it assumes the power of governing the country

GOVERNORS
In a state of emergency, they can act as martial law commanders; even in a normal situation, they can restrict and suspend freedom

STATE SECURITY COURTS
Made up of military and civil judges. They replace military tribunals when martial law is lifted

STATE SUPERVISORY COUNCIL
Appointed by and attached to the President of the Republic. It can control each public administration and institution as well as associations and unions

JUDICIAL POWER

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

COUNCIL OF STATE

CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

SUPREME MILITARY ADMINISTRATION COURT

MILITARY HIGH COURT OF APPEAL

SUPREME COUNCIL OF JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS
All of them are appointed by and attached to the President of the Republic

SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL LIFE

SUPREME EDUCATION COUNCIL (YOK)

UNIVERSITY RECTORS

ATATURK HIGH INSTITUTION OF CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND HISTORY
All of them are oppointed by President of the Republic and are under his authority

The *Nationalist Democracy Party* (MDP): Considering that this favorite party of General Evren does not have any chance as long as former general *Turgut Sunalp* remains chairman, the rank-and-file of the MDP, following the example of the DYP, resorted to the same remedy at their 1st Convention held in July 1985: A former bureaucrat *Ulkü Söylemezoglu* was elected chairman with 425 votes against 198 for Sunalp.

It is clear that the changing of the chairman is not enough to overcome a party's disastrous situation as long as it does not have external support as in the case of the DYP.

The MDP's new direction, being aware of this fact, immediately entered in a dialogue with the new chairman of the DYP with the purpose of merging the two parties so that all electors of the defunct AP who have been divided among three different parties can be grouped within the new structure. This step was first welcomed by the DYP leadership and the two sides have had a series of talks. But all these efforts failed to bring about a fusion because the DYP leaders insisted that the MDP should join their party.

The opinion-poll gives the MDP a chance of 6.89 pc while its first score in the 1983 elections was 23.27 pc.

If it cannot manage to merge with the DYP, the General Evren's "favorite" party will definitely disappear from the political scene of Turkey at the coming legislative elections. The possible shift of some of its deputies to the ANAP will no doubt accelerate this process.

The *Welfare Party* (RP): Heir of the defunct Nationalist Salvation party (MSP), this fundamentalist party, despite its feeble score (4.76 pc) in the 1984 local elections, continues to draw religious electors who earlier voted for the ANAP in 1983 and 1984.

Its first grand convention held in July, 1985, was more spectacular than those of the other right-wing parties. Coming with their religious-style clothes the delegates expressed their will to foster religious and traditional values and to fight for the lifting of secular barriers laid down by the State.

Led by *Ahmet Tekdal,* the RP enjoys the total support of *Necmeddin Erbakan,* chairman of the defunct fundamentalist party, MSP. Like Demirel, Erbakan, by defying the ban on political declarations of former leaders, also began to speak in public and to give political interviews to the press with a view to supporting the RP.

Despite the fact that it is challenged by another fundamentalist party, the *Reformist Democracy Party* (IDP), which has also held a very spectacular convention, the RP is considered the principal representative of the fundamentalist movement in the political fan.

The *Nationalist Labour Party* (MCP): While the leaders of the defunct neo-fascist party, MHP are still being tried before a military tribunal, this tendency has made an unexpected resurrection in legal plan with the first convention of this new party.

Founded by some activists (Grey Wolves) of the MHP in 1983, under the name of the Conservative Party (MP), this party did not show itself in public until that convention.

All the same, the Turkish press claimed very often that the Grey Wolves who infiltrated the ANAP began, on the confrontation of different antagonist currents in that party, to turn towards the MP.

After the release of *Alparslan Türkes,* leader of the defunct MHP, the Grey Wolves again started their activities by launching new publications or by organizing meetings or soirées.

The climax of this climbing on the legal political scene was the first Grand Convention of the MP during which the name of the party was transformed into the *Nationalist Labour Party* (MCP). Shouting slogans proper to the neo-fascist movement, the delegates adopted as the symbol of the party a crescent encircled by nine stars representing nine principles of the Grey Wolves.

So, the neo-fascist movement has taken its own place in the new political fan of Turkey. This is a phenomenon that bothers first of all the ANAP whose hard-core as well as an important part of whose electors had been taken over from the former MHP. In the meantime, it is a serious threat against the democratic forces of Turkey which had given numerous victims to the Grey Wolves political terror. The great bourgeoisie already proved before the military coup that it never hesitates to use these terrorist troops as a striking force for intimidating democratic forces when it cannot prevent their progress through parliamentary means.

Left-wing parties

As has already been explained beforehand, the military junta, in its project for militarist "democracy" foresaw the existence of a "left-wing" party which works within the framework imposed by the new Constitution.

During the legislative elections of 1983, the *Populist Party* (HP) played this role very well. But a few months later, with the participation of the *Social Democracy Party* (SODEP) in the local elections in 1984, this project was doomed to failure.

The disastrous defeat of the HP and the success of the SODEP showed clearly that the social-democrat minded electors would never accept being represented by a party "favoured" by the military. After the local elections, the deputies of the HP lost their entire popular basis and turned into a phantom "opposition".

On the other hand, *Mr Ecevit,* the leader of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP), announced that he would never accept the HP nor the SODEP as the representatives of the social-democrat movement, and the social-democrats would found in the near future their own party, the *Democratic Left Party* (DSP).

Panic-stricken by these two examples of defiance, some deputies as well as local officials of the HP began to look for a solution to get out of this deadlock. In the confusion, the Secretary General of the party, *Aydin Güven Gürkan,* put forward the idea of merging with the future DSP of Ecevit. This proposal was enthusiastically welcomed by the rank-and-file of the party and at the 1st grand convention held in July, 1985, the delegates, overthrowing party's founder *Calp,* elected *Gürkan* chairman and charged him with getting in touch with Ecevit with a view to merging with the DSP.

But Ecevit categorically rejected Gürkan's approaches in this sense and claimed that his future party would be the only representative of the social democrat movement. Disappointed with Ecevit's attitude, Gürkan did not delay of getting in touch with the chairman of the SODEP, *Mr Erdal Inönü.*

Already, the first grand convention of the SODEP, held in June, 1984, had adopted a resolution calling for the fusion of all social democrat parties.

At the very first meeting, the two leaders, coming from academic backgrounds, gave a proof of conciliation which is unprecedented in the history of Turkish politics. They agreed to take all steps with the view to realising the fusion of the HP and the SODEP and to do their best in to overcome any difficulties which could arise because of the restrictions imposed by the Constitution and the hostilities that appeared between the partisans of the two sides during the local election campaign.

In a very short time, the two parties respectively held their extraordinary conventions and merged into a new social democrat party: the *Popular Social-Democrat Party* (SHP).

The fusion of the two parties, despite some local discord, has been welcomed with great enthusiasm by the social-democrat electors.

The campaign led by the duo *Gürkan-Inönü* in provinces where they called on all social democrats to unite within the SHP, played an important role in merging the rank-and-file of the two parties.

The undeniable proof of the success of this new momentum had been the scores obtained at local stand-by elections by the common candidates of the two parties. While the SODEP candidate was elected mayor of the Emirdag district by obtaining 50 percent of the votes, in September 1985, prior to the fusion, the candidate of the SHP was elected mayor in the Sarayköy district, after fusion, on November 17, by obtaining 57.45 percent of the votes.

After these two victories, the Turkish press began to talk of a possible victory of the SHP at the coming legislative elections in 1988.

What is more, since the merger of the two parties 84 deputies of the HP at the National Assembly have become the representatives of the SHP which enjoys a massive popular support.

According to the calendar established between the two components of the new party, the SHP will be chaired until May 1986, by A.G. Gürkan while Erdal Inönü remains as the counsellor of the chairman. The SHP, after making all its local congresses, will hold its first grand convention and the delegates will make a choice for chairman between Inönü and Gürkan, if both of them offer themselves as candidates.

However, it is rumoured in social democrat circles that Inönü and Gürkan will respectively assume the posts of chairman and secretary general after the convention. The same circles estimate also that, in the case of an electoral victory, Inönü will be the candidate

for the President of the republic while Gürkan will asume the post of prime minister.

No doubt, the concretisation of all these hopes depends on a more healthy cohesion of the rank-and-files of the two components within the new party, on a more determined and coherent attitude concerning human rights as well as on the failure of rival initiatives by former social-democrat leader Ecevit.

Phenomenon of Ecevit

Though he had every chance in 1983 to orient all members of his defunct party to a new political party, Ecevit failed to carry out this political mission by refusing all proposals and suggestions in this sense coming from his former collaborators and sympathisers. As explained beforehand, instead of taking such an initiative, he preferred to attend the meetings of the *Socialist International* abroad and to count only on the solidarity of his European comrades.

But the social democrat masses did not delay in taking the initiative in their own hands and finding new personalities to lead their movement.

Angry with this new momentum of the social democrat movement, Ecevit tried first to discredit the two new social democrat parties by accusing them of working within the legal limites imposed by the military. But this argument was not convincing enough for the social democrats who know that Ecevit himself and his wife made many visits to Western capitals with special permission from the military while other political leaders were deprived of this right.

Secondly, Ecevit attempted to set the rank-and-file of each party against the other with a view to preventing their possible merger. But this attempt, too, was doomed to failure after the birth of the SHP.

Thereupon, just as the social democrat masses were enthusiastically celebrating the birth of their unified party, Ecevit, taking no heed of all warnings coming from his former comrades, charged his wife with founding a rival party: The *Democratic Left Party (DSP).*

Although Ecevit claimed that the SHP was founded by certain politicians having no contact with the social democrat basis, everyone know that in fact it was the DSP which was founded, without taking into consideration the will of the grass roots, by Mrs. Ecevit and a few confidants of the Ecevit family. All fundamental documents of the party were drawn up and even printed by the Ecevit family many months prior to the foundation of the party. The election of Mrs Ecevit as Chairwoman of the DSP is another proof of the rubber-stamp character of the founding assembly of the party.

Ecevit also accused the HP of having the deputies in the National Assembly elected in an anti-democratic way. It is true that the 1983 elections were very far from being a democratic election. But it is Mrs Ecevit herself who transferred four of these deputies to her party and included them in its founding assembly.

On December 7, 1985, following all party transfers, the DSP had four seats in the National Assembly while the SHP had 84, the ANAP 208, the MDP 53 and 44 deputies remained independent.

The opinion-polls in November 1985 show that the Ecevit family's party had a minimal

PERCENTAGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

LEFT	Local elections - 1977		RIGHT
CHP (center-left)	42.09	AP (center-right)	37.18
TIP (socialist)	0.51	MSP (fundamentalist)	6.80
TBP (progresive)	0.28	MHP (neo-fascist)	6.73
SDP (socialist)	0.02	DP (right)	1.02
TSIP (socialist)	0.23	CGP (right)	0.53
Independents	4.61		
Total left	47.74	Total right	52.26

LEFT	Partial elections - 1979		RIGHT
CHP (center-left)	29.14	AP (center-right)	46.83
TIP (socialist)	0.71	MSP (fundamentalist)	9.70
TBP (progressive)	1.18	MHP (neo-fascist)	6.60
SDP (socialist)	0.71	CGP (right)	2.49
TSIP (socialist)	1.31		
Independents	1.33		
Total left	34.38	Total right	65.62

AFTER THE 1980 COUP D'ETAT

LEFT	Legislative elections - 1983		RIGHT
HP (center-left)	30.46	ANAP (right)	45.15
Independents	1.12	MDP (right)	23.27
Total left	31.58	Total right	68.42

LEFT	Local elections - 1984		RIGHT
SODEP (center-left)	23.40	ANAP (center-right)	41.26
HP (center-left)	8.81	DYP (heir of AP)	13.35
Independents	1.34	MDP (right)	7.11
		RP (fundamentalist)	4.76
Total left	33.52	Total right	66.48

LEFT	Opinion Poll - November 1985		RIGHT
SHP (center-left)	32.76	ANAP (center-right)	31.03
DSP (center-left)	6.26	DYP (heir of AP)	17.24
		MDP (right)	6.89
		RP (fundamentalist)	3.71
Total left	39.02	Total right	58.87

chance in the electorate with 6.26 percent while the SHP had 32.76 percent.

With this minimal electoral chance, Ecevit's rival party will serve only to widen the division of left-wing votes and consequently to maintain a right-wing government after the 1988 elections.

As for the *Socialist International*'s solidarity with Ecevit, until now it was a gesture in favour of a distinguished comrade deprived of his political rights.

But after the foundation of social democrat parties, their counterparts in the world will have to take into consideration the political realities of Turkey and to manifest their solidarity not in the concern for a former acquaintance, but with a view to contributing to the development of the social democrat movement, one of the principal components of democratic forces of Turkey.

Extra-parliamentary left

As is explained in detail above, the Marxist left, still considered illegal by the present regime, cannot enter the parliamentary scene or legally organise itself.

It appears that until radical modification is made to the Constitution, it has to establish itself in the popular masses through democratic organisations, and to support legal left-wing formations, with a view to assuring a two-thirds majority in the future parliament, a majority which is indispensable to the modification of the Constitution and to emerging an end to the arbitrary rule of General Evren and the military.

Being the main target of the 5-year repression during which tens of thousands of its militants were arrested, tortured, imprisoned and deprived of political and civil rights, the Left for the time being is in a period of weakness.

What is more, quarrels between the different factions of each underground organisation have weakened them. Each organization has suffered from fractures and desertions.

Although the arrested leaders of each organisation suffered at the hands of the military, some of the leaders who have been able to flee and take refuge in Western Countries have tried to consolidate their control within their organisation, declaring that their opponents in the bosom of the party are "excluded"...

During the five years of military repression, even the parties with the same political tendencies have not been able to bring about a fusion themselves. Some initiatives in this sense are doomed to failure.

The oldest among them, the *Communist Party of Turkey* (TKP), is also split in two. The faction in England has declared itself an independent party under the banner of *TKP/Işçinin Sesi* (Worker's Voice).

Following this division, the leaders of the party have taken on a new initiative in 1984 with a view to regrouping other political parties of the same line within one alliance: The Union of the Left. On this appeal, the *Worker's Party of Turkey* (TIP); the *Socialist Worker's Party of Turkey* (TSIP); the *Communist Worker's Party of Turkey* (TKEP), the *Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan* (TKSP), and the *Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan* (PPKK - a faction of PKK-KIP) are formally allied with the TKP. Although three of them, the TKP, the TIP and the TSIP had already announced before the coup their intention of fusing into a sole Marxist-Leninist party, they have still not reached this stage, and the TKP, acting as the only Marxist-Leninist party in Turkey, continues to present the other parties as its "allies" to the international forums of world communist parties.

In his article which appeared in the September 1985 *World Marxist Review*, the theoretical and information journal of Communist Parties throughout the World, the Secretary General of the TKP outlined the position of his party as follows: "The bourgeois press expresses in various ways the idea that the country needs a communist party keeping 'equidistant' from the two social systems and opposed to 'Soviet Marxism'. The best answer to this is to go on building up the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the name of peace and social progress. Our party contributes its share to this struggle by working to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in Turkey, increase its influence on the left movement and foster proletarian internationalism in contrast to bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. We popularise the historic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and show the decisive role which they are playing in today's world."

As for the other left-wing parties whose names have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, an attempt to constitute the "United Front of Anti-Fascist Resistance" (FKBDC) with the participation of Dev-Yol, PKK, TEP, TKEP and the Worker's Voice (TKP/IS) is doomed to failure, after some joint actions in Europe.

Like these five groups, the others, notably the TDKP, the TKP/ML, the TKB/B, Kurtulus, the DevSol, the KUK and the TIKP, tried also to make themselves heard through publications edited by their leaders or through some specific actions in the foreign countries which have welcomed them.

Of course, it is not possible for the time being to evaluate the strength lost by each organisation and to determine their capacity to gather new forces for future struggles. The majority of the militants of the Marxist left or the Kurdish Movement, some in prison and others underground, are still in a state of "wait and see".

Some unidentified activists of these parties try to use the legal possibilities in trade unions, associations and social-democrat parties in order not to lose their contact with the population.

Unless the Marxist and Kurdish parties are legalised and take their place in the political fan, it is not possible to say that a pluralist political life was established in Turkey.

Even the legalisation of one or a few of these parties will not signify the establishment of political pluralism as long as the others are deprived of the same right.

Only such a democratisation of the political life will allow each political opinion to express itself and to organise freely. And only after such a democratisation that Marxist and Kurdish parties can save themselves from dispersal, and identical or similar tendencies can merge or the weaker ones join the stronger ones. After such a process, they will constitute, on the left of social democracy, one of the essential forces of Turkey's future democracy.

Until that day, whatever may be the composition of the political fan, democracy in Turkey will remain a shaky "democracy" *à la turque*.

1983-1985 in Brief

November 1983

6: First legislative elections after the coup are held. ANAP obtains absolute majority.
11: NSC adopts new Law on the Press.
14: 25 leading members of the Turkish Peace Committee are condemned.
15: The proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus".
24: The National Assembly opens.
30: A Retired army general, Suat Ilhan, is appointed by Evren to the head of the Atatürk Culture, Language and History Supreme Council.

December:

5: General Necdet Ürug is named Chief of General Staff.
6: NSC, before ending its legislative function, adopts a law banning all polemics on the decisions and practices of the military rule. Then, the four members of the NSC begin to carry out their new functions: Members of the Presidential Council.
13: Turgut Ozal announces the new government of the ANAP.

January 1984:

3: Political detainees' hunger-strike in Diyarbakir Military Prison.
10: Martial Law Command of Istanbul bans all polemics on "amnesty".
17: Evren attends the Islamic Summit in Casablanca and is elected Vice-Chairman.
25: 102 members of TIP are condemned to prison terms of up to 12 years.
26: The World Bank mission to Turkey announces the bank's support of Ozal's economic policies.
27: Condemnation of MSP leaders is overruled by the Military Court of Cassation.
30: *Fait accompli* at the Council of Europe. New Turkish deputies attend the Parliamentary Assembly meeting without any invitation.

February:

16: Seven prisoners are reportedly killed during the hunger-strike in Diyarbakir Military Prison.
22: Political detainees in Mamak military prison of Ankara start hunger-strike.

March:

8: Eleven deaths during hunger-strikes in military prisons.
9: The rules of state of emergency enter in force.
20: Evren says he is categorically against any political amnesty.
21: Martial law is lifted in 13 provinces, but replaced by state of emergency in eight of them.
23: Seven German politicians from the Green Party are expelled from Turkey after staging a mini-protest in the Turkish capital against prison conditions.
25: First local elections after the coup. SODEP and DYP surpassed the votes of HP and MDP.

April:

7: Legal proceedings against the DYP.
11: Hunger-strikes start at the military prisons of Metris and Sagmalcilar in Istanbul.
26: Non-governmental organizations condemn the continuing violation of human rights in Turkey at a public hearing held in the European Parliament.

May:

2: State security courts begin to work in eight provinces.
7: A second mass trial against 120 members of the TIP.
8: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe reintegrates the Turkish regime.
11: A bill proposing amnesty for press offences is turned down by a majority of the National Assembly.
19: 1,256 distinguished intellectuals give Evren a petition demanding the restoration of fundamental rights and freedoms.
22: Military prosecutors start inquiries against the signatories of the petition.
24: European Parliament adopts a Resolution asking the Turkish regime to speed up the "return to democracy".

June:

12: Chief Prosecutor opens legal proceedings at the Constitutional Court to close down the DYP.
13: It is reported that 270 military personnel were arrested for Turkes' escape attempt from military prison.
17: Death of two more political detainees in military prison.
19: Two more dead in military prison.
27: Military prosecutor indicts 56 of 1,256 signatories of petition.
30: While DISK is still suspended, the fascist-oriented labour confederation MISK is reopened with the military's permission.

July:

8: Projection of 837 different cinema films is banned.

August:

15: Armed clashes between Kurdish militants and Army units in Eruh and Semdinli.
23: Release of DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk and other leading members.
30: Condemnation of the Turkish Peace Committee's leading members is overruled by the Military Court of Cassation.

September:

9: Yilmaz Güney dies in exile.
27: Second trial against the Turkish Peace Committee. Forty-eight other leading members of the committee face prison terms of up to 15 years.
28: MSP leaders are tried again.

October:

7: Left-wing militant Ilyas Has is executed.
26: Left-wing militant Hidir Aslan is executed.

November:

9: Five defendants of the Peace Committee trial are released.
23: Turkish Foreign Minister is withdrawn from the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe, protesting against the suspension of Turkish chairmanship in the Council.

December:

2: It is reported that 794 university professors have left their posts; 259 have been fired by YOK on the order of martial law authorities, 535 have themselves resigned in protest against academic autonomy violation.
24: Soviet Premier Tikhonov concludes a series of accords with the Turkish Government during his visit to Turkey.

January 1985:

12: 400 political detainees go on hunger-strike in Mersin military prison.
19: The Justice Ministry announces the interdiction of 1,500 books.
21: 18 leading members of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS) are acquitted.
30: ETUC decides to grant affiliation to DISK.

February:

2: A mission of the European Commission on Human Rights ends its contacts in Turkey.
6: Ozal visits Algeria.
13: Supporters of the Turkish regime set up a "lobby" the European Parliament.

March:

13: The Associated Press reveals findings of the European Commission on Human Rights: too many violations of human rights make Turkey unable to have a place among real democracies.
22: Following their visit to Turkey, representatives of the International Pen Club, Arthur Miller and Harold Pinter, say: "Turkey is the only country of the western world where one can risk being prosecuted for his opinions."

April:

9: Neo-fascist leader Alparslan Turkes is released.
18: European Parliament's resolution accuses the Ankara regime of "having launched a systematic campaign of genocide against the Kurdish minority."
22: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decides to hold a mini-session in Turkey in 1986, and adopts a moderate resolution on the human rights situation.
29: In answer to the European Parliament's resolution, Evren says: "We have enemies who have organized bands abroad to destroy the current atmosphere of security in our country."

May:

17: Military tribunal sentences 621 coal miners to heavy prison terms in Amasya.
23: Interior Minister Akbulut, referring to the armed clashes between Kurdish militants and the security forces, says: "This is warfare, guerilla warfare..."
30: Mayor of Fatsa Fikri Sönmez dies in military prison.

June:

5: The Law on Repentance becomes effective.
8: In an interview to the International Herald Tribune, Ozal claims that DISK's activities were financed by communists.

July:

12: The publication of Aziz Nesin's defense statement before a military tribunal is banned.
13: It is announced that 133,067 books of a left-wing publishing house were destroyed on the order of martial law authorities.
18: The National Assembly adopts a new law increasing the powers of the Police.

August:

8: Four European radical politicians are expelled from Turkey.
14: It is reported that all citizens will be filed by the authorities.

September:

1: Evren repeats that he is against any kind of political amnesty.
11: It is reported that 330 political prisoners benefitted from the Law on Repentance by denouncing their former comrades.

October:

19: Evren claims that all opponents of the regime are in the service of communists and separatists.
23: The European Parliament adopts a Resolution laying down five prerequisites for reopening Turco-European relations.

November:

10: An opinion-poll shows that the percentage of those who would vote for the ANAP is 31.03 while it was 45.15 in 1983.

December:

9: The European Commission on Human Rights, in a friendly settlement between Turkey and five European countries, decides to discontinue the contentious proceedings.
12: ETUC protests against the five European countries' conciliation with the Turkish regime.
19: Amnesty International's report: "Torture is systematic and widespread in Turkey."
31: It is reported that 313 legal cases have been started against journalists in the last 2-years.

STATE TERRORISM 1

MASS ARRESTS
MASS TRIALS
DEATH SENTENCES

Within a 5-year period of repression, political violence was replaced by state terrorism and more than 200 people were arrested, more than 50 thousand were tried before military tribunals, military prosecutors asked for more than 7 thousand death sentences, 429 political activists were condemned to capital punishment and 27 of them were executed. In 1985, martial law was replaced by a police state reinforced with the adoption of new repressive laws and decrees by the "civilian" rule.

The Militarization of the State under the guise of a "parliamentarian regime" has not met any organized opposition because, from the very first day of military rule, all democratic, political organizations and trade unions have been faced with unprecedented repression.

The military junta which came to power under the pretext of putting an end to political terrorism has replaced it with State terrorism.

In addition to the anti-democratic practices in the political field, already explained in preceding chapters, all high-ranking officers and public servants who might resist the militarization of the State have been dismissed and replaced by those who enjoy the generals' full confidence.

About 1,600 mayors, 18,000 public servants, 2,000 judges and prosecutors, 4,000 policemen, more than 700 university professors and 5,000 school teachers have been either fired or forced to resign under pressure.

During a recent meeting of the National Assembly, a populist deputy Seyfi Oktay disclosed that ever since the military takeover, the number of those dismissed by order of the martial law authorities had exceeded 100 thousand. "There are many people who have never been subjected to any legal proceedings, nor summoned to any police center... When they apply for a public service job, the intelligence services make an investigation about them. This is a situation entirely incompatible with the Constitution and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. I am afraid that this number may reach 200-300 thousand," he said.

According to the daily *Milliyet* of October 27, 1985, 3,377 of those dismissed on orders from martial law commanders have been found "innocent" by the judicial authorities, but the public services still will not allow them to regain their former posts.

On September 21, 1984, the same newspaper published the following data on mass arrests and condemnations:

From September 1980 up to 1984, within a four year period:

- The security forces took into custody 178,565 persons for preliminary investigation without any court warrant.
- Among them, 64,505 persons were arrested later through a court decision and kept in prison for their trial, the others being released after a long detention of up to 90 days.

According to the daily *Hürriyet* of April 24, 1984, by that time 233,645 people were still wanted by the security forces, 18,695 of whom had been indicted for their political actions or opinions.

The great majority of the victims of repression were detained during the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,958. They included:

203 members of Parliament,
79 journalists or writers,
93 judges or prosecutors,
35 district governors,
300 mayors,
6,191 teachers
6,758 state employees.

The very first day, the junta launched a denunciation campaign against the wanted people and within a 3-year period the NSC received about 150,000 letters from informers.

At the beginning of 1983, the military announced that 400,000 citizens were deprived of the freedom to travel because of legal proceedings pending against them.

Besides, a *Data Collecting Center* was set up at the Ministry of Interior, and all citizens of Turkey have been registered with complete data relating to their private and professional life, and their political opinions. In 1982 already, the Ministry had announced that 36,771 political activists had been apprehended due to this computer system. Computers have also been set on the borders to check dissidents' trips more efficiently.

The Ministerial Council decided in April 1983 to replace national identity cards with national security cards from 1984 onwards. The fingerprints of the holder as well as the usual information on his identity would be indicated, and a photograph would also be attached to the new cards.

Although the maximum capacity in civilian prisons is 55,000, the Ministry of Justice saif in an interview with the *Cumhuriyet* of July 29, 1983, that, at the time, the total number of inmates in civilian prisons amounted to 74,206, of whom 48,077 were convicts and 26,129 under arrest.

The number of political prisoners or detainees in civilian prisons amounted to 3,769 of whom 2,948 were in special prisons at Bartin, Bursa, Canakkale, Gaziantep and Antalya.

Many of them were brought there from military prisons after they were sentenced. To this figure should be added 15,307 inmates who were still in military prisons at the end of 1985.

Le Monde reported on July 20, 1985, that, according to a high official of the ruling ANAP, 35,000 people were at that date under detention "in connection with anarchy."

According to a survey by the Interior Ministry of Switzerland, among the 21 member countries of the Council of Europe, Turkey holds the record regarding the proportion of prisoners in relation to the population. In 1984, 178 of 100,000 inhabitants were in prison in Turkey, against 114 in Austria, 104.4 in the FRG, 83.3 in the Great Britain, 76.3 in Italy, 74.2 in France, 72.2 in Belgium, 70 in Denmark, 60 in Switzerland, 30 in Holland and 1 in Malta.

By changing legislation on the martial law regime ten times, the NSC empowered martial law commanders to order to shoot down any suspect in the street, to confiscate and ban publications, records, cassettes, films, to search individuals and their residence without court warrant.

The number of people who have been shot dead during man-hunts is estimated at more than 700.

After the coup, all the police forces also were placed under the authority of martial law commanders. The military junta assigned 99 billion TL to the reorganization of the police forces. It was decided to raise the number of police officers from 50,000 to 121,000 and to set up a rapid deployment force in each major city of Turkey. With the assistance of the FRG and the USA, the police forces have been equipped with modern weapons, helicopters and armoured vehicles.

According to a law adopted by the NSC on June 4, 1983, persons whose activities are considered harmful to law and order can be deported in a certain way, by being confined to a certain locality.

For four years, the whole territory of Turkey was under martial law and those who were indicted for their political opinions and activities were tried by military tribunals set up in Turkey's major cities.

The procedure at military tribunals was proof that the right to a fair trial provided by the European Convention on Human Rights was entirely violated. The bills of indictment were based on confessions obtained under torture. At mass trials, prisoners were judged without their identity being proven beforehand, without previous judicial inquiry; in some cases the defendants never appeared in court. Witnesses were intimidated or brainwashed before being brought to court; defendants were given no possibility to defend themselves; they were not even allowed to read their petitions. The time allowed for the defence was very short and sometimes the defendant was not allowed to speak in the court room.

Prior to the local 1984 elections, the Turkish Government began to lift martial law in some provinces. In many provinces martial law was replaced by a state of emergency and the civilian governors took over all the martial law commanders' authority. According to the Constitution, under a state of emergency, provincial governors can impose curfews, ban meetings and public rallies, order an end to strikes, close publications, forbid broadcasts, films and theatre performances. They are also empowered to seize all means of communication in case of need, to issue search warrants and to close schools.

To replace martial law tribunals in accordance with the Constitution, State Security Courts have been set up in eight cities of Turkey; Ankara, Diyarbakir, Erzincan, Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri, Konya and Malatya. 128 judges and prosecutors as well as 414 administrative workers have been charged at these courts. The judges and prosecutors include military ones. They deal with cases relating to State security, committed after the lifting of martial law. The acts committed earlier are still being tried at military courts.

Moreover, the law authorizing police authorities to remand an individual in custody for 45 days without any contact with his family or lawyer is still in force.

Arrests on the charge of "communist or separatist or fundamentalist propaganda or organization on these bases" continue. Those arrested on these accusations are tried before State Security Courts according to Articles 141, 142, and 163 of the Turkish Penal Code, borrowed from Mussolini's Penal Code in the 30s. The National Security Council, adopting on January 22, 1983, a new law modifying these articles, increased the punishment for these acts. The prison term for those who found "separatist" organizations was raised from 3 to

10 years; for founding "fundamentalist" organizations, from 7 to 12 years; and for "fundamentalist" propaganda, from 5 to 10 years.

The military has taken a series of repressive measures against all democratic organizations - political, trade union or professional - by closing them down or by arresting their officials.

Up to April 11, 1983, 203 former parliamentarians had become the object of legal proceedings. While 154 were Republican People's Party (CHP) members, only two were from the Justice Party (AP). Fifteen and thirty were prosecuted from the neo-fascist MHP and the fundamentalist MSP respectively.

The trade union members prosecuted were 3,067, of whom 2,583 were from the *Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK).* Two hundred and forty-six of them were kept under arrest for different periods.

There were also 15,685 association members legally prosecuted, of whom 3,754 were kept under arrest for different periods. Five hundred and ninety-six of them were from the *Teachers Association of Turkey (TÖB-DER),* 13,536 from left-wing or Kurdish associations and only 1,426 from right-wing organizations.

According to the daily *Milliyet* of February 29, 1984, over the three years of military rule, 23,667 associations were banned on the pretext that some irregularities had been found in their books or that they had been involved in political activities. The most striking example of this practice was the prosecution of the Turkish Peace Committee, whose main leaders were sentenced to heavy prison terms just before the elections.

The Public Servants' Association (TÜM-DER), the Technical Servants' Association (TÜTED), the University Tutors' Association (TÜMAS), the Public Health Servants' Associations (TÜS-DER), the Police Officers' Association (POL-DER), the Peasant Cooperatives' Union (KÖY-KOOP), the Teachers' Association of Turkey (TOB-DER), the People's Houses (Halkevleri) and all progressive youth associations are among the banned associations.

As for the surviving associations, they have been subjected to a number of restrictions in accordance with the Constitution and the new law on associations. In particular, any comments on government policies are considered "political". This restriction is likely to prevent all associations from defending their members' interests.

Another law adopted by the military has brought many restrictions on the right to hold meetings or rallies. Those who want to organize a meeting or rally must inform local authorities 72 hours in advance. Governors can suspend for three months all meetings and rallies they deem "unsuitable". The same law also bans trade unions and associations from holding meetings and rallies on matters which are out of their sphere of activities. Offenders of the bans on meetings face prison terms up to 8 years.

One should add that all associations are under strict control of the State Supervisory Council.

This new legislation hits not only associations, but also political parties founded with military permission. The Chief Prosecutor of the Republic has opened many legal proceedings against the *Correct Way Party* (DYP), the SODEP, the *Welfare Party* (RP) and others.

All professional organisations such as the Architects' and Engineers' Chambers, the Bar Associations or the Doctors' Union have been subjected to inquiries for their declarations or acts.

On December 23, 1985, six leading members of the Turkish Doctors' Union (TTB) were brought before a tribunal in Istanbul for having sent a petition to the "President of the Republic" with the request to abolish the death sentence.

Even *Ekin A.S.*, a commercial society founded by some reknown intellectuals to organize cultural activities has been confronted with many legal obstacles even in the period of "civil goverment".

According to a bulky document published by the *Contemporary Journalists' Association* in Ankara, over the course of the 4-year period from March 12, 1980, to March 12, 1984, Turkish journalists were condemned to prison terms totalling 316 years, four months and 20 days. Over the same period, martial law commanders 41 times ordered the banning of newspapers for a definite or indefinite period. Distribution in Turkey of 927 publications printed abroad was indefinitively banned.

Even in the last 2-year period of civilian government, 313 legal proceedings were taken against journalists in Istanbul alone.

Eighteen leading members of the Writers'



Union of Turkey (TYS) were tried before a military tribunal for having cooperated with DISK. Military prosecutors brought distinguished intellectuals before tribunals for having signed a petition demanding the restoration of human rights and freedoms. That also happened during the period of "civilian government".

Since the foundation of the Higher Education Council (YOK) which is directly attached to the "President of the Republic", 794 university professors have left their posts; 259 have been dismissed by YOK on the order of martial law authorities, while 535 resigned or asked for early retirement in protest against academic autonomy violations.

Man-hunts, torture, threats and intimidation have been the daily practice both of the military government and the civilian one. The military regime justified measures derogating from the European Convention on Human Rights by recalling that, prior to the 1980 coup, the country went through a wave of political violence with an average toll of 20 deaths a day. However, one has to face up to the fact that over the first few months of the regime, in 1980-81, "law and order" was already established. There was not even any considerable armed resistance against the security forces.

In a "White Book" published on July 20, 1984, the civilian government boasted that during the first six-month period of its term of office, the number of politically motivated incidents had fallen to 8, with only 11 casualties. This figure is not higher than those recorded in some other European countries. Despite this fact, all the extraordinary repressive measures are still in force and the civilian government add many new ones.

Before the lifting of martial law, the civilian government drafted many repressive laws and had them passed by the National Assembly.

According to a law adopted in July 1985, the police is invested with the task of maintaining "law and order" and, in this connection, entitled to apprehend any person and to keep him in custody for 24 hours, during which time this person has to be duly filed. As for people who are held as suspects in connection with collective crimes, police custody is set at fifteen days. The police is also empowered to search without court warrant, to question prisoners in jail, to decide to suspend any trade union, association and professional organization, and to close down theaters and places of entertainment.

Another law adopted on June 5, 1985, ensures that people who inform against "resistance groups" will be pardoned and, if need be, will benefit from free esthetical surgery. Denouncers who inform against organizations that were involved in "crimes against the

State," are to be cleared of all charges — provided they themselves did not take part in acts of violence, — or otherwise are to benefit from significant sentence cuts. The informer will be given a new identity card (with a different name) and sent abroad.

All these laws are aimed at tightening Turkey's police state and widening the range of repressive measures against opponents of the regime.

During the adoption of these laws, the Director General of the State Security Department Saffet Bedük Arikan went to the FRG in order to ensure that the Turkish police will be supplied with very sophisticated devices. In addition, he visited the German Anti-Terror Brigade (GSG) with the purpose of setting up a "*Thunder Force*" to be equipped with West-German helicopters.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of August 14, 1985, the Ministry of Interior ordered the headmen of 35,268 villages of Turkey to file all inhabitants of their locality. These files consist, among other things, of information concerning the political tendency and ideological choice of each inhabitant.

The same ministry announced in December 1985 that, according to another new regulation, intelligence services since 1984 had started a security inquiry on 190,793 public servants. Also some new criteria have been established for new candidates to public service posts: Even those:

- who were born in a hostile country, but have not yet lived in Turkey more than ten years after his arrival there,
- who have close relatives sentenced as communists or suspected communists,
- who have any characteristics that might lead them to being influenced by a foreign state,
- who are married to people who are not of Turkish origin, or who have not joined the ideal of Turkism, would not be given a "security card", necessary for access to the public service.

It should be reminded that those who are not of Turkish origin have already been deprived of the right to be State officials.

Many police centers have been equipped with lie detectors to interrogate suspects.

During the debates on the 1986 budget at the National Assembly, it was announced that the amount of funds allocated to the National Intelligence Service was increased to 418 million TL, although it was 172 million in 1984 and 264 million in 1985.

In short, although martial law had been lifted in many provinces at the end of 1985, a very well organized and equipped "police state" has been established and consolidated in Turkey.

MASS TRIALS

One of the most striking images of the military rule has been the abundance of political mass trials and the capital punishment demands for political activists.

All those who had attempted to organize for a radical change in the unjust social order or to talk or write in this sense have been brought before military tribunals and tried according to articles 141, 142 and 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Articles 141 and 142 were borrowed from Mussolini's Italian Penal Code which is no longer in force in Italy.

Article 270 of Mussolini's Code reads:
"... whosoever attempts to create associations, establish, organize or direct them with the aim of imposing by force the dictatorship of one social class over others or of abolishing a class is liable to a penalty of 5 to 12 years' imprisonment.

Article 141 of the TPC reads:

"1. Whosoever shall attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society with the aim of establishing the hegemony or domination of a social class over other social classes, or eliminating a social classe, or overthrowing any of the fundamental economic or social orders established within the country shall be punished by heavy imprisonment of not less than eight and not more than fifteen years. Those who direct several or all of such societies shall be condemned *to the death penalty*.

"2. The same penalty — except for the clause providing for capital punishment — shall apply to those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society aimed at the complete or partial

overthrowing of the political and legal orders of the State.

"3. The same penalty — except for the clause providing for capital punishment — shall apply to those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society against republicanism or aimed at the governing of the Sate by a single person or a group contrary to the principles of democracy.

"4. Those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society aimed at abrogating partly or totally, or weakening, as a result of racial discrimination, any of the civil rights consecrated by the Constitution, shall be condemned to a term of heavy imprisonment not less than one year and not more than three years.

"5. Those who enter any society enumerated in sections 1, 2 and 3 shall be condemned to a term of imprisonment not less than six months and not more than two years.

"6. Those who perpetrate the above-mentioned crimes in the offices or departments of the State or of the municipalities, or within the premises of economic enterprises to which part or whole of the capital belongs to the State, or in trade-unions or workers' associations or schools or any other establishments of higher education, or among the civil servants, employees or members of such, shall have their legal punishments augmented by one-third.

"7. In case any of the authors of the crimes enumerated in this article should denounce the crime and its co-authors to the responsible authorities before the opening of the trial, and provided that the accuracy of the denunciation is established, the capital punishment shall be replaced by heavy imprisonment not less than ten years and the other punishments shall be diminished to a fourth at maximum, according to the circumstances and the particularities of the case.

"8. A society, in the sense of this Article, is constituted by the coming together of two or more persons bound by the same purpose."

Article 272 of Mussolini's Penal Code reads: "... whosoever makes propaganda with the aim of introducing by force the dictatorship of one social class over another is liable to a penalty of 1 to 5 years imprisonment."

Article 142 of the TPC reads:

"1. Whosoever shall be found guilty of carrying on propaganda with the view to establish domination of a social class over other social classes, or eliminating a social class, or overthrowing any of the fundamental economic or social orders established in the country, or the complete political and legal system of the State, shall be punished with heavy imprisonment from five to ten years.

"2. Whosoever shall carry on propaganda with the purpose of furthering the government of the State by a single individual or a group, contrarily to the principles of republicanism or democracy shall be punished likewise.

"3. Whosoever shall carry on propaganda with the aim of abrogating, in whole or in part and on grounds based on racial considerations, any of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, or destroying national feelings, shall be punished by a term of imprisonment not less than one and not more than three years.

"4. Those who shall praise the above-mentioned acts shall be punished, in the case of sections one and two, to a maximum of five years' heavy imprisonment, and in case of section three, to imprisonment from one to three years.

"5. Those who shall perpetrate the above-mentioned acts among the people or within the premises enumerated in section 6 of Article 141, shall have their punishments augmented by one third.

"6. In case the above-mentioned acts are perpetrated by means of publication the penalty involved shall be increased by a half.

"7. In case any of the authors of the crimes enumerated in this article shall denounce the crime and its co-authors to the responsible authorities before the opening of the trial, and provided the accuracy of the denunciation is established, the penalties of imprisonment may be brought down to a fourth at the maximum, according to the circumstances and the particularities of the case."

These articles of the TPC were modified by the NSC and prison terms have been raised to up to 20 years for the acts in question.

Many left-wing and democratic organisations and their officials are tried before military tribunals according to these articles.

Article 146 carries the *death penalty* and thousands of left-wing political activists are tried under the accusation formulated in this article.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONDEMNATIONS TO ORGANISATIONS

Organisation	Number of those sentenced to prison	Number of those sentenced to death
DEV-YOL (Revolutionary Path)	1,552	73
PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)	640	129
TDKP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey)	632	19
TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist)	529	43
TKP (Communist Party of Turkey)	436	—
KURTULUS (Liberation)	390	7
DEV-SOL (Revolutionary Left)	272	21
KAWA (Kurdish Organisation)	246	6
MLSPB (Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit)	227	22
DHB (People's Revolutionary Union)	223	9
TIP (Workers' Party of Turkey)	185	—
THKP/C (Popular Liberation Party/Front of Turkey)	177	22
KIP (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)	153	—
EB (Union for Action)	97	10
DS (Revolutionary Struggle)	94	—
Ala Rizgari (Kurdish organisation)	93	—
IGD (Progressive Youth Association)	89	1
ACILCILER (Emergency Group)	83	12
Rizgari (Kurdish organisation)	75	—
HDÖ (People's Revolutionary Vanguards)	71	12
TKEP (Communist Labour Party of Turkey)	71	3
TKP/B (Communist Party of Turkey/Union)	70	—
TOB-DER (Teachers' Association of Turkey)	51	—
TIKB (Revolutionary Communists' Union of Turkey)	51	—
KUK (National Liberation of Kurdistan)	41	3
TDY (Path of Turkey's Revolution)	40	1
YDGD (Patriotic-Revolutionary Youth Association)	37	—
DHY (Revolutionary People's Path)	34	—
TKP/IS (Communist Party of Turkey/Workers' Voice)	33	—
TIKP (Workers-Peasants' Party of Turkey)	28	—
PY (Partisan's Way)	25	—
DK (Revolutionary Liberation)	24	9
THKO (Popular Liberation Army of Turkey)	22	2
TSIP (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey)	22	—
Jehovah's Witnesses	22	—
TKKKO (Liberation Army of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan)	16	—
TIEKP (Revolutionary Communist Labour Party of Turkey)	15	—
EK (Emancipation of Labour)	14	—
DC (Revolutionary Front)	13	—
Kivilcim (Spark)	11	1
DÖ (Revolutionary Vanguards)	10	—
DEV-GENC (Revolutionary Youth)	9	—
Palestinian Guerillas	—	4
DDKD (Progressive Cultural Association of the East)	7	—
SGB (Socialist Youth Union)	4	—
TEKOSIN (Kurdish organisation)	3	2
HY (People's Path)	3	2
TIKKO/Bolcheviks (scission of TKP/ML)	3	—
EB (Union of Labour)	3	—
ÜY (Third Path)	3	—
TEP (Labour Party of Turkey)	1	—
TIIKP (Revolutionary Workers-Peasants' Party of Turkey)	1	—
UKO (Revolutionary Liberation Army)	1	—
DIFFERENT WORKERS' GROUPS	741	—
DIFFERENT KURDISH GROUPS	199	4
DIFFERENT LEFT-WING GROUPS	331	39
DIFFERENT RIGHT-WING GROUPS	566	35
DIFFERENT UNLABELLED GROUPS	528	25

Article 146 reads:

"Whosoever forcibly attempts to alter or change or abolish the whole or part of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and to overthrow the Grand National Assembly constituted according to this Constitution or prevent it from performing its duties shall be punished by the *death penalty*.

"Those who, either by themselves or together with more than two persons, and in the forms and through the means enumerated in Article 65, shall, either by fomenting sedition orally or by writing or by acts or by delivering speeches or hanging placards in public squares or streets or in places where people gather, or by publication, instigate and incite others to perpetrate these crimes shall be condemned to death even though the conspiracy constitutes only an attempt.

"Those who conspire in the commission of the crimes enumerated in section 1 by any other means than those enumerated in Article 65 shall be condemned to a term of heavy imprisonment from five to ten years and to permanent disqualification from public office."

Four other Articles of the TPC have been constantly used.

Article 159 provides a sentence of up to six years' imprisonment for anyone who insults the government, the armed forces or the security forces. Under martial law it is, of course, the military themselves who decide whether they have been insulted.

Article 158 provides a sentence of up to five years' imprisonment for anyone who insults the President.

Article 312 provides a sentence of two years' imprisonment for anyone who incites one class against other classes.

Article 163 provides a sentence of 6-year imprisonment for anyone who disrespects the secular principle of the State.

According to the Military Code of Criminal Procedure, military prosecutors and judges are under the authority of local military commanders. These military commanders have also been authorized to intervene in investigations at any time.

Defendants, even if they be civilians, are considered military personnel by the military court of martial law and are tried under the Military Code of Criminal Procedure.

Defendants are deprived of the right to reject a military judge and to demand other judges, even if the military judge displays partiality.

It is no longer possible to inform public opinion of the partiality of a military judge, since the latter is authorized to impose censorship.

If a defendant or his lawyer insists on an objection, the military court can remove either or both from the court room and even put them under arrest. In this event, the trial can be held without the presence of the defendant and/or his lawyer, and judgement can be made by default.

If there is only one witness in any given case, the military court is not obliged to hear him in the court room. The military judges are authorized to accept witnesses' written statements, obtained and filed during the preliminary investigation. That is to say, the military judges can take a decision on the basis of a false statement. The defendants do not have the right to verify the authenticity of the statement or even to verify whether the witness actually exists or not. According to this amendment, military prosecutors and military judges can send someone to jail without any concrete evidence.

Military courts are authorized to restrict the time allotted to defence as they wish.

Moreover, the NSC decreed that sentences of up to 3-year imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Cassation, and the convicted person should immediately be incarcerated.

At mass trials military judges can apply the rules proper to "war conditions."

For these reasons, all trials held before military tribunals are in full contradiction to the "fair trial" principle of the European Convention on Human Rights, and the military's whole juridical system is a sham.

According to data given on December 31, 1985, by the General Headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces, during a 7-year period of martial law, military tribunals have tried 45,613 cases, of which 44,507 ended in judgements:

15,897 convictions
13,603 acquittals,
15,007 withdrawals.

Since a majority of the cases are related to the mass proceedings, the total number of people arrested within the framework of these 45,613 files has risen to 67,304.

The same source reports that the number

of the condemned people in 15,897 proceedings ended in conviction has risen to 44,225.

Details of punishments are as follows:

22,912 persons to up to a year in prison;
10,733, from 1 to 5 years;
6,166, from 5 to 10 years;
2,396, from 10 to 20 years;
939, to more than 20 years;
630, to life in prison;
429, to death.

At the end of 1985, there were still 1,106 cases being tried by military tribunals, notably those of the leaders of DISK, the Turkish Peace Committee, the Writers' Union of Turkey, and the different cases of left-wing political parties or groups and the neo-fascist MHP.

Although the distribution of the sentences to the organizations has not been detailed by the state authorities, we are drawing up a table on the basis of information which appeared in the Turkish Press. (See: Page 176)

Although 429 political activists have been condemned to capital punishment and 27 of them executed, the total number of those for whom military prosecutors demanded capital punishment has risen to more than 7,000 within the same period. Just before the November 1983 elections, this number was established as 6,353. Distribution of these demands for capital punishment to different organisations was as follows:



Denunciation Office at the Turkish western border

DEV-YOL	2,458
PKK	957
THKP/C	571
DEV-SOL	529
TKP/ML	254
TDKP	177
KAWA	154
KURTULUS	118
DISK	68
MLSPB	57
DHB	10
EB	10
ACILCILER	13
HDÖ	31
TIKB	31
KUK	18
TKP/IS	18
RIZGARI-ALA RIZGARI	13
THKO	12
TEKOSIN	11
TKEP	11
DK	10
HY	3
OTHERS	819

Many mass trials in connection with these capital punishment demands were not yet concluded at the end of 1985. As for the trials which ended, while 429 defendants have been sentenced to death, the others who also faced capital punishment have either been sentenced to prison terms or simply acquitted.

The General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces reports that 67,304 people were the object of an arrest order, but on November 1, 1985, there were only 15,307 people in military prisons — 9,805 sentenced and 5,502 awaiting the result of their trial while under arrest.

However, figures given by the authorities at different times and those published by the Press have always been in contradiction.

In May 1981, the Turkish Government announced that in the first seven months following the coup 122,609 "suspected extremists" had been arrested. *The New York Times* of May 24, 1981, reported a figure of "more than 100,000," attributing it to a NATO report.

Therefore, to claim that only 67,304 people have been arrested over a 7-year period is very far from being believable.

Nevertheless, even using the contradictory official reports given by the authorities, we can figure out an undeniable fact. The proportion of rightist activists among those arrested is only



14 percent. A great majority of them have already been released and only a hundred well known Grey Wolves remain in prison. Even the neo-fascist chief Alparslan Türkes has been set free, and he continues to propagate his chauvinist ideas.

A report entitled "*Terror and Evaluation of the Fight against Terror*", issued in 1983 by the Office of the Prime Minister, gave the following data on different characteristics of 60,481 people who were in military prisons by February 2, 1983:

POLITICAL TENDENCIES

Left	32,956 (54%)
Kurdish	3,921 (7%)
Right	8,198 (14%)
Others	15,406 (25%)

AGE GROUPS

Between 16-25	33,377 (56%)
Between 25-35	17,859 (30%)
Between 35-45	6,680 (11%)
Over 45	2,565 (4%)

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Higher education	9,487 (15%)
Secondary education	21,360 (35%)
Primary education	17,801 (30%)
Others	11,833 (20%)

SOCIAL STATUS

Worker	8,573 (14%)
Employee	6,384 (10%)
Teacher	4,087 (7%)
Self-employed	9,786 (16%)
Student	12,042 (20%)
Jobless	11,751 (20%)
Housewife	960 (2%)
Others	6,925 (11%)

As for the political tendencies of those who have been sentenced to different terms, one can easily notice the low proportion of rightist activists. The same report from the Prime Ministry indicated that within a 51-month period (from December 26, 1978, to March 31, 1983) martial law tribunals had condemned 32,650 people for political acts and opinions. The distribution of this number according to different political tendencies was as follows:

Left	17,494 (53.6%)
Kurdish	689 (2.1%)
Right	4,258 (13.1%)
Others	10,209 (31.2%)

Considering that the great majority of political murders prior to the military coup had been committed by right-wing activists, nobody can claim that military justice works in a just way. This whole judicial machinery invested

with extraordinary power has served to crack down on left-wing and democratic forces on the pretext of "halting political violence," and proceedings against the Right have been taken as "lip-service."

DEATH SENTENCES

Up to the end of 1985, the military regime condemned 429 political activists to capital punishment. Thirty-two of these condemnations have been ratified and 27 carried out. Four of these sentenced have escaped from prison and one has been shot dead by security forces during an act of resistance.

Besides the political activists, in the same period, 12 other persons who had been condemned for simple offences were also executed with the approval of the NSC, and the total number of the people executed has risen to 39.

At the end of 1985, eighty death sentences that had already been approved by the Military Court of Cassation were on the agenda of the National Assembly for ratification.

Besides, thousands of people were still being tried before military tribunals and risking capital punishment.

In fact, among the 21 member-countries of the Council of Europe, Turkey is the only country where capital punishment is still in force. Practically, all other European countries have abolished or suspended this inhuman method of "justice".

On April 28, 1983, an additional agreement to the European Convention on Human Rights regarding the abolishment of the death penalty was opened to the signature of the 21 member states, but up to the end of 1985, Turkey had not manifested any intention to ratify it. On the contrary, General Evren, in his many speeches, repeated that capital punishment is indispensable for maintaining "law and order" in the country.

In answer to protests from the Council of Europe and the European Parliament against executions, he delivered a fierce speech at Mus in early October 1984, saying: "Can those traitors be forgiven? Would you accept their not being hanged if they were apprehended, put on trial and sentenced to death? If we stop hanging them, this will encourage the terrorists."

Death sentences had not been carried out for the previous twelve years in Turkey. The military's hangmen had executed on May 6, 1972, three young resistance leaders, *Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Arslan* and *Hüseyin Inan*, during the preceding military rule between 1971 and 1973. On the great reaction from public opinion, the National Assembly did not ratify any other capital punishment until 1980.

After taking power, Evren's Junta, acting as legislative, restarted the carrying out of this inhuman punishment as one of its first practices. The first victims were *Necdet Adali* (left-wing) and *Mustafa Pehlivanlioglu* (right-wing), both executed on October 9, 1980, in Ankara.

They even executed a young student, *Erdal Eren*, on November 13, 1980, despite the fact that he was a minor at the time of the act in question and that there was no concrete proof against his participation in it. Executions continued until June 1983 with the hanging of 25 persons. Prior to the legislative elections of November 1983, the NSC stopped this practice as a token of the "return to democracy".

After succeeding in having themselves reintegrated into the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, the Turkish Generals forced the Turkish Parliament to ratify death sentences. As it turned out, for the first time, on October 4, the "elected" Members of Parliament ratified death sentences passed on two political prisoners.

On October 7, 1984, *Ilyas Has*, 29, a militant belonging to Dev-Yol (Revolutionary Path), was hanged in Izmir. This execution was followed by the hanging of Hidir Aslan, who belonged to the same organization, in Izmir on October 25, 1984.

In his indictment bill, the military prosecutor had accused Aslan of "attempting to change by violence the constitutional order." Yet, they failed to prove anything against Aslan, neither homicide nor that he had even held a leading post within Dev-Yol.

Before Aslan's execution, European Parliament Speaker Mr. Pierre Pflimlin sent a telegram to the permanent representative of Turkey to the European Communities for the latter to inform the Turkish authorities of the European Parliament Speaker's wish that a reprieve be granted to the condemned person on humanitarian grounds.

In West Germany, the "Hirsch Commit-

tee," which in April and May of that year had conducted a fact-finding mission in Turkey, appealed on October 15 to the "President of the Turkish Republic" and to the West-German Minister of Foreign Affairs. Professor Dr. Martin Hirsch, a former judge at the Federal Constitutional Court, along with several other German public figures said in their appeal to Mr. Genscher: "The elimination of human lives, ordered by the state, is deeply inhuman. A state which does not protect the lives of its citizens but destroys them, should not benefit from the Federal Government's support, neither economically and financially nor morally." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 16.10.1984).

After Aslan's execution, the Socialist, Communist and "Rainbow" Group Heads at the European Parliament in Strasbourg sent a letter to the EP Speaker requesting him to express to the Turkish authorities Parliament's "most absolute indignation". They also called on Mr. Pflimlin to intervene with the Council of Ministers of the Ten member countries to prevent the EEC-Turkey Association Treaty from being resumed.

On the other hand, the Council of Europe "regrets" the execution of the Turkish militant. Its Spanish-born Secretary-General, Marcelino Oreja, and the Speaker of the Parliamentary Assembly of the 21-member Council, the German Karl Ahrens, said they "expect" all member countries to "align gradually" with the principle of the abolition of the dealth penalty.

In France, the Senate paid tribute to Aslan. This gesture aroused the Turkish authorities' anger. On the other hand, 34 French intellectuals made an appeal to stand "an 18-hour democratic guard in front of the Turkish Embassy" on November 6.

In its October 26 issue the French daily *Le Monde* made the following comments on Aslan's execution: "It is strange that she (Turkey) continues to be represented within an organization whose 'principles of pre-eminence of law' is acknowledged by its member countries, as well as 'the principle whereby any individual falling within its jurisdiction must enjoy human rights and basic liberties'. The Greek Colonels were ousted from the Council for much less. One cannot but be amazed at seeing French public opinion, so sensitive to what happens elsewhere, responding with indifference to such news."



ERDAL EREN
One of the executed youths

Opposition to executions has always been manifested on every occasion, even in the darkest days of the repression. A juridical error which proved the injustice of capital punishment gave way, even in the Consultative Assembly appointed by the Junta, to an attempt to abolish this practice.

A leftist activist, *Ahmet Erhan*, was condemned by a military court on the charge of killing a rightist activist in 1979. The death sentence, based on only one person's evidence, was approved by the Juridical Committee of the Consultative Assembly on March 25, 1982, despite the fact that the same witness informed the Assembly that he had lied to the tribunal. Fortunately, because of a press campaign against this injustice, the Military Court of Cassation was obliged to withdraw the file from the Assembly.

At that time, a member of the Consultative

HIDIR ASLAN'S LAST LETTER

My dear elder brother,

I'm not going to write at length. I had prepared myself for this moment. My ultimate voyage should be as beautiful as my life has been. Should we be sad? No, please dear. It's no use, I feel, to pronounce grave words. Everything should be plain and simple as our lives.

If life is a song, I've been trying to sing it as well as I could. The days will also come when people will sing victory. I'm leaving happy, because even if it was short, I have chosen to live uprightly. If one lives for just causes, there is nothing one can not bear. Even death becomes simple. When death has a sense, it is as beautiful as life.

While writing this letter, I'm drinking tea and smoking a cigarette. Slowly, savouring it. I'm not leaving sad. I'm trying to go over in my mind my life as a whole. It's difficult, in a short instant, to follow everything, from the beginning to the end.

You had asked me to write a testament. I was in no hurry, but we will have had the time to do it. Stand for the just cause, that's my wish. For all of you. Give to all my friends, to all brave people my warm affection. I'm leaving without being ashamed, with head erect, and I expect no one to be saddened by it or distressed about it. That would harm me very much. Man must be able and is able to live with grief.

You have gone to a lot of trouble for me, so much that it possibly cannot be estimated. I have chosen to be worthy of you and of the others, of all representatives of working people, of all workers throughout the world. And if I failed to do all I could, others will stand up and implement this task.

All family rights I have, I relinquish them to you and to Aydin. I know that you will use them properly.

I would like to say a lot of things, but time is so short, I have ten minutes left. Don't be sad, don't let grief get you down. Be strong in the face of life, that's life. Give my affection to Sultan. I cannot list all your names, nor those of our friends. This letter is meant for all of them.

With all my affection, with all my heart, I clasp all of you in my arms, I embrace you to satiation. Be strong, keep your head erect. I will be amidst you on the beautiful days.

Your uncle, your brother, your friend.

HIDIR

Assembly, Ertugrul Alatli, drew up a draft bill which called for commutation of death sentences to life imprisonment. But he failed to collect the 10 signatures from other members of the Assembly to put it on the agenda.

In May 1983, a petition signed by three thousand people asking for the abolition of the death penalty was presented to the NSC and the Consultative Assembly, but it was not given a suit.

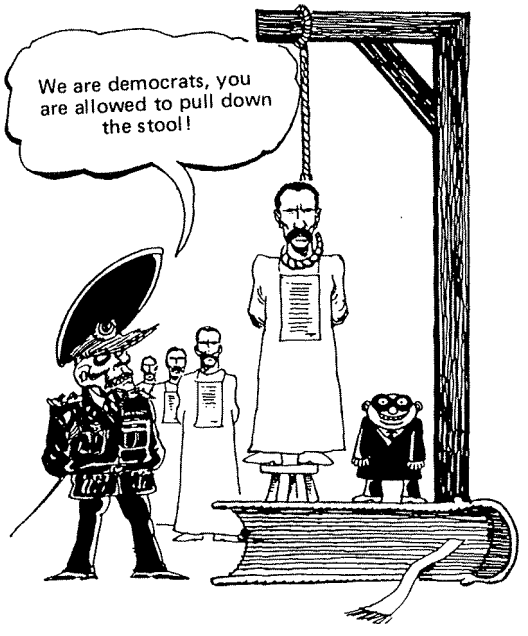
Lawyers of defendants sentenced to death made a new move to get the death penalty abolished in Turkey. Attorney *Halit Celenk*, in answer to questions from the Turkish News Agency on January 26, 1984, stated that the issue of the death penalty should be approached objectively, not emotionally. He added: "The most basic human right, the right to live, is being prevented by the application of the death penalty and this is opposite to the principles of democracy and civilized populations. The government's responsibility should be to protect human life. Anyone, whether for personal or social reasons, can be driven to commit a murder. However, a level-headed government cannot eliminate human life." Stressing that these punishments were not "preventive," Celenk called for their removal.

Another lawyer, *Sevket Can Ozbay*, said: "As someone who has accompanied several defendants to their place of execution and heard the laments of their families, I am asking for the immediate revocation of the death penalty. Not to do so would be harmful to future generations."

Lawyer *Mahdi Bektas* who has been present a few times at the execution of his clients: "I do not think I could stand witnessing another such event. To see someone's life eliminated by rules is an experience that no one who did not see it can understand."

Ismail Cakmak, another lawyer questioned by the Agency, said: "Capital punishment is not a punishment but, as many lawyers have said, a primitive method of revenge. As a matter of fact, in certain periods the application of the death penalty decreases and in others, it increases. It is also apparent that the application of the death penalty does not reduce the number of crimes committed."

Another important initiative to obtain the abolishment of capital punishment has been the petition signed by 1,256 intellectuals and sent to the "President of the Republic," a petition which provoked the anger of the latter.



In December 1985, the Central Council of the *Turkish Doctors' Union* (TTB) introduced a petition with the same demand to the "President of the Republic." But this initiative, too, has not been welcomed by the civilian government, and the Minister of Justice ordered the Public Prosecutor in Istanbul to begin proceedings for taking away the posts of six members of the council, all of whom are very distinguished medical specialists in Turkey. The trial of the six signatories, *Nusret Fisek, Atalay Yörükoglu, Haluk Ozbay, Nevzat Eren, Ragip Cam* and *Hüsnü Cuhadar*, began on December 23, 1985, before a tribunal in Istanbul.

DISK'S TRIAL

Among the political trials of the last period, those which have provoked world-wide interest and reaction have been the cases of DISK, the Turkish Peace Committee, the 1,256 signatory intellectuals, the Writers' Union of Turkey and that of the population of Fatsa.

The *Progressive Trade Unions Confederation* (DISK) is the second national union of the country, with about one million members. Though the other, TURK-IS, has an affiliation higher than DISK, it is organised mainly in the public sector and has always pursued conciliatory politics with regards to employers. Conversely, DISK was very well organised in the private sector, especially in the industrial zones surrounding Istanbul and other big cities, and distinguished as a dynamic trade union center fighting for the working class' interests.

It is DISK that was the major obstacle to the application of drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF and applauded by big business in Turkey. One of the principal objectives of the coup was to destroy this obstacle.

Thousands of trade union officials and militants were taken into police custody on the very first day of the new regime; trade union activities were suspended, and military prosecutors, after working for about one year, lodged charges against DISK with the military tribunal on October 26, 1981. The indictment itself covered some 1,000 pages and the whole dossier exceeded 6,000 pages.

The charge was mainly based on two paragraphs — paragraphs 141 and 146/1 — of the Turkish Penal Code that dates back to the time of Mussolini. These two paragraphs state that no social class has the right to dominate any other social class and that it is a punishable offense to attempt to overthrow the social and economic institutions of the country.

The military prosecutor called for the dealth penalty for 52 of the accused, and charges were also brought against 2,000 members of DISK.

The Prosecutor based the charges on three main grounds:

- the nature of DISK meetings,
- the nature of strikes,
- the content of publications.

Nature of meetings:

Legislation covering freedom of association had been in existence since 1961. According to this law, prior notification of intended meetings was required. If the authorities did not respond within 24 hours of receiving this notification, the meeting was considered to be within the law. Although the authorities had never banned any of DISK's activities in all the 12 years of its existence, the Prosecutor contested the legality of several of its meetings.

Strikes:

It was perfectly legal to organise strikes in Turkey, providing they were organized during a period of collective bargaining or within the

period of validity of collective agreements if these had been violated.

With two exceptions, DISK always complied with these requirements. The exceptions were two general strikes which were called spontaneously by the workers. These strikes led to legal proceedings, but in the indictment the military prosecutor denied that any legal action was taken.

Publications:

All DISK publications conformed to legal requirements. The law provided that the Government could intervene within a period of several months of publication. Over a period of 12 years this was never the case. The Prosecutor took no account of this law in the indictment.

The DISK Trial opened on December 24, 1981, at a military tribunal in Istanbul. It provoked world-wide reaction. We are reproducing below extracts on the case from world press.

- On the eve of worldwide celebration for peace and brotherhood, 52 trade unionists of DISK in Turkey will go on trial for their lives even though no act of violence is alleged against them. Curiously enough, 205 members of the Communist Party — always forbidden in Turkey — only heard stiff prison sentences demanded for them; whereas DISK is accused merely of having communist sympathies. The trade unionists are being judged under clauses in the Penal Code which are vague, ambiguous and which open the door to gross injustice. Once democracy is truly restored, one of the first acts must surely be to scrap these infamous clauses. The International Confederation of Free Trade-Unions demands a halt to the trials and the release of all trade unionists against whom no violent acts are charged. (*International Trade Union News, 17.12*).

- The Democratic French Labour Confederation (CFDT) asked the French government to take necessary steps against the Turkish Government at the European Commission for Human Rights. (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, 26.12).

- 30 out of 52 officials of DISK, tried in Istanbul, lodged complaints about torture, but these documents were not put in the minutes of the military tribunal. Mr. Bastürk, president of DISK, declared that he had been beaten many times on the head during his interrogation. (*The Sunday Times*, 27.12).

- MONSTROUS TRIAL IN ISTANBUL (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, 28.12).

- AN OUTLAW TRIAL: TO SAVE THE LIFE OF 52 MILITANTS. AN APPEAL OF THE CGT. (*L'Humanité*, 28.12).

- TURKISH TRIAL: COMPLAINTS ON TORTURE DISAPPEARED (*Le Matin*, 28.12).

- A MOCKERY OF A TRIAL IN ISTANBUL (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, 29.12).

- Three lawyers, K.N. Dahl (Norway), F. Poulsen (Denmark) and Mrs. A. Lagostena Bassi (Italy), acting as observers on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), have just attended the opening and first sittings of the trial in Istanbul of the 52 leaders of DISK. The trade union lawyers witnessed grave incidents which marked the opening of the trial and expressed their indignation against the restriction of the rights of the defence. The two trade union organisations will continue to be represented at the main sitting of the trial, which is likely to last several weeks or even months. (Press Release, 29.12).

- On Dec. 29, France expressed its "very great worry" because of the trial of 52 Turkish trade-unionists. The Counsellor of the Turkish Embassy was invited to Quai d'Orsay for this reason. (*Le Monde*, 31.12).

- AN ALARMING REPORT ON THE TRIAL OF TRADE-UNIONISTS IN TURKEY: Two lawyers, M. Weyl, representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and Mr. Van Droogenbroeck, charged by the World Confederation of Labour, have given explanation, yesterday, in Brussels, about their mission in Turkey where they attended the trial of the DISK leaders. (*La Cité*, 31.12).

- A FACADE TRIAL: The trial of the DISK leaders will be, according to Mr. Weyl, followed by another trial against members and militants of DISK, of which about 2,000 would be arrested. (*Le Soir*, 31.12).

- A voluminous book of 850 pages with tight typography and black and golden binding. No, it is not a new addition of the Bible, but the first volume of the indictment in the trial of DISK leaders. Reporters could see it yesterday in Brussels in the hands of Mr. Van Droogenbroeck who had just returned from Istanbul.

"The Turkish authorities have the ten-



A TRADE UNION LEADER IN THE SHADE OF THE GALLOWS

Abdullah Bastürk, the president of DISK, was born in an Anatolian village in 1929. Because of his family's poverty, he had to leave high school at the beginning and start his career as an agricultural worker from the age of 14. Later on, he worked in the public and industrial sectors. He entered the trade union struggle while he was working in the municipality of Istanbul and set up a local trade union. In 1962, he founded with his comrades the national trade union GENEL-IS, gathering all employees in the public sector in Turkey, and was elected to its presidency. The Genel-Is was first affiliated with the confederation TURK-IS. Criticizing its conciliatory attitudes, the Genel-Is shifted to DISK with its 100,000 members and became the largest trade union in this progressive confederation. Meanwhile, Mr. Bastürk was elected deputy of the People's Republican Party (CHP) of Mr. Ecevit. He was elected the president of DISK at the 6th congress held at the end of 1977. Prosecuted several times because of actions led by DISK for the defence of trade union and democratic rights, Mr. Bastürk was arrested by the martial law authorities in order to prevent the massive celebration of May-Day, twice in 1979 and 1980. Mr. Bastürk and his comrades were among the first persons arrested and tortured following the coup d'Etat of September 12, 1980.

dency to give the image of an open trial by accepting the families of the accused, journalists and foreign observers to the sessions. In addition to this, even a relative resounding of this dimensional trial in international opinion will serve to keep away attention from a series of other trials which pass in a more discreet manner." Both lawyers underlined the numerous violations of the rights of the defence that they observed in the course of this trial. "The Bar of Istanbul is the last democratic institution of the country, but the lawyers who plead in the DISK trial are also threatened with persecution. The fate of the 52 leaders of DISK, and also the destiny of the thousands of democrats actually detained or persecuted before the Turkish military courts will directly depend on the interest that international public opinion will manifest," the lawyers concluded. (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, 31.12).

A trial without defence

On world opinion reaction, the Turkish General Staff spokesman attempted to justify the trial, on January 8, 1982, by declaring: "DISK had applied many times to be affiliated with the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC), but each time its demand was refused on grounds that DISK was an extreme-leftist organization."

The ETUC immediately denied this claim.

To deprive the DISK leaders of their right to defence, the military has resorted to every means possible.

The last day of 1981, defence lawyers *Hasan Fehmi Günes* and *Turgut Kazan* were ousted from the court room by the military judge for having asked for parole during the reading of the indictment. On this decision, all other defence lawyers left the tribunal in protest against the judge's partiality.

On January 5, 1982, the defence lawyers lodged a complaint against the partial attitude of the military judges who conduct the case and asked the National Defence Ministry to change the judges.

The following day, the Vice-President of the Bar of Istanbul, defence lawyer Mrs. Gülçin Cayligil, lodged the same complaint at the tribunal.

On January 13, 1982, the defence lawyers of 45 defendants in the DISK trial refused to enter the court-room in protest against the military prosecutor's behaviour and asked the court to start proceedings against him.

At the trial of January 15, *Bastürk*, in a paper presented to the court, asked the military court to file suits against President of the Turkish Union of Chambers *Mehmet Yazar*, President of the Turkish Employers Associations Confederation *Halit Narin*, and editorialist *Ahmet Kabakli* on charges that they were trying to distribute false reports about the trial. The military 3-member panel rejected Bastürk's demand.

Since the partial attitude of the Court's panel did not change, all defence lawyers declared on January 29, 1982, that they were withdrawing from trial until the end of the indictment reading.

They included *Orhan Apaydin*, Chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association.

When the reading of the indictment ended, chief defence lawyer Apayding could not return to the court room because he too was arrested for another political case. To prevent Apaydin from revealing the irregularities and to intimidate other defence lawyers, *Colonel Takkeci*, who is also the prosecutor in proceedings against the Turkish Peace Committee, included him on the list of the accused and arrested him along with 22 other pacifists.

Colonel Takkeci, going further, declared on March 8, 1982, to the *Agence France Presse*: "We wish to finish with DISK which, under the cover of trade-unionism, had aimed to destroy the State with the purpose of founding a Marxist-Leninist regime in Turkey."

Bastürk's alarm-cry

DISK Chariman *Bastürk*, in the course of the December 15, 1982, session, introduced a charge setting forth the illegality of this trial and calling for their release. This declaration was a real alarm-cry in the shade of the gallows:

"1. The 967-page indictment prepared for the DISK lawsuit is a totally unlawful document. 'Crimes' which do not exist in laws have been ARTIFICIALLY created to be crimes. The accusations have been based on methods of ANALOGY and SUGGESTION, which have been declared unlawful in the Penal Code.

"These accusations are assertions of subjective appraisals like predictions, distrusts and hypothetical statements. The indictment is a biased political document of polemics full of contradictions and false-reasoning based on the effort to create chain crimes based on collective accusation, which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution and the codes defining the personal character of crimes. According to us, the Military Prosecutor has resorted to FRAUDULENT ALTERATION of facts, in order to find basis for his unlawful methods.

"The most striking peculiarity of the indictment is that it is not based on evidence.

"There is not one single piece of evidence in the indictment proving that DISK is an illegal organization conspiring to overthrow the state order, and showing that DISK was guilty of deliberate violation of articles 146, 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.

"The identification of the defendants in the indictment is uncertain. The legal basis of the accusations is not presented. The offenses are not described, which is contrary to article 1 of the Turkish Penal Code. The attempt to penalize the cases which have already been brought to Court and finalized, is a very concrete example of violation of the basic principles of Law.

"The indictment has not been able to assert a single case which can be considered under the titles of 'physical compulsion', 'psychological compulsion' and 'evil intention' in the Turkish laws. Moreover, it is not possible to look for evil intention in the trade union activities we have undertaken, nor jn the posts we have been elected to through secret vote and public census. None of our activities can be declared unlawful.

"The Military Prosecutor has openly declared that he will not assent to any decision taken by the Supreme Courts and law authorities.

"The papers we were forced to sign under

heavy torture and oppression, have been used for the preparatory statements. The Public Prosecutor, by implication, seems practically to approve of torture in his observations on page 781 of the indictment. Our petition concerning tortures has been removed from our files.

"All of DISK's actions so far have been legal and in line with the principle of the Constitution. The trade union activities of DISK have always been within the framework of the trade union heritage cumulated in Western Europe for 200 years, in accordance with the ILO principles and the approach adopted by the ETUC, of which DISK is a candidate for membership.

"Nothing has been concealed from the Turkish and world media. The activities and actions have been publicised through the daily papers, radio and T.V.

"All the domestic and international activities of DISK have been under the strict control of the State through Law No. 274 on Trade Unions, especially items 10 and 29. The documents at the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, particularly, are good evidence of this fact.

"The activities of DISK have either been carried out under judicial supervision or else have never been prosecuted at all. All of DISK's press-publication activities have been pursued within the limits of the relevant law and all its publications have been inspected by the Press Prosecutors. According to the Press Law, publications which have undergone prescription cannot be further prosecuted; nor can new accusations be brought forward based on them.

"The authorities have attended all the Congress meetings held by DISK, its by-laws have been approved, its resolutions certified by the public notary, and presented to the relevant office upon request.

"The meetings and conferences have been held under the consent and supervision of the State, which granted the necessary legal authorizations. The strikes carried out by the affiliated trade unions are in accordance with Law No. 275 on Collective Bargainings and Strikes. No suit was brought against any of these strikes at the time.

"It is against both the law and democracy to regard our views and activities as crimes after so many years. This approach is a total violation of the principle of 'Permanence of the State'. Likewise, the Penal Code Law, which states that 'no deed can be punished which was not considered against the law at the time it was committed' has been violated. Acts which were legal and in agreement with the Constitution under normal conditions, are proclaimed illegal in extraordinary periods.

"DISK has always defended the idea that the Constitution should be entirely implemented and perfectly applied, and that democracy should be practiced wholly with all its institutions and rules. DISK has taken offices of representation at various institutions of the State, its members serving as members of Parliament, its practices have been taken as models for Court resolutions. DISK is also mentioned in university textbooks.

"On the other hand, DISK has always expressed a clear attitude against terrorism and anarchy and has always been on the side of democratic rights and freedoms.

"During the trial, DISK and its affiliated members were accused by some authorities of being responsible for and taking part in 'anarchy and terror'. It can be understood from the contents of the indictment and from the study of documents in the case file, that the accusations have no material foundation.

"2. On the other hand, even though no judgement has been rendered and though we believe it impossible for such a sentence to be given, the death sentence that is wanted for us has slowly but concretely begun to be executed through the conditions of the confinement we are suffering.

"Indeed, 18 of us are squeezed into each cell, described by doctors as 'dangerous to life' because of the extreme difficulty in breathing. Because of the chimney's smoke which fills our airing yard with soot and gas, we are in danger of dying from slow poisoning in our cell. Under these conditions, we are unable to get fresh air for a total of 60 minutes a week, as getting fresh air means breathing poisonous gas in an even more concentrated form.

"Except for these poisonous gases which may cause many diseases, including cancer, the general conditions also threaten our health: the cells and the airing yard receive no sunlight, the dishes must be washed with cold water, each person has 2 to 3 minutes of bathing water per week, etc.

"The lighting system is in a position to

severely damage the eyes. Watering and burning of the eyes are frequent. Those among our friends who have asked to see an eye doctor, have been put on a list of 200 people still waiting to be examined. According to an announcement, their turn will come in nine weeks. Regular medical control is made by looking at the face of the arrested person through a loophole every week or every ten days. Prescribed medicine cannot be obtained on time.

"On the other hand, our talks with our lawyers are carried out under the supervision of soldiers, which is unlawful. A lawyer is allowed a total of 20 minutes to talk with his 10-15 clients. We are not given the trial minute statements and defence documents which our lawyers bring for us. A book including the Constitution of 1924, 1961 and 1982 is forbidden to the defendants; the word 'harmful' has been added under the title of the 1961 Constitution.

"In short, our defence rights are extremely limited.

"The ten-minute talks we may have with our families are threatening the family institution and are very humiliating.

"On the other hand, in the jailhouse, getting searched, being hit with chains on the back, being insulted, being subject to dishonoring manners and words are things which occur frequently and are very hard to endure.

"Being under arrest does not mean that the arrested person should be physically, mentally, psychologically sick. But under the prison conditions that are imposed upon us, it is even doubtful if we will live to the sentence stage of the trial.

"I hope that History will not be the witness of the execution of innocent trade unionists, who are put to trial on the basis of an unlawful indictment and in view of the death sentence, before the verdict which — according to us — will acquit these men.

"All the requests we have submitted to the office concerned about our living conditions in prison, have remained unanswered.

"This trial, as the Military Prosecutor who has his signature under the indictment stated himself in one of his remarks, is a political trial.

"By this unlawful indictment, it is not the things we do nor our activities, but rather our ideas and views on trade-unionism, which are under accusation.

"It is not so much DISK which is being accused and sentenced by this indictment, as it is trade union rights and freedoms, and the United Nations and ILO principles, the principles of the European Trade Unions Confederation, to which we are a candidate member, that are being interrogated and tried.

"DISK, as a national, independent and democratic workers' union, has worked for the development of basic rights and freedoms, and democratic workers' rights. It has defended the Constitution, democracy and national liberty, has protected labour and has struggled against exploitation, anarchy and terrorism.

"DISK has defended progress, truth, reality and labour. Our greatest witness is History and the social realities of our times. Reality will absolve DISK."

Military prosecutor's retreat

The military prosecutor, over the following four-year period, initiated other proceedings against all trade unions affiliated to DISK.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 19, 1984, after the military coup, 3,694 officials of the trade unions affiliated to DISK have been prosecuted, but at the end of the inquest, 1,138 of them were set free, the files of 1,379 others suspended because they were at large, and 1,177 officials sent up for trial before military courts:

104 of Maden-Is (Metal Workers), 60 of Oleyis (Hotel, Restaurant, Entertainment Workers), 18 of ASIS (Wood Workers), 37 of Findik-Is (Nut harvesting Workers), 58 of Tekstil-Is (Textile Workers), 28 of Devrimci Yapi-Is (Construction Workers), 21 of TIS (Agricultural Workers), 56 of Limter-Is (Seaport and Dockyard Workers), 15 of Taper-Is, 78 of Banksen (Bank Employees), 20 of Tümka-Is (Doormen), 46 from Lastik-Is (Rubber Workers), 40 of Tek Ges-Is (Gas-electric Workers), 80 of Genel-Is (Public Workers), 21 of Saglik-Is (Health Workers), 15 of Aster-Is (Naval Dockyards Workers), 14 of Hür-Cam-Is (Glass Workers), 16 of Dev Maden-Sen (Metal Workers), 89 of Petkim-Is (Petro-Chemical Workers), 31 of Sine-Sen (Film business), 35 of Keramik-Is (Ceramic Workers), 12 of Ilerici Deri-Is (Leather Workers), 31 of Sosyal-Is (Social Security Employees), 42 of Nakliyat-Is (Transport Workers), 61 of Gida-Is (Food Workers), 14 of Yeni Haber-Is (Com-

munication Workers), 13 of Baysen (Public Workers), 43 of Toprak-Is (Agricultural Workers), 25 of Yeralti Maden-Is (Miners) and 54 of Basin-Is (Printing Workers).

As a result of the Prosecutor's decision to join all the trials of DISK-affiliated trade unions to the main DISK Trial, the total number of defendants climbed to 1,478 in October 1984. The DISK Chairman and 78 other top officials faced capital punishment.

The military also launched proceedings against 184 other unionists who were not affiliated to DISK. Of them 159 were the officials of the TURK-IS affiliate Highway Workers' Union (Yol-Is) and the rest belonged to independent unions.

On pressure from the international trade union movement, all DISK leaders were released in September 1984, though their trial continued.

Besides the trade union officials, military prosecutors brought thousands of workers before tribunals for their actions prior to the military coup.

The biggest of these trials started on April 15, 1982, at Amasya. Nine hundred and one miners of the Yeni Celtek Lignite Mines were accused of going on strikes and organizing on their own initiative the mining and marketing of lignite when the employer decided on a lock-out.

The trial ended on May 17, 1985 with one death sentence, 12 life-sentences and 608 prison terms of up to 20 years. One of the people sentenced is a 65-year old woman who is accused of having participated in the workers' action.

Cetin Uygur, chairman of the DISK-affiliated Yeralti Maden-Is, was among the defendants in the principal DISK Trial in Istanbul.

One hundred and fifty-three who resisted the mass dismissal at the Taris agro-industrial complex in Izmir before the military coup were also brought before a military tribunal, and 24 workers were sentenced to prison.

In Adana, 85 workers of the textile factory SASA were also condemned for their resistance prior to the coup.

Another legal proceeding against the progressive trade union movement has been the confiscation of all of DISK's property and assets by the military.

Despite the lifting of martial law in Istanbul, this unjust repressive measure was still carried out and all demands for restitution of DISK's property were categorically refused.

The trial of 1,478 DISK officials reached its final phase at the end of 1985. Although the military prosecutor claimed in 1981 that DISK had resorted to violence and coercion and called for the application of article 146 of the TPC (carrying the death sentence on account of "attempts to overthrow the constitutional order") against 78 leaders of DISK, no action of violence has been proven during the 4-year trial. So, the military prosecutor was obliged to revise his earlier request for the death sentence and called instead for prison sentences (under article 141 of the TPC) ranging from 6 years and 8 months to 20 years for 781 of the accused, and acquittal for the rest.

TURKISH PEACE COMMITTEE'S TRIAL

Another political case which has provoked world-wide controversy and reaction has been that of the Turkish Peace Committee.

The Military Court No. 2 of Martial Law Command of Istanbul issued on February 26, 1982, in absentia, 44 arrest warrants for people associated with the Turkish Peace Committee.

The warrants, issued on the request of the Military Prosecutor's Office accused the Peace Committee and its members of "forming a secret organization, propagating communism and separatism and praising activities that the law classifies as felonies."

The 44 accused are intellectuals from a wide range of professions, including newspapermen, authors, trade union leaders, lawyers, doctors and engineers. A number of them are former members of Parliament, mostly from the banned Republican People's Party.

The list of 44 consists of the executive board members of the Peace Committee, whose activities were banned along with those of many other associations following the September 12, 1980, military takeover.

The list includes former Ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, who was the Committee's chairman, lawyer Orhan Apaydin, the chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association, former

members of parliament, Mustafa Gazalci, Kemal Anadol, Ismail Hakki Oztorun, Nedim Tarhan and Nurettin Yilmaz, Dr. Erdal Atabek, chairman of the Doctors' Council of Turkey, journalists Hüseying Bas, Niyazi Dalyanci, Ali Sirmen, writers Ataol Behramoglu, Tektas Agaoglu, Oya Baydar, academics Metin Ozek, Haluk Tosun, Gencay Saylan, Melih Tümer, lawyers Enis Coskun, Medet Serhat, engineers Aykut Göker, Nefise Akyelik, Ergün Elgin, Sedat Ozkol, Ugur Kökten, Karabey Kalkan, Yavuz Cizmeci, trade-union officials Mehmet Karaca, Gültekin Gazioglu, Yasar Arikan, Sait Aydogmus, Cemal Kral, Mehmet Bulut, Metin Denizmen, artists Ali Taygun, Orhan Taylan, teachers Reha Isvan and Sefik Asan, physicians Cüneyt Basbug and Fehmi Mavi, economist Kadir Akgün, state employee Tahsin Usluoglu.

On the court's warrant, 30 of 44 members of the Turkish Peace Committee were arrested in Istanbul including four former deputies. Fourteen other members have net yet surrendered to the authorities. Some newspapers claimed that they fled the country.

It was the first time that the executive board of the Union of Turkish Bars decided to take part directly in a trial and charged its president, Attila Sav, with lodging an appeal against the arrest of Orhan Apaydin, president of the Istanbul Bar. This request for appeal was also rejected.

Trial started on June 24, 1982.

At the first session the Court proposed that the defendants attend the trial one by one in alphabetical order and that the proceedings be recorded on tape. On behalf of the defendants, Orhan Apaydin said twenty-six of the 30 defendants in the case were under arrest and it would be unnecessary to continue the trial individually. "I am being tried here for having defended freedom, democracy and peace prior to the 12th of September. These acts can never be considered a crime," he said.

Amnesty International announced in a press release on July 30, 1982, that Mahmut Dikerdem, 66 years old, had been transferred to a military hospital, suffering from a prostate tumour (probably malignant), colitis, an ulcer and allergy. He urinated blood.

In fact, Dikerdem and three other defendants, journalist Hüseyin Bas, journalist Ali Sirmen and former deputy Kemal Anadol could not be present at the trial on July 28 because of their ilnesses.

The defendants in the Turkish Peace Committee process, composed of members of parliament, scholars, journalists and artists, were brought to the military court of Istanbul on November 13, in prison uniforms and with their hair shaven off. During their interrogation, the defendants protested against this humiliating treatment.

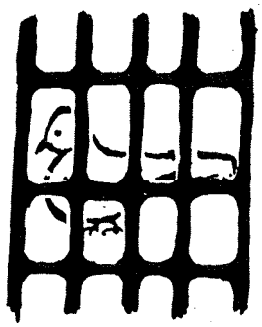
On the other hand, in relation to this process, the military prosecutors started new legal proceedings against 160 intellectuals in Istanbul and 60 in Ankara.

The military Court no 2 of the Istanbul Martial Law Command announced on November 14, 1983, (exactly eight days after the polls) that 23 of the 30 defendants at this trial had been sentenced to prison terms ranging from 5 to 8 years, for having infringed Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code by carrying out activities aimed at enforcing the rule of one social class over the others. The military prosecutor accused them of "receiving orders from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through the World Council of Peace."

Eighteen defendants were sentenced to 8 years imprisonment: Mahmut Dikerdem (ex-ambassador and chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee), Mrs Reha Isvan (wife of the former Mayor of Istanbul), Dr Erdal Atabek (Chairman of the Technicians' Union), Cemal Tahsin Usoglu (engineer), Sefik Asan (teacher), Haluk Tosun (university professor), Aybars Ungan (engineer), Ali Erol Taygun (stage manager), Dr Metin Ozek (University professor), Ataol Behramoglu (poet, secretary general of the Turkish Writers' Union), Ali Sirmen (foreign desk editor of the daily Cumhuriyet), Gencay Saylan (university professor), Ergun Elgin (engineer), Orhan Taylan (painter), Nedim Tarhan (former member of Parliament, chairman of the Union of Peasant Cooperatives), Hüseyin Bas (journalist), Nurettin Yilmaz (former member of Parliament).

Five defendants were sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment: Orhan Apaydin (lawyer, chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association), Niyazi Dalyanci (journalist), Ismail Hakki Oztorun (former member of Parliament), Gündogan Görsev (publisher), Melih Tümer (university professor).

Five other defendants have been acquitted for lack of evidence establishing their "guilt".



Just after the pronouncement of the verdict, all defendants who were present at the trial, were immediately arrested and jailed. The Court also issued a warrant of arrest against the eight convicts who were absent during the pronouncement of the judgment.

The Military Court of Cassation, after reviewing the file of the Turkish Peace Committee, overruled, on August 29, 1984, the sentence against the 23 members of the Committee on procedural grounds but turned down their request for release.

The Military Court of Cassation announced in its judgement that the lower court had not based the condemnation of well-established evidence and ordered a new thorough investigation.

Thereupon, at the September 12th meeting of the European Parliament, Greek Deputy M. Ephremidis asked the foreign ministers of the Community if they intended to intervene in favour of Mr. Dikerdem, who is suffering from cancer, and his friends.

The written answer to the question was far from being satisfactory: "The specific case of Mr Dikerdem has not been the subject of discussion by Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. The Ten remain concerned at the human rights situation within Turkey and particularly at the circumstances of those imprisoned on account of their beliefs. They expect the Turkish Government to respect fully basic human rights and freedoms. The Ten will continue to follow closely the evolution of the situation in regard to human rights within Turkey."

As the 23 members of the Turkish Peace Committee were being tried again by a military court, 48 other members of the same organization were indicted by a military prosecutor on charges of attempting to stage a communist revolution in Turkey. They also faced prison terms ranging from five to fifteen years if convicted.

Those who have been indicted include Aziz Nesin, renowned Turkish humorist and chairman of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS), movie actors Tarik Akan and Genco Erkal, former Members of Parliament Metin Tüzün and Ertugrul Günay, university professor Sadun Aren as well as several journalists, lawyers and doctors whose names are below:

Lawyers: Erol Saraçoglu, Müsir Kaya Canpolat, Mehmet Ali Pestilci, Halit Celenk, Turgut Kazan, Ali Galip Yildiz, Turgan Arinir, Attila Coskun, Ayfer Coskun, Nezahat Gündogmus, Rasim Oz, Mustafa Ozkan, Ali Sen, Ozgül Erten;

Journalists: Süleyman Coskun, Jülide Gülizar, Erkan Oyal, Asim Bezirci, Vedat Türkali;

Physicians: Ataman Tangör, Mehmet Sükrü Güner, Dora Kalkan Küçükyalçin, Mehmet Okçuoglu;

Trade-Union leaders: Ali Riza Güven, Celal Küçük, Nurettin Cavdargil;

Architects and engineers: Güner Eliçin, Yavuz Bayülken, Tezer Eraslan, Gündüz Gözen;

Artists: Gülsen Tuncer, Rutkay Aziz, Sadik Karamustafa, Yilmaz Onay.

Retired Army Officer: Ahmet Yildiz;

Others: Garip Aydindag, Ilhan Alkan, Mustafa Nirol Ozkay, Birol Bora, Esat Balim, Sadettin Ulfer, Ferruh Yavuz.

During his interrogation on January 22, 1985, Aziz Nesin rejected the accusation of allegedly making propaganda in favor of the USSR. He went on: "As a conscious writer, I never make propaganda for a state, not even for the Turkish state... Such an accusation brought against a writer like me is nothing but a humiliating act."

Furthermore he declared that he would not hesitate to reconstitute a new peace committee to defend the cause of peace in Turkey as soon as that was allowed by law.

While the trial of the second group was going on, the first group was condemned for a second time by the military tribunal, and this second sentence, too, was overruled by the Military Court of Cassation on December 19, 1985, on grounds of insufficient evidence. However, the same court refused to free the pacifists.

FATSA TOWN'S TRIAL

Another mass trial which shows the real aim of military "justice" opened on January 12, 1983, before a military tribunal in Amasya against 740 habitants of the Black Sea town of Fatsa.

In this case, the military prosecutor accused the defendants according to Articles 146 and 141 of the TPC and asked for the death penalty against Mayor *Fikri Sönmez* and the 219 others accused. This trial has been linked to a series of mass trials brought against DEV-YOL (Revolutionary Path), the most representative and powerful left-wing organization of the pre-coup period.

In 1979, ex-tailor *Fikri Sönmez* was elected independent Mayor of Fatsa, a town of 15,000 inhabitants on the Black Sea coast (dependent on the province of Ordu). He embarked on an original experience in municipal administration. Through a network of district committees he worked out a form of local self-government.

His success in solving, in a very short time, problems relating to highway maintenance, cleanliness and public health, and his success in the field of transportation brought him the sympathy of all local organizations and political parties even that of the right-wing ones (except, of course, the neo-fascist MHP).

In a national context, where, as in many developing countries, the problems of daily life remain unresolved, Fatsa's achievements aroused a lively interest in the other parts of the country. For this very reason, the military do not forgive him. Besides, before the military coup d'Etat of September 1980, army units, operating within the framework of Operation Point, had raided the town of Fatsa and had detained Fikri Sönmez as the leader of this local self-government experiment.

During the trial, Sönmez refused to give a detailed deposition because all the accused were not in the court-room. He reminded the court that he was the first mayor in Turkey charged with membership to an illegal organization and stated that all the accused should be present at the sitting of such a political trial.

Because of his dignified stand, Sönmez was kept in solitary confinement and subjected very often, like other defendants, to ill-treatment and torture.

In June 1985, the prison administration announced that Sönmez was found dead in his cell and claimed that he died of a heart attack. He was 47 at that time. His comrades said that his death occured because of the inhumane prison conditions to which he had been subjected.

His remains were carried to his native village Kabakdagi and buried with a modest ceremony despite efforts by rightist circles to prevent it.

European solidarity with Fatsa

The European Committee in defence of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI) announced at a press conference held on November 15, 1983, in Brussels, that at the very moment when the Turkish junta was organizing "democratic" elections, a delegation consisting of elected town councillors had brutally been barred, to prevent it from observing the polling in Fatsa.

It was the 4th delegation of European elected town councillors, which was supported by over 300 European cities. It consisted of Anne-Marie Hanquet (town councillor of Liège, Belgium), Hedi Deneys (a Swiss deputy), Fernando Abad Becquer (Spanish mayor of Leganes) and Frédéric Furet (a French town councillor).

At the press conference, Mrs Hanquet declared that the delegation had not been permitted to enter Amasya military camp, where this trial had been going on for two years. At the entrance of the camp, they were told by the officers that because of the elections the trial was not public. The commanding assistance colonel showed them a circular from the Ankara authorities marked "Secret", which had been sent to all military camps, pointing out that "Since we are not in a position to know whether these sorts of delegations - Amnesty International, Council of Europe, EEC, Human Rights Commission - come here to make propaganda either in favour of or against Turkey, all these delegations and suchlike are not permitted to attend the trials until the end of the general elections of November 6, 1983."

In the minutes of the delegation's mission, the story of its barring from Fatsa is stated in this way:

"On Saturday, November 5... We arrived in Fatsa at 2 p.m. As we left the bus, we were arrested by three plain-clothes officers, with guns at their waists. They refused to give their

personal particulars and asserted that they were colonels. They held no summons and forced us to follow them to the tourist office which is also used as an additional police station in Fatsa and as an office for the deputy prefect who is at the same time a captain in the army and the new mayor of Fatsa, appointed by the government the day following the 1980 military coup. He was present and ordered us to leave Fatsa immediately because, he said, we could disturb public order on the eve of the 'democratic' elections. As mayor of Fatsa, he added, he represented the inhabitants and was quite willing to answer our questions before we returned to Samsun. We reaffirmed our wish to stay in Fatsa until Sunday night, unless we were notified officially and by letter of the reasons for such a refusal. We demanded to be released so as to be able to find a hotel-restaurant. 'There are no more rooms available in the Fatsa hotels they said, but they agreed to take us to a restaurant for dinner. So we followed them and they decided unilaterally to take us to the outskirts of the town, to a hotel-restaurant situated 4 km farther on the road to Samsun. There we asked the receptionist if any rooms were still available. 'Yes', she first said, then, as one of the three policemen stared at her, 'No' she corrected herself, making a gesture of powerlessness. Frédéric Furet asked then if he could telephone CEDRI headquarters in Basel and the French Embassy in Ankara; the policemen refused, pointing out that we would do anything we liked from Samsun (...) We reiterated our request for an official letter notifying us in pursuance of which law we were forbidden to stay in Fatsa; (...) Then they lost their temper: two of them seized Mr Furet by his jacket's revers, lifted him up out of his arm-chair and dragged him into the lounge of the hotel. The rest of the delegation were seized too and all of us were brought back to the Fatsa tourist office. (...) Their proposal: 'Either you'll leave Fatsa at once for Samsun, or you'll go to jail'. We considered that we had learned enough about 'democracy' on the eve of the polling day and we left the 'tourist office', escorted by the policemen and gazed upon by numerous inhabitants."

This ill-treatment of an international delegation called forth protests to the Turkish authorities from the French, Spain, Swiss and Belgian ambassadors.

In response to the appeal made by CEDRI, 355 municipalities of 17 European countries demonstrated their solidarity with the Municipality of Fatsa in Turkey.

The European municipalities which demonstrated their solidarity included 61 from Switzerland, 54 from Spain, 53 from France, 45 from the Netherlands, 40 from Portugal, 34 from Belgium, 30 from Austria, 16 from Norway, 7 from Great-Britain, 5 from Denmark, 3 from Iceland, 2 from Italy, 1 from Ireland, 1 from the FR of Germany, 1 from Sweden and 1 from Greenland.

PROSECUTION OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

During the 5-year period of military rule, all political leaders considered harmful to the future projects of the Junta have been subjected to different types of repression or intimidation.

All the leaders of left-wing political parties have been tried before military tribunals and many of them have already been condemned. Even the socialist parties which were legally founded and which took part in legislative elections could not save themselves from this practice. The list of pursued left-wing parties have been given on preceeding pages.

As for the political parties which were represented in the National Assembly prior to the coup, their leaders, too, have been kept under arrest for different periods and some of them have been sentenced and incarcerated.

CHP Chairman *Ecevit*, AP Chairman *Demirel* (both former prime ministers), MSP Chairman *Erbakan*, MHP Chairman *Türkes* and many leading members of these parties have been taken into custody many times.

Erbakan was condemned with other members of the party administrative board but released on the cassation of the sentence by the higher court.

Ecevit has been condemned a few times for declarations he gave to the foreign press. He served his prison terms.

One hundred and thirty-eight deputies of the Republican People's Party were pursued for having supported DISK's actions, and their freedom to travel abroad was suspended for months.

Even the political parties established after the military coup have been pursued by the military.

After the local elections, Correct Way Party (DYP) Chairman *Yildirim Avci* was sued by the military prosecutors for his electoral speeches. The party itself was subjected also to inquiries by the Chief Prosecutor and faced the risk of dissolution.

The leaders of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP) were also pursued many times because of their electoral speeches and because of the rally for liberty and democracy that they organized on June 9, 1985.

One of the practices that upset the political circles was the case against former acting President of the Republic *Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil*, former Senate Speaker *Sirri Atalay*, former Premier *Süleyman Demirel* and a group of former politicians. After being placed under surveillance in a military camp, just before the legislative elections of 1983, they were accused of having violated the bans imposed by the NSC.

Caglayangil was equally accused of having sent a letter to West German Foreign Minister Genscher concerning the political situation in Turkey.

The last victims of this practice were five leading members of the new-founded *Welfare Party* (RP) who were condemned at the end of 1985 for anti-secular declarations.

As for the democratic and professional organizations, the military started many legal proceedings against their leading members after closing down most of these organizations.

A few examples:

25.10.1981: Ten Administrative Board members of the Architects' Chamber were each sentenced to a 2-month prison term for having violated martial law orders.

2. 5.1982: Chairmen of 13 democratic associations were indicted for a common declaration issued in 1977.

20. 7.1982: The Trial of 16 Administrative Board members of the Union of Architects and Engineers' Chambers (TMMOB) began before a military tribunal.

8. 4.1982: The Interior Ministry ordered a legal suit against the Foundation of Language and History.

20. 4.1982: The Rural Affairs Ministry opened a lawsuit to close down the *Köy-Koop*, progressive peasants cooperatives.

3. 5.1982: On the eve of the Congress of the Tradesmen and Craftsmen's Union in Giresun, 36 union members were arrested for communist propaganda.

9.12.1982: The Trial of the Technical Employees' Association (TUTED) opened before a military tribunal.

13. 1.1983: The Public prosecutor called for the imprisonment of 9 Administrative Board members of the *Popular Houses* (Halkevleri) and the final dissolution of the association.

6. 5.1983: Chairmen of the Agriculturists' Association, the Agriculturists' Chamber and the Agricultural Engineers' Association were brought before a military tribunal for having criticized the agricultural subvention policy of the government. This was the first application of the new Associations' Code which bans associations from making any declaration on governmental policies.

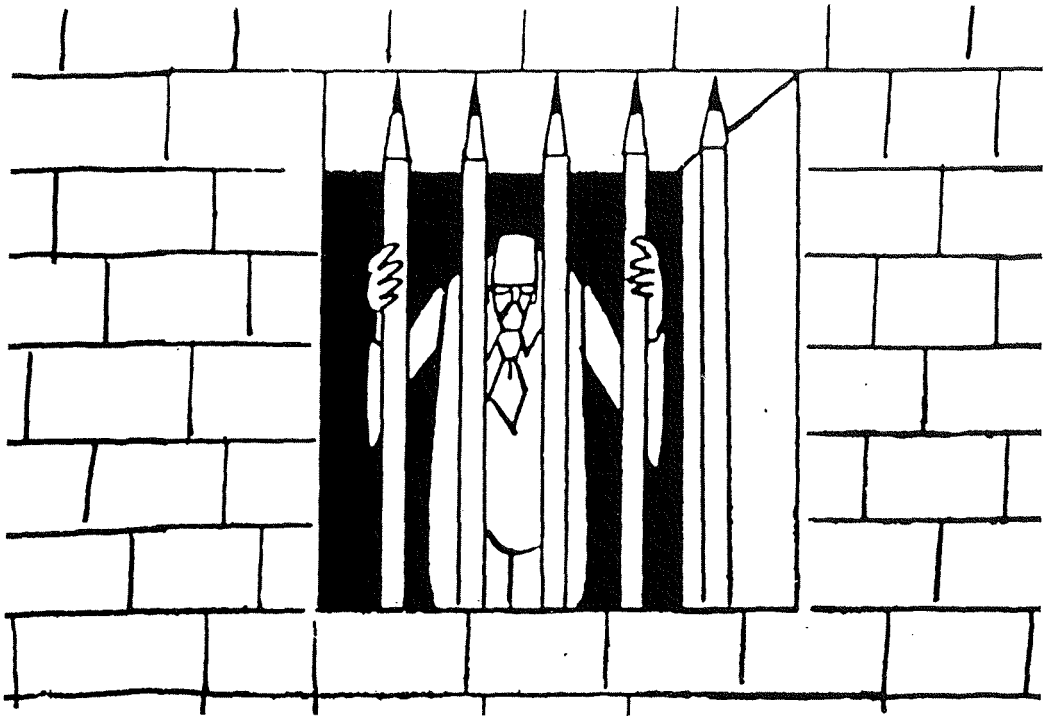
VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO DEFENCE

One of the most shameful practices of the military has been the constant pressure on defence lawyers and their associations.

As a matter of fact, there have been only a few lawyers in Turkey prepared to accept the cases of the many thousands of political prisoners. The military regime applied different methods of pressure to intimidate and dissuade this handful of courageous lawyers from assuming the defence of those politically accused.

On September 2, 1985, at the start of the new judicial year, Chairman of the Turkish Bar Associations' Union Teoman Evren declared that the authorities applied the following methods to prevent lawyers from defending their clients.

- At military tribunals or State Security Courts, defence attorneys can be expelled from the hearing room on a simple decision by the judge.
- During the preliminary investigation, defendants are not allowed to see their lawyers. In political cases, an investigation goes on for months and even years. Deprived of any possible contact with the outside, the



defendant can easily be subjected to torture and forced to sign any deposition drawn up by the police.

- All lawyers who assume the defence of political prisoners are considered "suspect" by the judicial authorities.

In 1983, 82 lawyers from the Istanbul Bar Association received an official order calling on them to inform the Ministry of Finance about the names and addresses of their clients whom they defended without payment in the years 1980-81. Thus, the military aimed to tax lawyers for their gratis defence as if they were paid.

What is gravest is the fact that many defence lawyers have been pursued by military prosecutors for declarations they made in defence of their clients or for actions in which they participated.

A few examples:

In July 1982, the military prosecutor of Istanbul started legal proceedings against all lawyers who took part on the administrative board of the Istanbul Bar Association. Chairman Orhan Apaydin and his colleagues were accused of having taken part in DISK actions.

In October 1982, the martial law prosecutor instituted proceedings against famous lawyer Halit Celenk for insulting the command officers. He had addressed a petition to the Martial Law Commander of Ankara, asking him to be allowed to see his client detained for many months in military prison.

On September 2, 1982, four lawyers were expelled by force from the military court for criticizing the bias of the judge in the Peace Committee's trial.

In April 1982, 17 defence lawyers in a political trial were indicted by the military prosecutor. At a preceding session, they had quitted the tribunal in protest against the limitation of the right to defence. They were accused of having done so without permission of the judge.

On October 3, in Konya, five defence lawyers were indicted on charges of having insulted a military prosecutor during their intervention at the trial of their clients.

On November 25, 1982, lawyer Halit Celenk was brought before a military tribunal on charges of inciting his clients in military prison to illegal acts.

In May 1983, seven lawyers from the Istanbul Bar Association were brought before a military tribunal on accusations of signing a report on judiciary practices in Turkey, published later in the FRG.

Restriction on the right to defence has been applied most strictly at the military tribunals functioning in the Kurdish region. Thousands of defendants have been deprived totally of this right because there have been only a few lawyers who could assume the defence. Two of these lawyers, Hüseyin Yildirim and Serafettin Kaya, were also arrested by the military and subjected to torture after attending a few sittings. When they were released, the two could not continue practising their profession and had to flee the country.

The most unbelievable manoeuvre to deprive the prisoners of the right to defence was carried out after the opening of the DISK Trial.

Chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association *Orhan Apaydin* was one of the chief defence attorneys in this trial. Just after the openings, the military prosecutor launched an arrest warrant against Apaydin in connection with the Turkish Peace Committee trial. Like many other Turkish intellectuals, Orhan Apaydin also was a member of this committe but did not take part in the administration. However he was arrested for depriving the DISK defendants of a competent defence lawyer.

Then, the military carried out pressure on the Administrative Board of the Bar Association to strip their chairman of the right to practise the profession of defence lawyer in future, on grounds that he had been arrested. When the 10 members of the Administrative Board did not take heed of this pressure, the Justice Ministry on January 28, 1983, brought a law suit against 10 members of the board for not having lifted Apaydin's licence of attorney.

The *coup de grâce* on the Istanbul Bar Association was the transfer of its administration to conservative-minded lawyers at a congress held under military pressure.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to deny Apaydin the right to exercise his profession, arguing that he had been sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for taking part in the Peace Committee's activities.



STATE TERRORISM 2

NEVER-ENDING PERSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS

From the very first day of the coup, the military junta, like all tyrants, exerted all kinds of pressure on the country's intellectual life. Mass media were subjected to censorship and self-censorship, Radio-TV was turned into a parrot of the military, hundreds of thousands of books were destroyed, hundreds of journalists, writers, translators and artists were prosecuted and condemned, and universities and schools were made the tools of the military's ideological brainwashing.

It was the time of summer holidays in 1984. Four years after the military coup... Everywhere in Northern Europe attractive gaily-coloured advertisements were full of praise for the sunny Mediterranean countries which were racing with one another to welcome foreign tourists. Among them was Turkey, a country which had been integrated, after a 3-year interval, into the Council of Europe on the conviction that "the timetable for a return towards democracy has been formally respected..."

While Northern Europeans were preparing themselves for a joyful holiday in Turkey, 1,383 distinguished Turkish intellectuals were summoned to interrogation centers for having signed a very innocent petition addressed to the "President of the Republic."

This was the most spectacular manifestation of the "witch-hunt" to which Turkey's intellectuals had been subjected for four years.

The petition, submitted to the Presidential Palace on May 16, 1984, on behalf of 1,260 leading intellectuals (the number subsequently rose to 1,383) called for an end to torture and the restoration of political freedom.

Among the signatories of the petition were world-famous authors such as *Aziz Nesin*, chairman of the Union of Turkish Writers, and *Yasar Kemal*, who was recently made a member of the Légion d'Honneur by French President Mitterrand.

A very great number of academics have signed it: former professors who have resigned or who were dismissed after the universities were subjected to the law of the Higher Education Council (YOK) imposed by the military; or professors in office who were forbidden by the military to engage in any way in politics. One of them was Professor *Hüsnü Göksel*, a world-famous cancerologist, and Professor *Fehmi Yavuz*, a former Minister of Education.

The movie world was also represented by one of Turkey's most popular actresses, *Türkan Soray*, and by *Serif Gören*, director of the film "Yol" (Production by Yilmaz Güney, "Palme d'Or" at the 1982 Cannes Festival) and by many others.

The press world was represented by, among others, *Mr. Nadir Nadi*, owner of the center-left daily Cumhuriyet, *Mr. Oguz Aral*, who runs the humoristic weekly Girgir, and several journalists who were members of the International Press Institute.

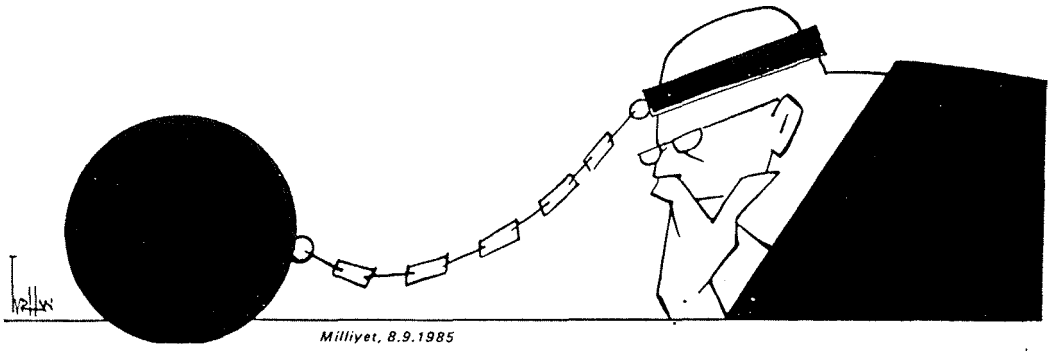
The military has responded to this very innocent petition by the Turkish intellectuals with new legal proceedings against all of them. On May 21, the military prosecutor of the Ankara Martial Law command started interrogating them one by one on order of the General Staff Headquarters.

Two weeks later, on May 28, General-President Evren unleashed a fierce attack on the signatories. Speaking in his home province of Manisa, in western Turkey, Evren accused the petitioners of trying to embarrass Turkey internationally with their allegations of disrespect for human rights. He said the "self-styled intellectuals upheld the right of free association so that all the former (pre-coup) wickedness could be resumed under the roofs of innocent-looking associations, trade unions or professional bodies."

"If they are so interested in politics why don't they find themselves a place in one of the political parties? I stand as a guarantor for the Constitution and I will oppose to the end any changing of the Constitution.

"These pseudo-intellectuals in Turkey become traitors in the end. They say that human right are being violated in Turkey. They forget the fact that the country is still under martial law. They say that torture is a crime committed against humanity. We do not say any differently. Torture is a crime and that is why we punish offenders. These pseudo-intellectuals carry on with this campaign and try to belittle Turkey in the eyes of the world. In fact, this is what they are really after. We are quite aware of their real intentions, and have evidence against them. They say that capital punishment should be lifted and those already sentenced should not be executed. But they forget that the death sentence exists even in the United States. They have the electric chair there.

"One of their aims is to force us to announce a general amnesty which would include all those terrorists who brought us to the point of destruction. We knew that there would be such groups making demands: therefore, we felt the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the way for these terrorists to enjoy amnesty. These same thieves, murderers and rapists used to return to prison a few days later (after their release from prison) for the same crimes. How can we be sure that they will not commit the same mistakes again. Has anyone asked the relatives of those who



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suffered whether they have pardoned them or not? Those who call themselves intellectuals do not want amnesty for these people. They want anarchists to be pardoned.

"They ask for the production of ideas. What they really mean by this is that they want books on fascism, marxism, leninism, maoism to be published freely. All they want is the new generation to be poisoned by reading such publications. Other things they want is freedom of the press and the autonomy of the Turkish Radio and Television. First of all, I would like to point out that we do nothing against the freedom of the press, but we are now under martial law. The whole nation witnessed how the communists made good use of the TRT before September 12 (1980).

"A third thing they want is that the universities be autonomous. They do not want State interference in their work. We have witnessed also how these universities turned into dens of anarchy in the past.

"These people who define themselves as 'intellectuals' claim that only their views are right. Your thoughts and my thoughts are not important for them. Only they know best. We have seen too many such intellectuals who chose to flee to foreign countries in the end... Some even died there... What can I do with such intellectuals?"

This speech of General Evren was in fact aimed at influencing the legal proceedings against the petitioners. All of them had already been summoned before the martial law prosecutor for questioning. Each of them faced a prison term ranging from one year to 3 years.

By condemning in advance the signatories of this very innocent petition without waiting a judge's decision, Evren made it clear that he did not respect justice at all.

Neither did he respect popular will... The views expressed in the petition were shared completely by the major opposition party. The Chairman of the Social Democracy Party (Sodep), Professor *Erdal Inönü*, in reply to a question on May 28 said that these views were in harmony with the ideas contained in the program of his party. He pointed out the need for the democratic mechanism in the country to start working as soon as possible and stated: "Just because Turkey is recovering from a long illness, it should not stop us from touching on certain vital issues. In fact I believe that politicians have a bigger responsibility during this recovery period. If we stop speaking at this time, it may be too late afterwards. Democracy in Turkey will flourish, as our economic, social and intellectual life flourishes."

But the chief of the junta took no heed of statements by a political party... which obtained a fourth of the votes in the recent local elections.

At the end of the inquiry, 59 of the signatory intellectuals were charged by the Ankara military prosecutor who asked for prison terms of up to one year for each of them for having criticized the administration.

The trial opened on August 15, 1984.

Those charged included humorist Aziz Nesin; journalists Ugur Mumcu, Mustafa Ekmekçi, Ilhan Selçuk; university professors Hüsnü Göksel, Ilhan Tekeli, Bahri Savci, Yalcin Küçük, Mete Tuncay, Serafettin Turan, Yakup Kepenek, Murat Belge, Korkut Boratav, Gençay Gürsoy, Veli Lök, Cumhur Ertekin, Berna Moran, Muhittin Yavuz.

The other intellectuals charged:

Erbil Tusalp, Dr. Haluk Gerger, Mahmut Tali Ongören, Halit Celenk, Emin Deger, Tahsin Saraç, Nurkut Inan, Inci Güraral, Güler

Tanyolaç, Güngör Aydin, Haldun Ozen, Bülent Tanik, Güngör Dilmen, Vedat Türkali, Ozay Erkiliç, Talip Sencan, Kemal Demirel, Vecdi Sayar, Sururi Sönmez, Onat Kutlar, Umit Erdogan, Mine Inkaya, Emre Kapkin, Cahit Taner, Yilmaz Tokman, Sinasi Acar, Ali Oral Basin, Rüsen Hakki Ozpençe, Hayri Tütüncüler, Güngör Türkeli, Atif Yilmaz Batibeki, Basar Sabuncu, Sahap Balcioglu, Erdal Oz, Turgut Kazan, Talat Mete, Ercan Ulker, Ahmet Kocabiyik, Yilmaz Bolat, Güney Dinç, Cemal Nedret Erdem.

At the opening session, foreign journalists were barred, although the Ankara Martial Law Command had pledged previously to allow them. The same happened to the observer delegated by the West-German Embassy in Turkey.

Aziz Nesin, called General Evren's statement anti-democratic prior to the opening of the trial. Evren had branded the intellectuals "Turkey's internal enemies."

Then cancerologist Hüsnü Göksel denounced the total lack of democracy within the universities subjected to the mighty Higher Education Council (YOK), which is directly attached to the office of the "President of the Republic".

As Turkey's intellectuals were being hit by a wave of repression, Portugal's former President of the Republic F. da Costa Gomes, three former Premiers, A. Jörgensen (Denmark), Dr. B. Kreisky (Austria), M.M. Pintasilgo (Portugal), and over 2,000 Members of Parliament, authors, journalists and academics from a dozen European countries and the United States issued an appeal in support of the petitioners.

Along with Turkey's intellectuals, these prominent figures insisted on the abolition of "the laws and practices conflicting with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights," of which Turkey is a signatory.

Those who signed the petition also included N. Kinnock, chairman of the British Labour Party; G. Spitaels and K. Van Miert, Chairmen of two Belgian Socialist Parties; E. Glinne, Chairman of the European Parliament's Socialists Group; M. Hinterscheid, General-Secretary of the ETUC; Raymonde Dury and Annemarie Lizin, Belgian members of the European Parliament; Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney-General; Laurent Schwartz, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Günter Grass, Alan Ginsberg, Noam Chomsky, Bibi Anderson, David Steel, Mikis Theodorakis.

On September 12, 1985, the 5th anniversary of the coup, an outstanding group of intellectuals from all over Europe said: "We hereby declare our full solidarity with writers, artists, jurists or scientists in Turkey who are being persecuted for 'crimes' that, had we been in Turkey, we would very probably have committed ourselves..."

In this declaration made public by Prof. Server Tanilli, in name of the Initiative for Solidarity with the 1,256 Intellectuals in Turkey, the group has underlined his refusal to be part of the "conspiracy of silence" surrounding the brutal repression of their colleagues in Turkey and called upon intellectuals all over the world to join their voices to theirs.

The signatories of this declaration include Bibi Anderson, Amar Bentoumi, Pieter Dankert, Max Frish, Costa Gomes, Yannis Ritsos, Antoine Sanguinetti, Otto Schilly, Alain Tanner, Mikis Theodorakis, Per Wastberg and Jean Zigler.

They demand that "all cases involving 'crimes' of thought and the press be dropped, that all persons being held under arrest on such charges be freed and that all curbs on the freedoms of thought, press and association be lifted."

Azis Nesin accuses General Evren

During the defence phase of the trial, on July 12, 1985, Aziz Nesins, the Chairman of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS), declared that he was going to lodge a complaint with the courts against General Evren, who had accused the signatories of treason.

The 70-year-old Nesin, also Turkey's most famous humorist, had suffered a heart attack during the campaign to collect signatures for this petition.

Mr. Nesins also accused the military prosecutor of falsifying the facts.

In Turkey the publication of Nesin's defense speech was banned by a Court ruling given on the same day.

This defence speech, of which we are reproducing an excerpt below, is also an indictment of General Evren and his regime:



AZIZ NESIN

"Even before we were brought before the Court and interrogated, the Head of the State, in his speech delivered in Manisa and subsequently broadcast three times by the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), accused us of treason.

"Is there anything worse for a human being than to be considered a traitor? As a man is entitled to live in dignity, it is my duty to defend my honor against anyone.

"The President of the Republic, he too, is a citizen like any other. Moreover, his penal responsibility is just as great as that of any other citizen. In democratic societies, the President of the Republic enjoys immunity from certain responsibilities, given that his powers are entrusted to Parliament and the Government. On the other hand, in our country, by virtue of the 1982 Constitution, wide-ranging powers are vested in the President of the Republic; consequently his responsibilities are wide-ranging too.

"In short, I solemnly declare that I will lodge a complaint with the courts against Head of State Kenan Evren who branded us traitors before the very eyes of the Turkish nation. I will institute actions for damages in accordance with articles 41 and 49 of the Code of Obligations and article 24 of the Civil Code. In addition, if, for the time being, it were impossible to institute a penal action because of his immunity, I will do so by virtue of articles 480-482 of the Penal Code, as soon as his immunity is lifted. If I do not live long enough, I leave it to the judgment of history, which is the supreme and most impartial judge.

"According to the Head of the State, the signatories of this petition are allegedly so-called intellectuals.

"By signing this petition we expected no benefit, nor did we try to benefit from the advantages inherent to our being intellectuals. We who, knowing perfectly well the present administration's unfair way of behaving, were expecting to be sentenced, but not to get advantages, to be punished but not to get a reward, we are proud to consider ourselves intellectuals.

"Those who signed this petition include artists, writers, journalists, scientists, jurists and former ministers who have a reputation not only on the national level, but also world-wide. If they weren't intellectuals, there would no longer be intellectuals in Turkey, except the province of *Aydin* (a Turkish word meaning "intellectual"-Ed.).

"The Head of the State has said: 'I will oppose to the end any change in the 1982 Constitution, for which I act as a guarantor. I will never tolerate that holes are being made here and there in the Constitution, for which I act as a guarantor.'

"This *Doctor honoris causa* of YOK University (Higher Education Council-Ed.) surely knows that a constitution is the main guarantee a country's citizens have at their disposal. Apart from dictatorships and monarchies, nowhere can any citizen, not even Kenan Evren, act as guarantor for the Constitution; and in world history there is no record of someone who regarded himself as guarantor for a constitution. As far as changes in the Constitution are concerned, since the Head of the State considers himself vested with the mission to tolerate by no means holes being made here and there in the Constitution, it is our duty to strive to modify this constitution. This constitution will be amended in accordance with the procedure provided for in the same constitution. The final victory always belongs to Old Father Time.

"'We have seen a great many intellectuals turning traitors. What can I do with intellectuals of that sort?" he said. We did not become intellectuals in order that the Head of the State,

who is used to speaking always in the first person singular, would do anything with us.

"We quite agree with a phrase he has pronounced: 'You really needn't be an intellectual in order to be able to rule over this nation.' On the contrary, if you take the present political situation into account, you have to be a non-intellectual in order to rule over the nation. For intellectuals never rule over the nation, they serve the nation; because in a democratic society sovereignty belongs only to the nation.

"The Head of the State has said: 'The last

COMPLETE TEXT OF INTELLECTUALS' PETITION

Democracy lives through its institutions and principles. When institutions, notions and principles that are the foundation of democracy are being destroyed in a country, suppressing the resulting damages becomes all the more difficult.

To alienate democracy from its inherent values and institutions, to preserve it in form while emptying it of its contents, is as dangerous as destroying it. For these reasons we uphold institutions, notions and principles preserving the structure of the state founded on historical experience, and defend their strengthening in a democratic environment.

Our people deserve all human rights existing in contemporary societies and should enjoy them without any restriction. We consider it humiliating that our country has been reduced to the position of a country whose human rights guarantees are being debated abroad.

The right to life as well as a life worthy of a human-being is the main aim of existence within an organized society, which in our time should not be suppressed for any reason whatsoever; it is a natural and sacred right. That this right acquires a content, depends on whether opinions can be freely expressed and developed and whether it is possible to organize oneself on the basis of them. In our view, the fact that in our society individuals come forward with new and distinct ideas, is not - as some people try to present it - the cause of crisis, but a prerequisite essential to society's vitality.

Justice, man's ultimate refuge, is at the same time the main support of an existence worthy of a human being. In a contemporary state based on law, existing means to achieve justice require that the search for justice be hindered in no way and that, in the course of judicial procedures, no use be made of exceptional judicial ways nor of extraordinary methods. We consider it incompatible with the contemporary conception of democracy, when exceptional forms of administration become permanent in times that are termed normal.

Restricting citizens' rights without any judicial procedure, making up offenses through unilateral administrative modes of procedure that are not subject to discussion, stripping people of their political rights and levelling accusations of merely general nature brings whole sections of society to the point of destruction. When membership to associations, co-operatives, foundations, professional unions and political parties, as well as opinions that at the time they were being expressed were not punishable, are afterwards labelled offenses depending on the views that are dominating, then this is incompatible with the notion of a state based on law.

The democratic system itself cannot be held responsible for the wave of terrorist actions Turkey went through.

It is the inevitable duty of any organized society to combat acts of violence. But a basic characteristic inherent to state power is adherence to legal norms in the fight against terrorism. In the face of terrorism, this can never justify resorting to identical methods by the state.

Torture, the existence of which has been proved by court decisions as well, is a crime against humanity. We fear that it may have become habitual for torture to be used as an extra-judicial, prior and primitive form of punishment. Moreover, we regard prison conditions, exceeding their purpose to restrict freedom, as a form of ill treatment and torture.

All necessary measures should be taken for the complete eradication of torture. If, during an investigation preliminary to an inquiry, a hearing of a case or, as far as the defence is concerned, the norms of a state based on the law are abandoned; if, as regards procedure methods, universal guarantees stressed by the principle that "in any case a defendant should be presumed innocent until his conviction", are regarded as null and void, then the reign of the arbitrary becomes - especially in political trials - a basic element of the procedure.

In view of the fact that all sections of society share responsibility in the emergence of terrorist actions, we believe that it is necessary to stop carrying out executory death sentences and to abolish capital punishment so as to sweep aside once and for all the idea that killing might be a solution.

Starting from the universal fact that delayed justice is an injustice, we consider that all trials in progress should be brought to completion as quickly as possible.

Offenses are brought about by social and political conditions. As regards the instable phase prevalent at that time in Turkey, one should not forget the responsibility attributable to society. For these reasons, and in order to contribute to social peace, we consider indispensable a comprehensive amnesty. Politics as a means enabling to tell good from evil, right from wrong in public life, should allow society as a whole to take part in the management of the country.

The failings of everyday politics which occur in any country and which are inevitable, cannot be a reason for preventing people form serving society by engaging in politics - which should be within the reach of

Padishah (monarch in the Ottomon Empire-Ed.) was an intellectual. But he made the country capitulate to the ennemy. What use can such an intellectual really be?' Thus, he makes a comparison between himself and us, who are being accused of treason by him for submitting a petition to him. Treason is a relative notion that changes according to the era and according to each person's assessment. *Padishah Abdülhamit* ('The Red Sultan'-Ed.) had *Mithat Pasha* (a 19th century reformer who is now regarded as one of the greatest heroes in Turk-

everyone - and for reserving this exclusively for certain strata, for one person or for a certain group of persons. Politics cannot be exclusively reduced to administrative decision-making.

The will of the nation acquires a content only in those types of societies where all sections of society can organize themselves freely. In countries where nobody is indicted for his political convictions and philosophical conceptions and where no citizen is reproached with his religious beliefs, the will of the nation is the supreme power. The legitimity of this supreme power depends on the latter's attitude towards fundamental rights and liberties.

Circumstances preventing the will of the majority from determining itself freely, are contrary to democracy. Likewise, suppressing basic rights on the pretext that there exists a majority will, is incompatible with democracy.

In the process of historical development, the aim of democratic constitutions is to guarantee the rights and liberties of the individual. Provisions that tend to weaken the individual's position vis-a-vis the state, mean - no matter under what name they are introduced - a departure from democracy. In such a situation, the Constitution which ought to be the source of democratic life, becomes an obstacle to democracy.

Trade unions, professional associations, but above all political parties, are the indispensable pillars of democratic life. In as much as it is their duty to defend the economic interests and solidarity of their members, professional organizations must protect, along with the political parties, the democratic liberties of both individuals and groups and must be a means and a driving force enabling them to participate in management. Therefore we believe it is necessary to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution contain the largest guarantees for both the right of organizing and the right of participation.

In the life of any society, the existence of elements such as liberty, variety and renewal is necessary for the future and for the capacity of development of society. From this point of view, any intellectual production of whatever kind must be protected and it should be possible to present freely new proposals to public opinion.

A free press is one of the basic elements completing the democratic regime. To achieve this, society needs to be informed on itself independently, without any control and in a diversified way; moreover, it is necessary to enable free circulation of ideas and to ensure that any kind of criticism be referred in the press. Educating a diversified public opinion and controlling democratically management of society can solely be achieved through such a press. Just for these reasons, and provided their neutrality is guaranteed, we believe that it is necessary to grant autonomy to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT).

The main aim of education is to raise freethinking, learned, capable and creative people. Contrary to this, it is incompatible with the evolution of our time and with pluralistic democracy to produce a one-type man. The aim of contemporary democracy is to develop people who are able to view the world critically.

When the universities, as the best educated section of society, are stripped of their autonomy and when it is alleged that they do not deserve to run themselves, then that leads to denying that in our country democracy could work. Subordinating all higher education institutions to the imperative rule of a council with disproportionate power which has been set up through appointments, - rouses great concern for the country's future inasmuch as now already it hinders the young from being well educated and hampers scientific life. Therefore we consider that the structure of the Higher Education Council (YOK) needs to be altered without delay in the sense of an autonomy based on the principle of election.

We would like to stress the fact that a prerequisite essential to civilisation is to abolish both legal and actual restrictions hampering the emergence of intellectual and artistic productions, and to provide thinkers and artists, as well as all citizens, with the universal guarantees. Prerequisites to a sound development of society are:

- to be free to produce and circulate artistic works of whatever kind
- to abolish censorship completely which hampers in the extreme cultural creativeness,
- that no subject should be tabooed,
- that criminal responsibility should be established exclusively by the normal judicial authorities.

In view of these facts, we, being aware of our responsibility towards society, believe in all sincerity that contemporary democracy, even though it shows differences in the various countries depending on specific situations, has nevertheless an unchangeable fundamental basis; that our nation too has adopted the institutions and principles that constitute this fundamental basis; that it is necessary to suppress by democratic methods all legal and practical provisions that are contrary to it, and that in this way a sounder and safer solution to the crisis we are going through, will be found.

ish history-Ed.) condemned by accusing him of treason. Now that so much time has passed since then, let us think it over: which was a traitor? Abdülhamit or Mithat Pasha?

"As one of our friends said, one can discuss *Vahdettin's* (the last Padishah-Ed.) capacity as an intellectual, but one thing is indisputable, namely that he was Head of State.

"Recently, two prominent foreign writers, *Arthur Miller* and *Harold Pinter*, came to our country. Our leaders did not take particular interest in their visit. As a matter of fact, the cultural level of the leaders under *Ozal* - who said in an interview given to the Cumhuriyet newspaper prior to his designation as Prime Minister, that he hadn't time to read books, except for Tom Mix and Texas (comic strips-Ed.) - will of course never enable anyone to take an interest in Miller or Pinter. I am going to quote an excerpt of Arthur Miller's article which appeared in *The Nation* of May 18, 1985:

"'But some observers, including Süleyman Demirel, the Prime Minister at the time of the coup, find it suspicious that although seemingly helpless to curb the violence for two years, the military brought an amazing peace within a matter of weeks after taking power. In Demirel's view, the generals deliberately allowed the chaos to expand until their intervention would be gratefully accepted. Support for the military government is still based on fears that the violence will return.'

"A great many citizens share the misgivings Demirel expressed to Miller. I, too, feel anxious about it. Since all of us are responsible for what happened, I strongly deny the assertions of the top people in charge that they were dispensing justice by hanging youngsters who allegedly committed crimes, youngsters hardly 17 or 18. A statement concerning the executions, which Mr Evren addressed to western intellectuals through the TRT and newspapers, is also very interesting: 'They oppose executions in our country. This is an internal matter that concerns us. Do we criticize them to dissuade them from executing death sentences?'

"In the course of history, scores of statements have been made for or against the death penalty, but no one has ever thought of advocating it in this way.

"What is the typical feature of regimes that are completely contrary to democracy? To burn books. In today's Turkey, hundreds of thousands of books are burnt without a warrant issued by a judge. With regard to these books, no legal proceedings have ever been taken. The publisher of these books has got no compensation. Can we call this democracy? In Turkey, films are also burnt, even those films that were produced by the TRT at the cost of millions. Can we call this democracy?

"The appalling practice of torture since September, 12th, 1980, has even been documented by State officials. As soon as law 2969 is lifted - banning any criticism as regards the practice of torture - all these practices will be publicized. Thus, all people will learn that we have experienced practices that are a disgrace to our time.

"While writing this defence, I don't know if I will be permitted to pronounce it entirely. Yet, I have written it, hoping to be allowed to do so. Nevertheless, this defense is not intended for only the tribunal and the prosecutor. I wish it be read, above all, by those who should read and benefit by it."

TRIAL OF THE WRITERS' UNION OF TURKEY

Another significant collective prosecution of Turkish intellectuals was the trial of *the Writers' Union of Turkey* (TYS). Chairman Aziz Nesin and 17 other leading members of this union were brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on January 6, 1983.

Aziz Nesin, Bekir Yildiz, Aydin Özyalçiner, Sükran Kurdakul, Demirtas Ceyhun, Alpay Kabacali, Osman Saffet Arolat, Attila Özkirimli, Ataol Behramoglu, Hasmet Zeybek, Orhan Apaydin, Asim Bezirci, Tekin Sönmez, Aziz Çalislar, Emil Galip Sandalci, Kemal Sülker, Vedat Türkali and Mehmet Ali Sebük have been accused of transforming the TYS into a clandestine organization and the military prosecutor requested prison terms of up to 15 years for each.

The indictment was based on the Union's cooperation with DISK and the organisation of a soirée to honour the memory of the greatest Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet who had died in exile in 1963.

On January 21, 1985, the military court

concluded that the military prosecutor's accusations were groundless and acquitted all the defendants. Moreover, the tribunal declared that it was incompetent to give a ruling regarding the request for banning the TYS.

Nevertheless, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul appealed to the Military Court of Cassation with the demand to overrule the acquittal.

TYS Chairman *Nesin* was included also in the Turkish Peace Committee Trial. Beside three collective trials in which he has been tried, *Aziz Nesin* was brought before a military tribunal for a novel which he wrote 29 years ago. This humoristic work entitled "*Az Gittik, Uz Gittik*" had been reprinted six times since 1956 and never been subjected to legal proceedings. The military prosecutor ordered the confiscation of all copies of the books and asked the tribunal to condemn the world famous Turkish humorist to imprisonment of up to ten years.

During these trials, Aziz Nesin had a heart attack on November 26, 1983, in Istanbul at the age of 69, and part of his body was paralyzed. The military also denied him the right to travel abroad while he was in need of treatment in a foreign country where cardiology is more advanced than in Turkey.

On October 13, 1985, he was invited by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) of Great Britain to a closed conference on Media in Turkey. But the "civilian" government would not allow him to go abroad. Thereupon, Aziz Nesin sent a letter to General Evren and declared that if his letter was not answered, he would be obliged to inform the NUJ of the Turkish authorities' arbitrary attitude.

Nesin, 71 years old in 1985, is the author of 72 humoristic books. He has always been one of the principal targets in the campaign against intellectuals in every period of repression. Since the beginning of his career, prosecutors - civil or military - have started more than a hundred legal proceedings against him, and he has already been kept under arrest at different times for various periods totalling 5 years.

Nesin has a great reputation in the world and his humoristic works have been translated and published in more than 30 different languages.

His defence text in connection with the trial of 59 intellectuals, of which the publication is banned in Turkey, is a historical document putting General Evren's regime in the docks. (See: *Aziz Nesin accuses General Evren).*

A new experiment: Ekin-Bilar Inc.

Nesin's ordeal did not end with his numerous legal prosecutions; neither did that of thousands of intellectuals. The best proof is the obstacles the government put before a very legitimate enterprise started by intellectuals.

Since the military coup d'état, thousands of intellectuals and university professors have been dismissed from their posts. Most of the victims of repressive measures are living under very difficult conditions, all the more since private companies do not dare to employ them.

In order to overcome this obstacle, a group of intellectuals, including Aziz Nesin, tried to set up a "share company" with a view to promoting a number of cultural activities.

Whereas under the ultra-liberal Ozal Governement businessmen are being favored by every possible means and private enterprise of any kind - provided it has a commercial purpose - is being given incentives, this initiative, *Ekin A.S.* (Ekin Inc. Co.), has been rebuffed by the Ministry of Trade. In its answer to the founders, the Ministry claimed that this initiative did not fit the requirements of article 271 of the Turkish Commercial Code.

The intellectuals did not give up and reestablished their company under the name of "*Ekin-Bilar A.S.,*" Nesin being the chairman and Professor Yalçin Küçük, one of the victims of the repression, the director. This time, the company was registered.

Küçük said: "The country was being culturally sterilized. Thus, we wanted to open a new coffee-shop as part of our tradition, a place where people from all walks of life could come to read, play games or have discussions. The venture we aim for is to establish culture clubs where there will also be music."

One of the most successful activities of this self-styled company has been the cultural nights called "*Ekin's Wedding parties.*" On organizing these, the administrators of the company were questioned for 11 hours by the State Security Courts on accusations of organizing illegal political rallies.

HOW A PUBLISHER WAS ASSASSINATED UNDER TORTURE

Another flagrant crime committed by the military against the freedom of expression was the assassination of a publisher under detention. *Mr. Ilhan Erdost* and *Mr. Muzaffer Erdost*, publishers of the Sol Yayinlari Publishing House in Ankara, were taken into custody by the military on November 7, 1980, for having published marxist classics. After their interrogation, when they were taken to the Mamak Military Prison, *Ilhan Erdost* was beaten to death with butt of rifle. Below we are reproducing the testimony of his brother, Muzaffer Erdost:

A certain notification issued in my name was left at my cousin's bookstore on "Zafer Çarsisi" by the authorities, indicating that an investigation file was opened on me by the Political Section of the Ankara Department of Security. Furthermore, it was stated that the subject file was at the Press Affairs Branch of the Political Section and I was requested to phone the authorities at the said departement as soon as possible. Upon receipt of the notification, I phoned to the given number on the morning of November, 3, 1980 and talked to a certain Mr. Cevat, the senior superintendent of "the Press Affairs Bureau". He told me that it was necessary for me to report to the Department of Security. When I asked him on what subject, he answered that he knew nothing about the subject and added something about the existence of an official notification from the Martial Law authorities requesting them that they find me for further investigations. During the morning of the same day, I reported to "the Press Affairs Bureau" of the Political Section. I was asked why my brother Ilhan Erdost was not with me. In their notification, the authorities had not requested Ilhan's presence and we knew nothing about that matter. There was a piece of paper on the desk, containing my and my brother's home addresses. Under our addresses, there was a short handwritten note saying, "Even if no concrete proof is found, a profound investigation should be made..."

The same day, a search took place in my and my brother's homes and work places as well. No evidence of guilt was found during the search. The searchers made a complete list of all the books we had at our dwellings. Most of those books were published by our publishing house, "Sol Yayinlari". The subject list was turned over to the Political Section in order to find out whether any restricted books were among them. After checking the list, they stated that three of those books were already banned by the authorities (Ministry of Internal Affairs); therefore, they confiscated them. That night, I stayed in the security chamber on the 6th floor of the Main Security Building (Emniyet Sarayi). Next morning, the senior commissar of "the Press Affairs Bureau" took my deposition. He asked me full details about my place of birth, my parents' and my brothers' occupations, where I attended elementary and high school, my student years at the university, my married life and my children. He also interrogated me about evolution in my political ideologies, my cultural and political points of view, religious beliefs and similar subjects. He did not put forward any question accusing me of any specific crime. In my deposition, I stated fully that the interdiction on those three books were never finalized. Furthermore, we had published new editions of the books in question. I also stated that the confiscation order was issued for certain other books which were published by other publishing houses under the same titles.

The morning of November 5, 1980, Ilhan had come to the Department of Security and reported to the Press Affairs Bureau of the Political Section. His deposition was also taken in the same manner but much more briefly. Ilhan was the owner of "Onur Yayinlari - Onur Publications" and "Ilkyaz Printing House" as well. Since he had lost a considerable amount of money in the business of "Ilkyaz", Ilhan decided to liquidate the printing house by the New Year and closed it in June 1980, terminating his employees' services. Since the activities of "Ilkyaz" had come to an end, the electricity of the building was disconnected and the printing machines were put on sale. Although he was the owner of the printing house, Ilhan hardly came to the office. The place was run by a certain manager who was responsible for all aspects of the business. Copies of all books printed by this enterprise were forwarded to the appropriate offices of the Department of Security and of the District Attorney as well, always within the legally designated period of



time. The legal responsibility of a printing house stops with the delivery of the appropriate copies of each printed matter to the authorities designated by the Law within the designated period of time. These obligations were always fulfilled without delay or failure. Furthermore, there was no "Decree of Confiscation" given by any tribunal and no interdiction or restriction ever issued on any book that was printed by the said printing house.

After completion of his deposition, my brother Ilhan was brought around noon of the same day, to the same security chamber where I was kept. There, he told me briefly about his deposition and added that he made his interrogator write down exactly in his deposition, everything concerning the printing house.

In the afternoon, we were taken to the "Public Relations Bureau" of the Martial Law Headquarters at Mamak under escort by a plainclothes police officer. When we arrived there, it was 3.10 p.m. The NCO on duty told us that telephone instructions had been received from the Legal Advisory Bureau at 3 p.m., requesting them not to admit and/or register any more new cases for the day. Therefore, we returned to the main building of the Department of Security, accompanied by the same police officer, and we spent the night at the same security chamber on the 6th floor. The next morning, at 9.30, we were taken back to the Martial Law Headquarters. This time a certain Ziya Bey from the "Press Affairs Bureau" escorted us. Our written depositions and an official letter from the Department of Security were turned over to the "Legal Advisory Bureau" of the Martial Law Headquarters, together with four of the books confiscated from our homes; one (*Dialectic of the Nature* - Engels) belonging to Ilhan and the other three belonging to me (*Dialectic of the Nature* - Engels; *On the Youth* - Lenin; *Socialism or Anarchism?* - Stalin).

The "Legal Advisory Bureau" is responsible for studying and investigating all the files submitted to it, and the judge who makes the preliminary study of or investigation into a file can decide either to release *or* detain the suspect or to transfer the suspect's file to the civilian legal authorities, namely the "District Attorney's Office", when he believes that the case is not a subject for the Martial Law Jurisdiction. He can also decide to return the file to the Department of Security for additional legal

elements when he thinks that the file is incomplete.

Concerning our cases, we believed that they should be transferred to the civilian District Attorney's Office. Furthermore, we thought the judge at the "Legal Advisory Bureau" should release us free of the charges brought against us for "keeping restricted publications at our residences" since such a deed was not classified as a crime within the Law, although the books had been banned by the authorities. There was no legal reason whatsoever for our detention. Normally, within 1 or 2 hours at most, a certain decision would have been made on our cases. However, no decision was reached on us until mid-day. At 3 p.m., the officer who escorted us there went to the "Legal Advisory Bureau" and checked with the duty NCO about our cases. He was told that the judge had just started to review our files. When we went back to the same office again at 5 p.m., we were told this time that the judge had left his office to handle another matter. We were also told that the judge would definitely return to his office later on and come to a conclusion on our cases by 8.30 p.m. However, at 7 p.m., our escort was called and he was told that the judge could not return to his office for the rest of the day. Therefore, they requested us to be taken back to the Department of Security.

That night, we stayed at the Security Chamber of the Department of Security. Next morning, November 7, 1980, we were taken again to the Martial Law Headquarters. We were kept waiting there until evening. At 5.30 p.m., after normal working hours, our escort officer was asked for by the "Legal Advisory Bureau". When he returned a little later, he told us that we were going to be detained. Generally, on every detention order issued by judges, the number of the Penal Code Article is shown as reference for the accusation. When we asked our escort officer which Article was referred to on our detentions, he replied that no Article number was mentioned, but "keeping restricted publications" was shown as the motive.

The penitentiary is located in the same military compound, on a small hill. During our case, my uncle had been waiting for us outside the Martial Law Headquarters. When he heard the news, he came with his car to drive us to the penitentiary. My wife Rana was with him. Under the police officer's escort, we drove to the penitentiary. Ilhan and I got out of the car near the gate. Since I had been in and out of penitentiary a few times before, my wife was accustomed to such scenes. She knew how to be strong under such circumstances. When we got out of the car, we saw that my wife was crying. Smiling, Ilhan said, "Rana Sister, this is the first time I see you crying at the penitentiary gate." Rana replied "Ilhan, it seems to me that this time, there is something else in the whole thing!" We tried to console her.

While we were waiting outside, the prison authorities were completing the necessary formalities for our incarceration. They booked us for the "C-Block". Since I had been at the same penitentiary previously, once for 2 years and the last time for 15 days, I told Ilhan that "C-Block" was much better than the other prison buildings. From "C-Block" we could see the surrounding territory and nature. For the first time in his life Ilhan was entering a penitentiary.

There are three separate block-buildings inside the compound of Mamak Military Penitentiary. "A-Block" is the newest one and was built after the March, 12, 1971, Coup d'Etat. "B-Block" is located just beside "A-Block". It is the old penitentiary building. Approximately, within a 10-minute walking distance from "A-Block", there were some dormitory barracks for soldiers. Later on, these barracks were transformed into prison quarters and were named "C-Block". Four more dormitory barracks on the same line were also transformed into prison quarters and were connected to "C-Block" as C, D, E, F and G sections. Before we entered the prison compound, they asked us about our political tendencies so as to indicate it on our detention forms. We said "leftist" and they wrote "leftist" on our forms.

First, they took us to "A-Block", to a small room with a stairway in one corner, for registration and taking our pictures. There were three other detainees in the room who had been brought there before us. While we were there, they brought two more detainees. They lined us up on the steps of the stairway, standing with our backs against the wall. First, they took our pictures, with our hair and mustache. Then, they cut our hair and mustache with an electric razor. This time, they took new pictures, one from the front, one from the side. They gave each of us an inscription card and we filled it out. Our physical descriptions were also entered

on our inscription cards by one of the soldiers on duty. He was getting us in front of him one by one and asking questions, either keeping us standing or ordering us to turn left or right or to bend over. Whenever they thought that someone was not executing their orders properly, they insulted that person and beat him with their truncheons or fists or kicked him all over. While we were lined-up, the soliders hit my and my brother's palms with their truncheons for no reason at all. Then, they separated us from the others.

Afterwards, the soldiers who wrote down our physical descriptions on the cards phoned somewhere. He said on the phone that there were two detainees to be taken to the "C-Block" and he asked a big vehicle. The person on the other end must have told him that there was no big vehicle available, for the soldier replied "No little vehicle!" After a short conversation, the soldier asked again "Do you have Reo available. Reo is O.K. Send it over." Then he phoned to "C-Block" and informed them that there were two detainees for their block and he had already asked for a vehicle. He also added that one of the NCOs in duty should come and pick up the detainees.

After a while, an NCO entered the room. "Which ones?" he asked the soldiers. They showed him me and my brother. After him, another soldier entered the room. There were two other soldiers standing by the door. We (my brother and I) were standing up with our backs against the wall where the door was. The soldier behind the NCO asked us what we were accused of. "Keeping restricted publications", we said. "What about?" he asked. At first, I could not understand what he meant by that. This time he asked me if they were "leftist or rightist publications?". "Leftist", we said. They took us from the room. In the hallway leading to the entrance of "A-Block", they searched our belongings again. Pushing our toothbrushes and toothpaste with his foot, the NCO told the soldiers they could give them to someone. In an insulting manner he said, "you have poisoned 10-year-old children. Inside is full of those whom you poisoned. Because of you, we can't have peace." Pointing to the other soldiers, he added "these soldiers cannot even go to sleep at night because of your people!" When we were entering in the vehicle, they started to kick us and hit our backs with their truncheons. I rushed into the prison vehicle. My brother also rushed into the vehicle after me. We sat on the seats facing each other.

The inside of the prison wagon was divided into two sections, one for inmates, the other for guards. There was a door with a sliding security latch on separating the two sections. Our military guards were holding rubber truncheons in their hands. As soon as they got in the prison wagon, they ordered us to take a "stand-up!" position. Two of the guards started to hit my palms with their trucheons and at the same moment, the other two were doing the same thing to my brother. They were merciless and were hitting us very hard without stopping. After a while, I started to scream, but my brother did not. Our military guards, were clubbing, kicking and punching us from every side. Once, during their attacks, I was pushed forward with my back against the front side of the wagon. There, I saw my brother falling on his face to the floor and then trying to stand up. He was having great difficulty staying on his feet but two of the guards were still clubbing and punching him. I remembered that my brother had undergone an operation about six years ago for his backbone. A discus bone was removed from his spine. Therefore, I shouted to the soldiers that "his spine was broken once!" Please do not hit him. You'd better beat me instead!". I begged the soldiers to stop beating my brother. Nobody was listening to my plea. They were punching and slapping my face so hard that I saw stars around my head and I simply could not see my brother any more. There were no lights inside the prison wagon and it was dark. While the wagon was taking us to the prison building, from time to time, I saw lights coming through the windows of the wagon which were covered with iron bars. The prison wagon was moving very slowly, like an ox-cart. For a while, I saw again that the guards were beating my brother while he was standing. I thought their harassement lasted about half an hour. Then, the wagon stopped. The back door was opened. While they were getting us out, they were still clubbing us with their truncheons and were punching us all over as well. When we started to walk towards the prison building, they shouted at us to "stop!". The NCO and his soldiers attacked us again and started beating. This time, their harassement lasted about five minutes. My brother and I hardly had any strength to stand up on our feet. We begged the NCO to stop

beating us. "You should think of and realize everything before you came here, not now!" he replied. His words encouraged the guards and they continued hitting us even harder. After a short while, my brother fell on the ground. He tried, but he could not stand-up. They went on kicking and clubbing him. Finally, he barely stood on his feet. Then, they ordered us to take a "stand-up" position without moving, but we couldn't. We were tottering. Our hands were swollen, therefore we couldn't keep our hands at our sides. They shouted at us "keep your arms straight at your sides and stay properly in a stand-up position!".

-"They burst every organ in your bodies but not your testicles yet!" the NCO shouted. "They will now burst them too!" he continued. Then, the beatings went out. After a while, the NCO ordered the soldiers to stop beating us. We were brought to the gate of the prison building. We passed through two iron-barred gates. There was a courtyard towards the entrance of the dormitories. They stopped us and pointed to another door on the right side of the courtyard. They ordered us to go by that door. When we arrived there, they started to beat us up again. They were shouting and giving orders. They brought us back to the entrance of the dormitory, clubbing and kicking us. There my brother fell on the ground once more. He could barely stand up again. They ordered us to take "stand-up" positions. One soldier was standing on each side of us and shouting, "stand-up, man!" "Keep your arms straight at your sides, man!"

Then, the soldiers called for some people from the dormitory. Three "senior" inmates came out running. They took "stand-up" positions in front of the soldiers and replied to them by shouting "yes, my commander? Ready for your orders, my commander!"

Our military guards asked them whether there was any place available for us at the dormitory. "We have place," they replied. Then, they opened the door and we went inside. We were placed in the dormitory on the right side. Some of the inmates there came beside me and some were helping my brother to stand-up and walk. For a moment, I came eye-to-eye with my brother. Part of his face was covered with blood. His eyeballs were completely red. We glanced at each other without saying a word. Then, my brother tried to walk behind me. After taking 2-3 steps, he said, "my stomach is upset, I think I am going to vomit." He could not stand up any longer, but, when he was falling to the ground, the other inmates helped him by holding his arms. They lay him down on a bed. They also put me in a bed at the inner part of the dormitory. Later on, I saw that some inmates had taken off my brother's shirt and underwear. They brought him to the bed next to the one where I was lying.

There, in the bed, my brother was kneeling on one knee with his head and his mouth open. I called out his name "Ilhan! Ilhan!". He did not reply at all. "Ilhan, Ilhan!" I repeated,

-"It is nothing important" the other inmates replied to me. For a moment, I thought he had fainted. They lay him on the bed. There was a 40-50cm space between our beds. One of the inmates helping him said "His legs have no feelings".

-"My goodness, he is paralysed," I said to myself. I could not think that he might be dead. Among the inmates, there was a medical student who was nicknamed "doctor". He started to give him artificial respiration. I told him that my brother might already be dead. "No, no," he replied. "It is not very serious. His pulse is a little weak and we are trying to strengthen it." About a quarter hour later, an NCO came into the dormitory and asked for a medical doctor. About 15 minutes later, a medical NCO (hospital technician) came to the dormitory and, after seeing my brother, asked for an ambulance. Then they put my brother on a stretcher and took him away. When he was lying on the stretcher, his eyes were half-closed and his mouth was wide open. I wanted to kiss him but the other inmates prevented me from doing so. My brother was dead and he had passed away right there. How difficult it was for me to accept the reality that he was dead. Just a short while ago, other inmate friends were trying to give him artificial respiration. All of those efforts to keep him alive came to nothing. However, when they were helping him, I still had some hopes that his life could be saved. Only two hours before, when we were waiting together at the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" for our case, he was so alive. From time to time, he got up from his chair and walked around the waiting room. How handsome he looked! His cheeks had been reddish due to his excitement. His mustache was gorgeous. His beautiful eyes were smiling. When were still there, I was thinking that, if both of us were detained, I would

look after him and take care of him. But he was dead now. What could I say to his 3 year-old daughter, Türküler? What could I tell her if she asked me the whereabouts of her father? I knew how much he loved Türküler and also how much Türküler loved her father. What would I do now? How would his other 5 month-old daughter learn to say "father" any more? What could I tell Gül, his wife now? We were so close to each other. They took our prison photos together and they also beat us together. Now he was dead, but I was alive and was mourning for him.

All the inmates were standing in a straight line beside their beds for the name call. I heard some people crying from the ranks of the progressive detainees and more and more people were crying as the time passed. Then, they took me from the dormitory.

My body was wet all over from sweating. My clothes were untidy and a cold wind was blowing. They took me from the "F-Section", and, on the way, I was shivering. I had a kind of feeling my body would become stiff and would fall to the ground. They covered my head with my vest. They made me walk 300-400 meters. They took me to the Officers' Mess. The NCO who brought me and my brother from the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" to the prison quarters was there, watching television. When he saw me there, he asked:

"Muzaffer Bey, why didn't you tell us that your brother was suffering from a weak heart?"

I knew that my brother never had any heart problem before. I was conscious enough to know that a brain haemmorhage could cause my brother's death. I kept quiet and said nothing. I drank some water.

Then, they took me to an empty room in "G-Section". They put an old mattress on the floor and, later on, the inmate friends from the dormitory sent me 5 or 6 blankets. They also sent me some milk, water and yoghurt. Then, they gave me an injection with tranquillizers. I fell asleep for a while. I was talking to my brother all the time and I also saw that the guards were observing me through the window while I was trying to sleep. I thought I slept for days. Then, it was morning.

On Saturday, the 8th November, they asked me to get ready. Two inmate friends had come to my room and helped me to get dressed. My arms, wrists and hands were swollen. The handcuffs did not fit on my wrists.

"Wa cannot take you from this place without being handcuffed!" said the military guard. Then, he just placed the handcuffs loose around my wrists and did not fasten it. They took me to "A-Block" in a small prison vehicle.

I would like to point out two important things that I noticed later on:

The military guards did not handcuff us when my brother and I got in the vehicle which took us to the prison. However, in accordance with the prison regulations, an inmate and/or a detainee must be handcuffed when he is transferred from one building to another even inside the prison compound. That means all their moves had been premeditated. They knew that if we were handcuffed, we could somewhat defend ourselves with our handcuffs. Secondly, when I got in the small prison vehicle on the way to the Public Prosecutor's Office, I realized that it was a small vehicle and a minimum of 10 people could be loaded on it. Since the vehicle was not very high, it would be impossible to stand-up in it without bending the body. Moreover, the small vehicle was not large enough for 4 guards to beat-up someone so easily. The movements of the guards would be too limited in a small vehicle; therefore, we could not be beaten so much. That was why they had asked for the big wagon. This also proves that they had planned beforehand to beat us on the way to prison.

At the Public Prosecutor's Office, the authorities treated me with understanding. First, I could not hold myself and started to cry. They waited until I was calm again. They wrote down everything, exactly what I said. They were honest.

I was back there again next day. This time, my deposition was taken by the prosecutor to whom my file was sent.

I completed my deposition with some facts which were omitted during the previous interrogation. The prosecutor told me that, according to his investigations, only 3 military guards were supposed to be on duty in the prison wagon and he was now investigating the identity of the 4th guard who was allowed to get on the vehicle. Later on, the prosecutor confirmed his identity to me.

During the interrogation, the NCO had stated that he had not actually seen that we were beaten up by the soldiers, but he heard about the incident later on. The military guards stated that they had never beaten us. I was

taken back to the prosecutor's office on Monday. This time it was for my testimony. I asked the authorities whether my family was informed about the incident. They told me that it was the obligation of the Martial Law authorities to inform them. Then, they asked me through which person or persons I wished to inform the family about my brother's death, in case the Martial Law authorities had not yet done so. I suggested Mr. Halit Çelenk who had been a friend of the family for long years and represented us as our attorney in court.

My brother's death was made public with an official communiqué published by the Martial Law Authorities. Next day, Mr. Halit Çelenk came to the prison to see me. I talked to him in a room where we were separated by a wire fence. He informed me that he had already applied to the authorities for my release. He added that the Military Prosecutor's Office was in favour of my release and my papers were sent to the commanding Officer for his approval. That same night, around 9 p.m., right after the evening name call, they asked me to get ready and said I was going to be released.

I went by the same route where my brother and I were brought to the prison together. They brought me to the main gate. My uncle was there waiting.

-"We went there together, but I came back alone," I said to my uncle.

When I arrived home, the family members told me that the Martial Law authorities had banned further publications of the "Cumhuriyet" in which news of my brother was published in six columns. My family decided to arrange a funeral ceremony for the next day. Therefore, a funeral notice was sent only to the "Cumhuriyet" for printing. However, publication of the "Cumhuriyet" was already banned by that time. I had some friends working for other newspaper organisations. Through them, we were able to give a short funeral notice to the Ankara editions of the "Milliyet" and "Hürriyet".

Next morning, I went to the mortuary. The mortuary imam was washing my brother's corpse when I arrived there. His eyes were slightly opened. His upper lip was stretched as though his complete body was in pain. His beard had grown a little longer. The imam washed his corpse and I mourned. When the imam finished his work, I kissed my brother's eyes and his face again and again.

His coffin was brought from the mortuary to "Haci Bayram Mosque". We followed his coffin to the mosque. His funeral was attended by some progressive, patriotic and revolutionary writers, newsmen, teachers, intellectuals and others... who ever had learned of his funeral by the time. We buried my brother with a quiet but dignified ceremony.

Even if Ilhan Erdost had died in his bed from natural causes, it would normally have been news in all the news media. However, not a single newspaper, except "Dünya", gave even his funeral as news although there was no prohibition on this matter. "Dünya" also gave my release in headlines. It is my wish that the death of Ilhan should be known by everyone who has respect for the principles of freedom and democracy.

REPRESSION OF MASS MEDIA

Repression of the mass media has been carried out through different means over the course of the 5-year period of military rule: Ban on publications, theatrical performances, musical representations; censorship for the surviving media; persecution of journalists, writers, translators and artists... All these anti-democratic practices were "crowned," just before the passage to a "parliamentary period" by the adoption of a new press code.

As a matter of fact, the ban on the press and the arrest of newspapermen had already started before the military coup, just after the proclamation of martial Law in 13 provinces, in 1978. But the target of this first wave was the politically engaged media and their editors. After the coup, a few remnants of the politically engaged press continued to be the object of persecution. In the beginning, the junta did not resort to the same methods for the commercial media. Although censorship was applied all over the country and especially in *Babiali* (the Fleet Street of the Turkish press), the military did not start proceedings against members of the circulation press because they wanted the support of the high circulation newspapers and did not wish to provoke reaction from European institutions.

Applauding all the military junta's practices, big media gave tacit approval to the prosecution of the politically engaged press.

But prosecution of the circulation press was not long in coming. After the European Parliament and the Council of Europe changed their stand and began to criticze the antidemocratic practices of the regime, the military, thinking that there was no longer any use in being prudent, extended prosecution to the circulation press as well. Bans on the publication of dailies and periodicals and proceedings against their directors became more frequent.

In the meantime, the NSC adopted a law according to which sentences for political or opinion crimes of up to 3 years of imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Cassation, and the convicted person is immediately incarcerated.

Another step taken against the Press was the imposing of the obligation to demand preliminary permission from the martial law commander to publish a new newspaper periodical.

According to a survey made by the *Contemporary Journalists' Association*, within a 3-year period, martial law commanders 41 times ordered the banning of newspapers or periodicals for a definite or indefinite time. The dailies *Demokrat, Aydinlik* and *Hergün* as well as more than 20 political periodicals were closed down for good.

The names of the dailies whose publication was suspended for definite periods are as follows:

Milli Gazete (4 times):	72 days
Cumhuriyet (4 times)	41 days
Tercüman (twice):	29 days
Günaydin (twice):	17 days
Günes (once):	10 days
Milliyet (once):	10 days
Tan (once):	9 days
Hürriyet (twice):	7 days

According to the same survey, over the same period, the Council of Ministers or military tribunals banned the introduction into Turkey of 927 publications printed abroad. They included *Info-Türk* publications.

The ban or suspension of publications did not end after the legislative elections. This antidemocratic practice was still in force by the end of 1985. Below is the list of publications hit in this last period by a ban for definite periods:

2.10.1983: Daily *Tasvir*
30.10.1983: Daily *Hürriyet*
30.1.1984: Monthly *Somut*
5.9.1984: Daily *Tercüman*
16.10.1984: *Video-Sinema*
22.10.1984: Bimonthly *Yeni Gündem*
16.12.1984: Daily *Tan*
22.7.1985: Weekly *Hafta Sonu*
24.7.1985: Daily *Günes*
26.1.1986: Monthly *Erkekçe*

According to the same survey by the Association of Contemporary Journalists, in the course of the first 3-year period, Turkish journalists were condemned to prison terms totalling 316 years, four months and 20 days. This number does not include sentences passed on journalists who are accused of being involved in political actions.

The distribution of the sentences, according to the main daily newspapers, is as follows:

Aydinlik (banned):	27 years and 6 months
Hergün (banned):	20 years and 8 months
Politika (banned):	13 years and 6 months
Milli Gazete:	2 years and 8 months
Demokrat Izmir:	1 year and 8 months
Cumhuriyet:	1 year and 7 months
Tercüman:	1 year
Demokrat (banned):	1 year
Milliyet:	6 months
Dünya:	6 months
Others:	245 years and 9 months.

Of these sentences, prison terms totalling 184 years, 4 months and 15 days have been inflicted on the responsible editors.

The distribution of the number of legal proceedings, according to the main publications, is as follows:

Cumhuriyet:	28
Tercüman:	27
Hürriyet:	14
Milliyet:	11
Milli Gazete:	4
Dünya:	4
Aksam:	3
Son Havadis:	3
Hergün (banned):	2
Arayis (banned):	2
Hayat:	2
Nokta:	2
Yanki:	1
Demokrat (banned):	1
Politika (banned):	1
Adalet:	1

However, the number of legal proceedings and the sum of prison terms would be higher than these figures, if the prosecution of politically engaged publications were taken into consideration. Since the Army's takeover, military prosecutors have started 404 legal proceedings against 27 responsible editors of these publications, and military tribunals have condemned them to a total of 3,000 years of prison. Curiously, neither the Turkish press nor foreign colleagues consider them "professional journalists". Their cases are considered as part of the trials against "political activists". However, all these people have been condemned for publishing articles the likes of which can be read in any newspaper or periodical published in any member country of the Council of Europe.

Condemned journalists

We are reproducing the list of these journalists, published in the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 3, 1986.

1. Aydogan Büyüközden (daily Aydinlik): 91 different legal proceedings. Condemned to a total of 38 years in prison in 27 cases. Eighteen cases ended in acquittal. In 33 trials still pending he risks further prison terms of up to 150 years.

2. Tamer Kayas (daily Politika): 9 different legal proceedings. Condemned to 7 years and 6 months, and to fines totalling 416,000 TL. Two cases ended in acquittal.

3. Hasan Basri Çiplak (daily Demokrat): 7 different legal proceedings. One case ended in a prison term of one year and a half.

4. Isik Yurtçu (daily Demokrat): 4 legal proceedings. Condemned to 2 years and 7 months in all, but the sentence was commuted into fines.

5. Veyis Sözüer (daily Hergün): 25 legal proceedings. All the prison sentences in 13 cases were commuted into fines. Three trials still go on.

6. Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan (periodical Halkin Sesi): 26 legal proceedings. Condemned to a 66-year prison term in 16 trials. He risks another 64-year sentence in 10 other trials.

7. Alaaddin Sahin (periodical Halkin Yolu): condemned to a total of 108 years in 25 cases. He faces another 163 years in 19 other cases.

8. Feyzullah Özer (periodicals Ilke and Kitle): condemned to a 12-year prison term in 3 trials. He risks another 7-year term in one other case.

9. Mehmet Özgen (periodicals Bagimsiz Türkiye and Devrimci Militan): condemned to 33 years and 6 months in 6 cases.

10. Erhan Tuskan (periodicals Ilerici Yurtsever Gençlik and Gençlik Dünyasi): condemned to 48 years and 10 months in 10 cases.

11. Mustafa Tütüncübasi (periodical Halkin Sesi): condemned to 42 years in 14 cases and acquitted in 6 cases. He risks 90 more years in 12 other cases.

12. Dogan Yurdakul (periodical Aydinlik): condemned to 18 years in 6 cases. He risks 120 more years in 16 other cases.

13. Ali Haydar Yildirim (periodical Militan Gençlik): condemned to 14 years and 6 months in three cases and acquitted in 5 cases.

14. Ersan Sarikaya (periodical Güney): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

15. Ali Duman (periodical Yurtsever Devrimci Ögretmen): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

16. Veli Yilmaz (periodicals Halkin Kurtulusu and Halkin Kurtulusu Yolunda Gençlik): condemned to 1,170 years in all in 79 different cases.

17. Mustafa Yildirimtürk (periodical Halkin Kurtulusu): condemned to 215 years for different articles.

18. Osman Tas (periodical Halkin Kurtulusu): condemned to 770 years in different cases.

19. Nevzat Açan (periodical Halkin Kurtulusu): condemned to 20 years and 6 months in different cases.

20. Irfan Asik (periodical Partizan): condemned to 111 years in 13 different cases.

21. Galip Demircan (periodicals Halkin Kurtulusu and Halkin Kurtulusu Yolunda Gençlik): condemned to 20 years in different cases.

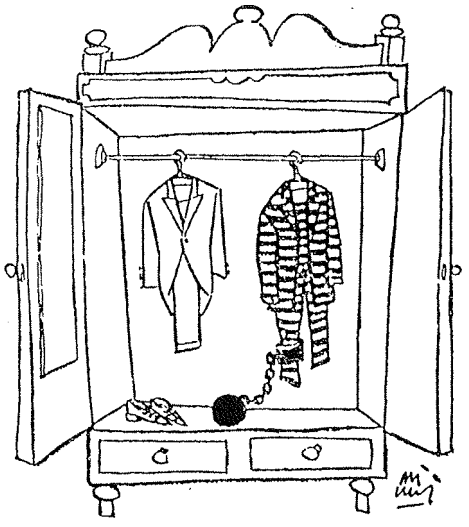
22. Mete Dalgin (periodical Halkin Birligi): condemned to 30 years in different cases.

23. Haluk Seçkin Meriç (periodical Baris ve Sosyalizm Sorunlari): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

24. Ali Rabus (periodical Birlik Yolu): condemned to 18 years in different cases.

25. Muhittin Göktas (periodical Kivilcim): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

26. Candemir Özler (periodical Savas



Yolu): condemned to 23 years and 10 months in different cases.

27. Hüseyin Ülger (periodical Genç Sosyalist): condemned to 8 years and 3 months.

The following is the list of the other journalists, authors and translators who have been condemned by the military since the coup d'état:

Sadi Ozansu (translator):
7 years and 6 months.
Enis Riza Sakizli (translator):
7 years and 6 months.
Leyla Yurdakul (journalist):
9 years and 6 months.
Lütfü Oflaz (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Cavit Tuncer (translator):
7 years and 6 months.
Ali Bahadir (journalist):
4 years and 8 months.
Orhan Senyüz (author):
7 years and 6 months.
Tamer Kayas (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Aydin Engin (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Fatih Yildiz (poet):
4 years and 2 months.
A. Turgay Fisekli (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Aydin Senesen (journalist):
3 years.
Abdullah Gelgeç (journalist):
3 months.
Seydali Gönel (cartoonist):
3 months.
Okay Gönensin (journalist):
3 months.
Oktay Akbal (journalist):
3 months.
Ahmet Tastan (journalist):
11 years and 3 months.
Siar Yalçin (translator):
6 months.
Selçuk Ilgaz (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Nahit Duru (journalist):
2 months and 15 days.
Kazim Kara (journalist):
2 months and 15 days.
Sadik Albayrak (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.
Nazli Ilicak (journalist):
12 months.
Erol Gözmen (journalist):
8 years.
Nihat Behram (writer):
6 months.
Aydogdu Ilter (journalist):
Fine.
Erhan Taskin (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Demirtas Ceyhun (journalist):
6 months.
Aydin Engin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Ayse Nuran Saygili (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Bektas Edogan (journalist):
9 years.
Yalcin Yusufoglu (journalist):
9 years and 9 months.
Ahmet Kardam (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Nadir Nadi (journalist):
3 months and 20 days.
Cezmi Kirimli (journalist):
4 months.
Metin Toker (journalist):
3 months.
Dogan Heper (journalist):
3 months.
Durmus Ali Aydin (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.

Ali Kocatepe (journalist):
3 months.
Necdet Sevinç (journalist):
1 year.
Abdurrahman Pala (journalist):
1 year.
Ali Bademci (journalist):
1 year.
Erol Toy (author):
1 year and 4 months.
Hayati Asilyazici (journalist):
Fine.
Alkin Simav (journalist):
10 months.
Necdet Onur (journalist):
10 months.
Metin Culhaoglu (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Ilhan Akalin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Salahattin Duman (journalist):
12 months.
Ugur Tekin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Ayhan Erkan (journalist):
11 years and 8 months.
Saffet Tekin (translator):
15 years.
Murat Cano (journalist):
8 years.
Orhan Tastan (journalist):
10 years.
Ismail Besikçi (academic):
10 years.
Ugur Kökten (author):
7 years and 6 months.
Idris Çelik (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Yunus Er (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Ahmet Telli (poet):
1 year and 3 months.
Metin Eray (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Riza Zelyut (author):
1 year and 4 months.
Akin Kivanç (journalist):
8 months.
Ozcan Ozgür (journalist):
1 year and 2 months.
Yalçin Küçük (academic):
8 years.
Attila Tanilgan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Recep Marasli (publisher):
27 years.
Arif Damar (poet):
3 months.
Rahmi Saltuk (singer):
3 months.
Müsfik Eren (author):
6 years and 3 months.
Ayse Uzundurukan (journalist):
3 months and 18 days.
Can Yücel (author):
Fines.
Emine Senlikliogluu (author):
6 years and 3 months.
Cevabi Sönmez (journalist):
8 months.
Rukiye Fatma Bursali (academic):
6 years and 8 months.
Samiye Inci Ataberk (academic):
6 years and 8 months.
Mustafa Kurtalan (journalist):
16 months.
Mehmet Cerit (journalist):
18 years and 11 months.
Saban Bilgin (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
Candemir Özden (journalist):
19 years.
Ertugrul Okuyan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Fettah Ayhan Erkan (journalist):
11 years and 8 months.
Esref Tutak (journalist):
6 months and 20 days.
Ömer Faruk Oba (journalist):
6 months and 20 days.
Necati Sag (publisher):
6 months and 20 days.
Ugur Tekin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Atif Yilmaz (film director):
4 months.
Ali Bahadir (journalist):
2 years.
Ahmet Kabakli (journalist):
3 months and 15 days.
Unal Sakman (journalist):
3 months and 15 days.
Mustafa Sayim (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Sadik Albayrak (journalist):
16 months.
Ibrahim Arik (journalist):
15 years.

Aydin Senesen (journalist):
18 months.
Ramazan Güntay (journalist):
6 months.
Fehmi Isiklar (author):
6 months.
Osman Sahin (author):
18 months.
Ferhat Akdag (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
Mehmet Ali Kutlu (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Yüksel Erdogan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Osman Yesil (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Cezmi Kirimli (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.
Güzel Aslaner (journalist):
31 years.
Hikmet Hüris (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Durmus Ali Aydin (journalist):
16 months.
Attila Tanilgan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Yalçin Dogan (journalist):
1 month.
Mehmet Özdemir (journalist):
5 years.
Riza Olgun (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Unviye Kayserilioglu (journalist):
6 years.
Ibrahim Arik (journalist):
15 years.
Zeki Araç (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Saban Bilgin (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
Mehmet Cerit (journalist):
19 years.
Nurettin Baydar (journalist):
6 years.
Yilmaz Dinçberk (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Mustafa Silar (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Taner Akçam (journalist):
8 years.
Naci Ali Özer (journalist):
27 years.

Pressure on foreign press correspondents

Turkish citizens working for Western papers or news agencies were also put under pressure by the Turkish authorities. Some of them received warnings relating to their articles; others were beaten up by police and threatened.

Since 1979, Ismet Imset had been working as a reporter at the UPI desk in Ankara. In February 1983, UPI headquarters in New York proposed that he go to work at the UPI desk in London, but he had no passport. It should be pointed out that he had been writing many detailed and revealing articles on the current military regime and, in particular, on human rights in Turkey. Just like some other journalists, he had been warned in connection with his articles.

When he asked for his passport, he was asked to go to his birth-place, Istanbul, "in order to comply with certain formalities". When he reported to the Gayrettepe police station in Istanbul, he was arrested on the spot. He was blindfolded and beaten up as he was questioned. He was released after an important personality intervened in his favour, but he was forbidden to leave the country and has lived in permanent dread of the political police.

In a letter dated July, 1, 1983, to general Evren, the International Journalists' Federation expressed its indignation on the incomprehensible harassment imposed on their colleague Imset and urged that effective orders be given to make sure that his passport was returned to him.

Imset was drafted for military service in September 1984.

NEW REPRESSIVE PRESS CODE

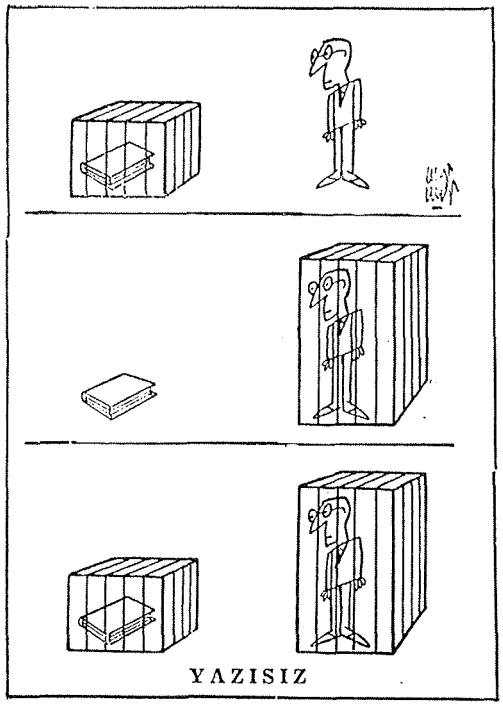
To render constant the control on the Press, the NSC adopted, just before the legislative elections of 1983, a new press code. According to this new law:

- prison terms which may be imposed on journalists and chief editors for press offences are much heavier than before;
- chief editors and journalists may be prosecuted for non-published documents;

- the indefinite concept of "secret information" is abundantly used;
- the prosecutor may call for the ban or the seizure of any publication which has allegedly infringed any of the 23 articles of the Turkish Penal Code, dealing with opinion offences and interference in State security and integrity. He is also authorized to confiscate and seize all the facilities owned by an editor. In both cases, the prosecutor's decisions are liable to reconsideration, but the editors fear that this provision may enable officials to stop and search lorries transporting newspapers, and may make owners of printing houses feel obliged to resort to censorship;
- the Collective Press Court will be suppressed and replaced by only one judge;
- the responsible editor, i.e. the staff member responsible for the newspaper, will be entrusted with more important responsibilities. "As far as information, photographs or cartoons are concerned, if the author is not clearly indicated, the responsibility is incumbent upon the responsible editor". Prison terms will be the penalty for numerous offences and the possibility of changing them into fines is restricted;
- in order to become a newspaper's responsible editor, one has to meet the same conditions as those required for being a deputy in Parliament: one shoud be above 30 years of age, one must not have been sentenced to a prison term of more than one year, one must never have been sentenced for offences relating to the disclosure of State secrets, to involvement in ideological or anarchic activities, and to incitement or encouragement to similar activities..., even if the offence has been pardoned.

After the "return to parliamentary regime," prosecution of journalists continued as before. Although newspapers, especially after the lifting of martial law in Istanbul, have been allowed to criticize the "civilian government", a law adopted by the NSC on its last day of legislation, still forbids all criticism with regards to the practices of the military.

On May 16, 1984, the Justice Ministry announced that there were at that time 160 arrest warrants issued by civil prosecutors against journalists. One hundred and nineteen of them were sued for "disregard" for the new Press Law, 20 for obscene publications, 20 for



writing insults against individuals and one for a publication aimed at overthrowing the regime.

According to a recent survey published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 13, 1986, after the constitution of a civil government, within a 2-year period, 313 legal proceedings had been taken against journalists in Istanbul only. The number of banned and confiscated publications in the same period rose to 154.

In addition to these new cases, 182 journalists, writers or translators still were tried for communist propaganda, anti-secular propaganda or for slander of the government in 121 different proceedings which had been started before the military intervention.

The number of cases against the Press for obscene publication reached 109 at the end of 1985.

After cracking down on political publications, the military started repressing publications which the fundamentalist oriented majority of the present government considered "hazardous for children".

According to a new law adopted by the National Assembly on March 7, 1986, an 11-member committee made up mostly of government officials and one press representative will decide whether a publication is "obscene". Any

publication deemed "obscene" by this committe, will have to be sold wrapped in non transparent plastic. Bookstores and news vendors will not be allowed to display these publications at windows, and publishers will not be allowed to advertise in news media. Violators face fines as high as 10 million TL (about 16,600 dollars), a significant amount in a country where annual per capita income is 1,000 dollars.

If an obscenity case goes before the courts for prosecution, the government committee will be the source of authorized expert opinion.

The Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) opposed the bill, saying it would amount to unlimited press censorship and the government would be able to destroy any newspaper by labelling it "obscene".

BOOK-HUNTING

The stand of the military and its "civilian" government on printed cultural material has not been so different from that of Hitler's regime. Confiscation of books and reviews and even audio-visual materials is one of the security forces' main tasks.

This practice has been very well put in evidence by a left-wing publishing house which had 133,607 books destroyed by the military.

According to evidence from *Mr. Süleyman Ege*, owner of the publishing house "Bilim ve Sosyalizm," the books (30 different titles) were immediately declared "banned" by the military and between August 28 and September 9, 1982, they were taken away in 7 trucks. Many of these books had already been the target of judicial proceedings prior to the coup, but the civilian tribunals had not found any "crime" in them and had acquitted Ege.

On the seizure of his books, Ege approached the martial law authorities several times and, producing the acquittal judgments for each title, requested the return of the books. Finally, on June 1985, just before the lifting of martial law in Ankara, the Direction of Ankara Police informed him that all the seized books had been destroyed, but refused to give details about the means and place of the destruction.

All the following protests against this measure to the "President of the Republic" and the Prime Minister were without response up to the end of 1985. At this point, Ege lodged a complaint with a tribunal against the martial law authorities and requested an indemnity of 115 million TL (about 240,000 dollars).

Some other significant practices:

28.8.82: The Ministry of National Education bans the reading of 272 titles in schools.

1. 9.82: On the orders of martial law authorities, all copies of 210 titles are confiscated in Izmir. They include books on drama, fiction, essays and poetry.

12.12.82: Martial law authorities order the confiscation of all books imported from the Soviet Union in 1979. This importation was made on a 60,000 dollars trade agreement between the two countries.

22. 1.84: The Daily *Cumhuriyet* reports that 118,000 copies of books published between 1972 and 1979 by the Cultural Affairs Ministry are still kept in bond. They were confiscated by the military after the coup on grounds that they contain harmful propaganda.

19. 1.85: The Ministry of Justice, in return for a receipt, distributes, to all bookshops and libraries a complete list of all publications whose circulation and sale have been banned either by decision of the courts or by order of the Council of Ministers. This list includes the titles of approximately 1,500 publications: books, periodicals, booklets, communiqués, postcards, albums, encyclopaedias, information bulletins, etc., as well as those publications which have been banned by governmental decrees from entering Turkey.

As a result of the Turkish regime's obscurantist policy, the book-printing industry has fallen into deep crisis. Because of paper shortage, many printing houses cannot print new books which had already been composed. The State-owned paper mill SEKA systematically refuses to supply printing houses with paper and forces them to buy it on the black market at twice the normal price.

RADIO TELEVISION

Following the coup d'état, audio-visual media, too, were put under very strict censorship; progressive people were dismissed from their posts at the State Radio-TV (TRT), State

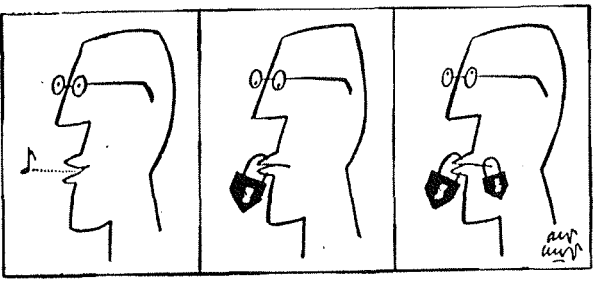
and Municipal Theatres and other public cultural institutions; shooting or projection of cinema films were subjected to a previous control and many internationally renowned film directors and artists were prosecuted.

The administration of the Radio-TV was taken over by the military on the very first day of the new regime. While they were reorientating the radio and televison programs within the ideological framework imposed by the military, all program producers considered "suspect" were dismissed or transferred to posts inconsistent with their profession. After putting the Radio-TV under its absolute control, the military started Color TV to draw attention to chauvinist and fundamentalist programs and to reinforce brain-washing through the means of this most influential mass medium.

One of the military's most striking practices at the Radio-TV was the burning of a TV-film considered "harmful to national interests." This film based on *Kemal Tahir's* novel, "The Tired Fighter", had been made by *Halit Refig*, on request of the former TV administration. But the National Security Council gave control of this film to a special committee. On the negative opinion of this rubber-stamp committee, military prime minister Bülent Ulusu ordered the General Director of the TV to burn the film.

After the legislative elections, the military retired from their posts in the Radio-TV, but they were replaced by extreme-rightwing people. The new government's choice for the position of Director General of the TRT was *Tunca Toskay*, a university assistant-professor renowned for his relations in the past with the neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel Türkes.

One of the new director's first practices was to ban the utilisation of several thousand words considered "not worthy of belonging to the Turkish language," and to increase the number of programs praising historical figures admired by chauvinist and fundamentalist circles.



YILMAZ GÜNEY'S TORMENTING ORDEAL

Two most striking examples of the crimes committed by the military junta in the cultural field are undoubtedly the deaths of two world renowned artists: *Yilmaz Güney* and *Ruhi Su*.

"Palme d'Or 1982" Prize-winner, Yilmaz Güney, and Turkey's most eminent folk singer Ruhi Su suffered from all kinds of repressive practices such as legal prosecution, interdiction of public performance, prison, interdiction of travel abroad, etc., and respectively died in 1984 and 1985, from illnesses that they could not treat because of the interdictions imposed on them by the rulers.

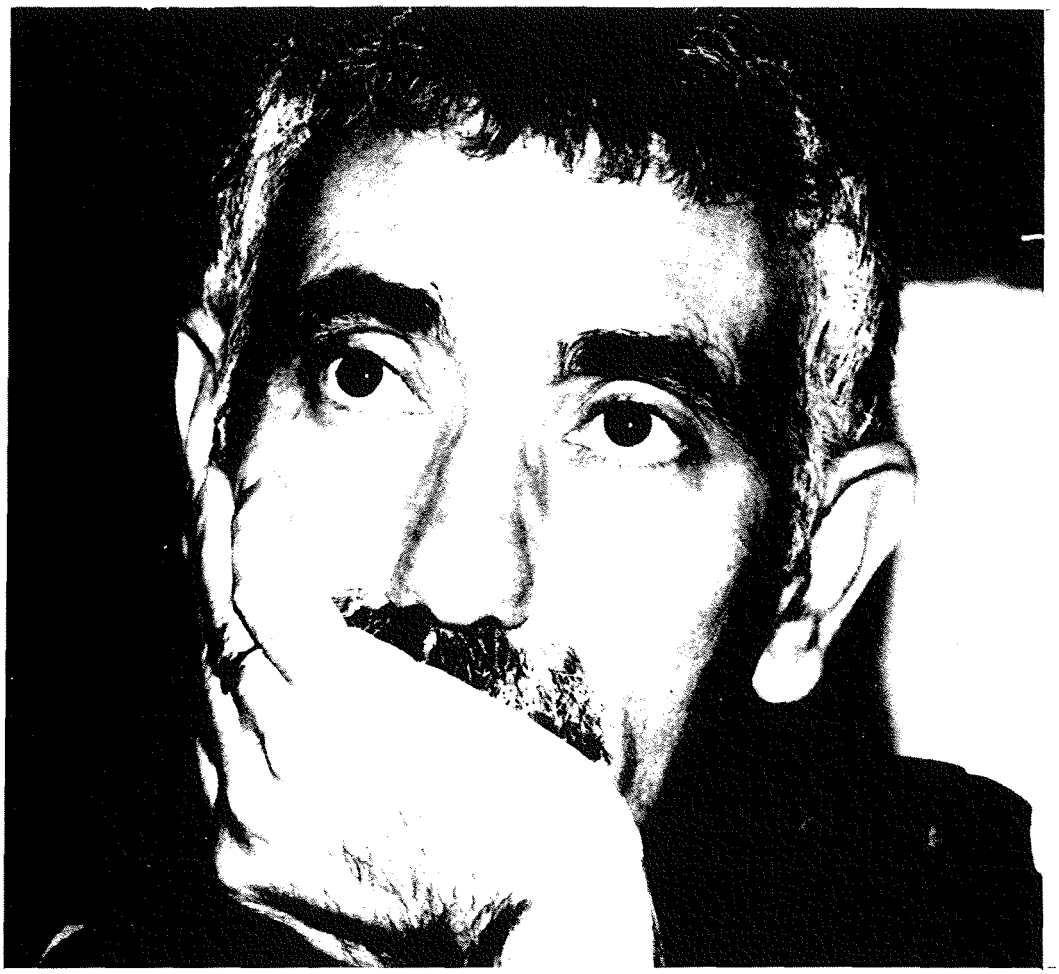
Güney, the son of a landless Kurdish peasant, was born in 1931 in a little village. He worked his way through high school in the southern town of Adana and entered Istanbul University's school of economics. He spent two years in jail, in 1960-1962, on charges of making communist propaganda in a magazine article. After his release, he drifted around, working at odd jobs for two years, and eventually ended up in the movie business. His early film career was as an actor in macho roles. In the 1970s, he developped into Turkey's most widely acclaimed screen writer and director. He received a number of international prizes, including the Golden Leopard, the Golden Apple and the 1979 Berlin film festival awards. In 1981, his film *Sürü* (Herd) won the first prize of cinema critics in Brussels.

During the period of 1971-1973, he was detained for his progressive ideas by martial law authorities, and later released along with other political detainees in a general amnesty.

But his longest jail term of 19 years was the result of the fatal shooting of a judge at a restaurant in Yumurtalik. In fact, there was extreme provocation by the victim, who used highly abusive language to Güney and his wife. Although there was not a shred of evidence against Güney, he was condemned to the maximum prison term.

While in prison, he wrote articles, scenarios and even oriented from his cell the realization of many films. For his articles, he was condemned by military courts to 19 years imprisonment in total.

When he fled Turkey, in 1981, Güney was accused of being a "traitor". In fact, all Turkish



Turkey's renowned film director Yılmaz Güney, who died in exile .

intellectuals who were obliged to flee the country because of the repression have always been charged in the same way... The most striking example of this drama is Nazim Hikmet, the greatest Turkish poet who, after serving a 13-year prison term for his opinions, fled Turkey in 1951 and died in exile in 1963.

Yilmaz Güney's "*Yol*" (Path) shared the Golden Palm top prize with Costa-Gavras' "*Missing*" in the 1982 Cannes film festival. The success of Turkish film-maker Güney, while crowning Turkish cinema was a blow to the Turkish military junta.

When Güney came out of hiding in Europe to show his latest film at Cannes, the Turkish military asked for his extradition from France. Before an official answer was given, Güney attended a conference of intellectuals sponsored by Greece and France on the Greek island Hydra.

As the award were announced in Cannes, the Turkish Government disclosed that protest notes had been delivered to both Greece and France for their refusal to extradite Güney.

Yilmaz Güney died on September 9, 1984, in Paris after a long illness. He was 53. His early death came just after he completed his last film, "*The Wall.*"

He could have lived longer if his illness had been treated in time. But the severe living conditions, in prison and in hiding for years, did not give him opportunity to take the necessary measures for his health.

The whole world was deeply distressed by the news of Güney's death, except for Turkey's oppressors.

France's Minister of Culture, *Mr Jack Lang*, paid tribute to Güney. "He was a courageous creator who devoted his life to defending the oppressed... In 1981, he honored us by accepting the hospitality I offered him on behalf of the French Government... Güney's work and struggle are an example of powerful art in the service of liberty."

Surrounded by raised fists and to the sound of the "International" sung in Turkish, Güney was buried at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, on September 13. For an hour, his remains were accompanied by a silent crowd of several thousand people from the Kurdish Institute (of which he was a founding member) to the cemetery. Prior to the funeral, several international figures, including Mr Lang and representatives of European governments and international and national organizations, came to pay their last respects at Güney's coffin inside the Kurdish Institute.

Most people in the funeral procession were Kurds and Turks living in France, but others had come specially from various European countries.

In spite of the fact that the Turkish mass media had been warned by the junta not to refer to individuals stripped of Turkish citizenship who are accused of activities harmful to state interests, all Turkish newspapers seized the opportunity to draw a portrait of the filmmaker and published the news of his death, each of them in its own way.

Whereas the pro-governmental press rejoiced over his death, saying that he was nothing more than an ex-convict, only the center-left daily *Cumhuriyet* highlighted Güney's great talent, but still voiced some reserves. Its columnist wrote that "the torrent flows past, but the sand will remain."

As for the European press, it has, on the contrary, paid tribute to Güney by valueing his fine talent as well as the political struggle he waged against the dictatorship in his native country:

"In retrospect, Yilmaz Güney's too-short life has been a permanent struggle for the defence of human rights and liberty, for creating a cinema meant to oppose the forces of social and political oppression that were weighing heavily on the Turkish people, while opposing at the same time some ancestral traditions." (*Le Monde*, 11.9.1984)

"Farewell Robin Hood! Turkish filmmaker Yilmaz Güney who died at the age of 53 in Paris, was a great artist, militant and charmer." (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 14-20.9.1984).

"Yilmaz Güney, the war waged by a man alone. The only picture of Turkey we have, we owe it to him. By turns on the stage, in exile, the prize-winner of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival just died in Paris." (*Libération*, 10.9.1984)

"Because of his popularity, his ennemies were forced to resort to other methods: presenting him as a criminal... Prison did not break his spirit, but his body. Telling the truth may entail fatal risks." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.9.1984)

"He was accused of being a communist. The consequence: imprisonment. 'I'm struggling against every kind of oppression,' he used to say, 'the sole ideology I acknowledge is human dignity.'" (*Die Welt*, 11.9.1984)

"The subject of his films is less a personal story than the story of a whole ethnic group and, consequently, no other cinema of the Third world - sujbected to so fierce a dictatorship - did succeed in presenting pictures as forceful as those of Güney's cinema." (*El Pais*, 10.9.1984)

"In a cinema which has always remained confined to merely domestic consumption, Yilmaz Güney has been the sole genuine example of an artist who succeeded, though with some delay, in forcing the world to focus its attention and admiration on him." (*Corriere Della Sera*, 10.9.1984)

"For the Turkish regime, his early death still does not ensure that a serious headache has been completely removed. Video copies of his films are still being showed clandestinely all over the country. Abroad he is regarded as one of Turkey's major artists." (*NRC Handelsblad*, 10.9.1984)

"Güney was a man of strong left-wing convictions who had a long history of conflict with the Turkish authorities." (*The Times*, 11.9.1984)

"For the time being, Güney remains amid us a filmmaker who has been the hero of a unique experience in film history. His sudden death is all the more tragic since it deprives us of a work, inspired by a fighting spirit that we fervently expected to be able to overcome the rigours of exile." (*Le Matin*, 10.9.1984)

"Always on the run, always violent, always rebellious: a vehement man and filmmaker." (*Le Quotidien de Paris*, 10.9.1984)

"Turkish idol in exile... Exile, he agreed,

was merely exchanging one form of prison for another..." (*The Guardian*, 10.9.1984)

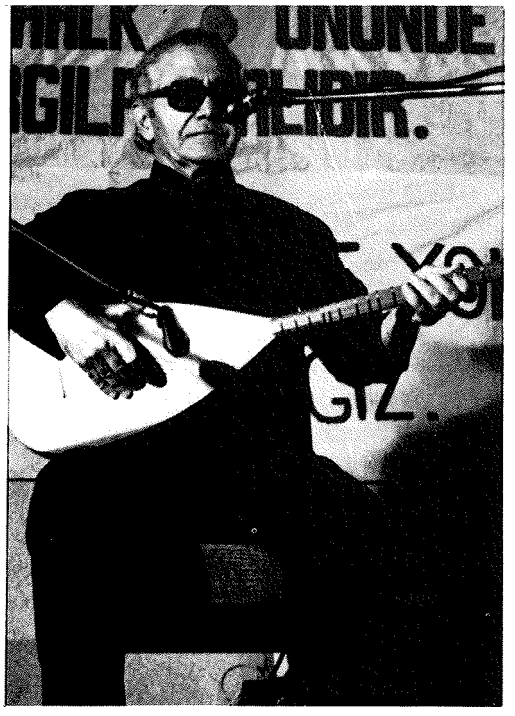
Ruhi Su's torment

As for Ruhi Su, he was born in Van in 1912 and graduated from the Ankara State Conservatory in 1942. He was distinguished as one of the best singers of the State Opera. He was taken under arrest in 1952 because of his political views and sentenced to a 5-year imprisonment.

After his release, he totally committed himself to Turkish folk music and had a worldwide reputation. His ultimate aim was to universalize Turkish folk music.

After the 1980 military coup, he was deprived of the right to travel abroad, like other contesting intellectuals of the country. He suffered from cancer and his doctors declared that he should be hospitalized in a foreign country where treatment methods are more developped than in Turkey. But the Turkish Government, disregarding the medical reports, refused until July 1985 to give him a passport. On protest from many German personalities, his passport was delivered when his condition became desperate. It was already too late... He died on September 22, 1985.

More than five thousand people attended his funeral in Istanbul and turned it into a protest march against the repression. Police arrested about 150 people.



Folk Singer Ruhi Su

OTHER EXAMPLES OF NARROW-MINDEDNESS

To better illustrate the pressure on Turkish cultural life, we are reproducing some items which appeared in *Info-Türk Bulletins* over the past five years:

4. 4.81: The performance of a ballet based on a play by *Nazim Hikmet* is banned.

10. 5.81: Performance of the play "Each Day once again," presented by famous actor *Genco Erkal*, is forbidden by martial law.

17. 5.81: Thirty-one members of a jury who awarded the Grand Prize of the Foundation of Turkish Language to poet *Yasar Miraç* for his litterary work, are prosecuted on the pretext that the book contains insults against representatives of public order.

30. 5.81: Folk singer *Selda Bagcan* is taken into custody for making communist propaganda in her songs taped on a cassette in 1978.

3. 6.81: Movie star *Tarik Akan* is arrested at the Istanbul airport when he returns from Germany where he had protested against censorship in Turkey.

21. 6.81: The Martial Law Coordination Department bans the introduction of musicassettes suspected of including communist propaganda.

7. 10.81: Famous author and teacher *Mehmet Basaran* is prevented from flying to Sweden at Istanbul Airport. Although he has to visit his daughter, seriously ill in Sweden, the authorities stated that his right to travel had already been suspended in 1971.

29. 12.81: Movie director *Ali Habib Ozgentürk* is detained in Istanbul during a work of montage. He is an international prize winner for his film "Hazal."

8. 2.82: The Information and Tourism Ministry announces that all film and theater directors will be obliged to get permission from

a special board of examination before shooting or staging any scenario.

14. 2.82: Famous composer and folk-singer *Sadik Gürbüz* is brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on charges of communist propaganda.

28. 2.83: The Military prosecutor of Ankara started proceedings against *Mrs. Isik Yenersu*, actress at the Turkish State Theatres, for having read the poems of Nazim Hikmet in an evening performance organized in Paris on the poet's 80th birthday.

31. 3.83: A government decree makes it necessary for foreign individuals and companies wishing to make films in Turkey to get authorization from Turkish embassies abroad.

1. 3.83: "A season in Hakkari", a Turkish film, shot by *Ender Kiral* in the remote south eastern province of Hakkari, in Turkish Kurdistan, collects top awards at the Berlin International Film Festival. The Turkish Board of Censors banned public projection of the film in Turkey on grounds that it shows Turkey in pitiful conditions. The principal actor in the film, *Genco Erkal*, who was invited to the United States, is denied a passport for travelling abroad.

1. 9.83: Martial Law Authorities ban and seize many films and video-cassettes made abroad. They include the prize-winner film *Gandhi*.

19.10.83: In Istanbul, the military prosecutor files a lawsuit against *Zafer Can Ciçekoglu* for having musi-cassettes of two popular Turkish singers, *Melike Demirag* and *Cem Karaca*, who have been stripped of Turkish nationality for their activities abroad. Ciçekoglu risks a one-year prison term.

28.11.83: The Military prosecutor of Istanbul starts proceedings against 13 leading members of the *Retired Actor's Union*, founded in 1978, by a number of famous Turkish actors. They are accused of conducting "marxist-leninist activities" and face up to 20 years in prison.

24.12.83: Seven famous actors of the Istanbul Municipal Theater are fired by the theater administration on order of the Istanbul Martial Law Command. *Avni Yalçin, Oben Güney, Çetin Ipekkaya, Aliye Uzunatagan, Taner Barlas, Savas Dinçel* and *Aslan Kaçar* are considered "dangerous" to cultural life.

24. 2.84: Public showing of the prize-winning film "A Season in Hakkari" is banned again by the military prosecutor of Istanbul. During a soirée organized by the Turkish-German Friendship Association in Istanbul, martial law officers take over the hall and seize the film while the ambassadors of the FRG and the Netherlands are waiting for its projection.

23. 3.84: Actor *Tarik Akan* is interrogated by a military prosecutor for his participation in the Turkish Peace Committee's actions prior to the coup.

19. 4.84: Folk singer *Selda Bagcan* is detained by the military for a song she composed before the coup. She faces up to 15 years in prison.

9. 5.84: Singer *Rahmi Saltuk*, after performing more songs at a concert than scheduled in the programme previously submitted to the military authorities, is sentenced to 3 months imprisonment, but the sentence is commuted into a fine.

8. 7.84: The Interior Ministry bans the showing of 937 films shot in Turkey and abroad. The measure is also extended to video-cassettes of the same films. They include the films directed by Cannes prizewinner *Yilmaz Güney*.

19. 9.84: Singer *Erol Büyükburç* is indicted by the military prosecutor of Istanbul for slandering the Armed Forces. He faces a one-year prison term.

10. 1.85: The recitals of *Rahmi Saltuk*, scheduled for January 11 and February 17 in Istanbul, and for March 10 in Ankara, are banned at the very last moment by martial law authorities.

16. 3.85: The Board of Censors bans the showing in Turkey of "Memed, May Hawk," recently produced by *Peter Ustinov* after the novel of the same title by Turkish author *Yasar Kemal*.

17. 3.85: Famous singer *Rüçhan Çamay* is banned from leaving the country on order of the martial law authorities because she is the mother of another famous contesting singer, *Melike Demirag*, who has been stripped of Turkish nationality and lives in exile in the FRG.

18. 3.85: Famous movie director, *Mrs. Bilge Olgaç* is banned by police authorities from travelling abroad. She applied for a passport in order to attend a film festival organized in France by a number of female filmmakers.

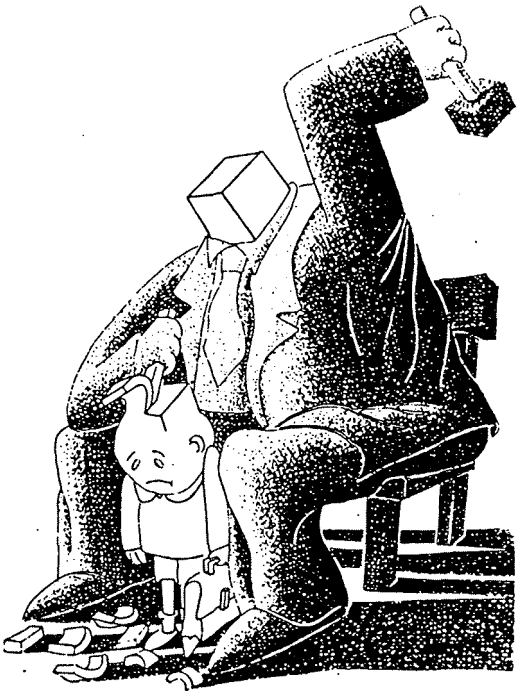
20. 3.85: The theatrical performance of a

play by *Erhan Bener*, "The Bureaucrats", is banned in Antalya by decision of the governor.

10. 5.85: Prize-winning actor *Genco Erkal* and his colleague *Avni Yalçin* are detained in Bursa for carrying a switchblade, an accessory for a theatral performance they are to make the next day.

23.11.85: Five programme producers on Turkish TV are indicted for putting on television in 1977 *Ali Ozgentürk's* film titled "the Ban".

By the end of 1985, the "civilian" government had taken some new measures to curb cultural life. According to a new law adopted by the National Assembly, a new system of censorship on films, video-cassettes, musi-cassettes and records has been established. A nine-person control commission consisting on representatives from certain ministries and the National Security Council will have complete authority to censor any realisation considered "against the safe-guarding of the State's interests, national sovereignty, public order, public interest and national morality."



CLAMP DOWN ON UNIVERSITIES

Trouble arose in Turkish universities on the adoption of the controversial law founding a 25-member *Higher Education Council* (YOK), which exercises centralized authority over Turkey's 27 universities, their more than 6 thousand professors, 12,000 teaching assistants and instructors and an estimated student-body of 350,000.

According to this law adopted on November 7, 1981:

- The Higher Education Council consists of 25 members; 8 of them appointed by the Chief of the State, 6 by the Council of Ministers, 8 by the Ministry of National Education and one by the Chief of General Staff. This council has complete administrative and executive powers over all the universities.

- The boards of faculties and universities are no longer the representatives of the university bodies, since only some of the professors have the right to sit there. In addition to this, these boards have only a consultative and symbolical status. All the power belongs to YOK.

- The university rectors are appointed by the Chief of the State from four candidates nominated by YOK. The rectors may be elected from the university. The deans are named by YOK from three candidates proposed by the rector. Their power is limited to the administrative functions laid down by YOK, which holds the administrative, financial and political direction of the universities.

- University members and students no longer have the right to be members of political parties.

This anti-democratic law caused violent criticisms in university circles.

After the adoption of the new law, Professor Ihsan Dogramaci was named YOK's chairman. In fact, Dogramaci is known as a member of Evren's brain-trust and it was this US educated doctor who was the real author of the new law on universities.

Before the adoption of the Law on YOK,

- 901 professors from Ankara University,
- 400 professors from Aegean University,
- 1,447 professors from Istanbul University

protested against this anti-democratic project and some of them resigned from their posts.

On November 10, 1982, YOK began to liquidate all university professors and assistant professors who were considered "unacceptable" by the military regime.

Within a few months, about 450 university members were dismissed from their posts on a decision by YOK. Nevertheless, not satisfied enough with YOK's practice, martial law commanders, using their authority provided by law, ordered 259 more university members to be dismissed. In protest against this practice, 535 others resigned or asked for early retirement.

About a thousand university teachers were transferred from higher education to secondary education institutions.

Besides, on August 21, 1982, new disciplinary regulations were announced and consequently university members and students were forced to abide by YOK's rules on clothing and appearance. All bearded professors had to make a choice between two alternatives: either to get a shave or to lose their university posts.

In 1983, YOK purged 2,642 students from universities on ground that they did not abide by the new regulations or that they had been involved in political actions.

On the other hand, university students were obliged, from the beginning of the academic year 1984-85 to pay a charge of 150 dollars which constitutes another obstacle for high school graduates in a country where annual per capita income is about 1,000 dollars.

After the 1983 general elections YOK's practices gave rise to much controversy. Even among the deputies of Ozal's party, YOK was branded an antidemocratic institution. But General Evren reacted immediately, declaring that YOK is a constitutional institution and it will stay in force unless the Constitution is changed.

As for the new teaching staff, new univer-

UNBELIEVABLE BUT TRUE

27. 5.81: Worker Fethullah Saçli is arrested for having smiled during the performance of the Turkish national Anthem in Erzurum.

24. 6.81: Worker Naci Aslan is arrested for remaining seated during the performance of the national anthem.

28.10.81: A military court in Konya condemns teenager Nazan Aycan to 4 years and 2 months in prison for communist propaganda.

5. 3.82: Fifty school children between 11 and 15 years old are brought before a criminal court for having mailed 80 TL (1 DM) to a pen-friends club in Finland for the exchange of letters.

25. 3.82: The martial law authorities ordered the confiscation of all children books published by the Spor Toto Administration prior to the coup. The former director of the administration is accused of making leftist propaganda.

25. 3.83: Lufthansa director Franz Reissig is brought before a military tribunal for having published a guide indicating some eastern areas of Turkey as "Kurdistan" and "Greek Pontus."

30. 2.82: Publisher Nurettin Bolluk is arrested for having published a touristic map indicating the areas where Armenians and Kurds have lived.

25. 4.83: The text-book entitled "History of Civilizations" is banned in Turkish universities on order of the NSC. The author of the book, Prof. Server Tanilli was shot and paralyzed in 1978 by the Grey Wolves. He is currently at Strasbourg University as guest professor.

30.10.83: Publication of the daily *Günaydin*, one of Turkey's highest circulation dailies, is suspended for not having published on its front-page Atatürk's photo on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic.

1. 2.84: Nazim Hikmet, Turkey's most distinguished poet who died 20 years ago in exile, is wanted by the Turkish authorities. A police court in Ankara decided to confiscate a collection of Hikmet's poems and issued a warrant to summon the author before the court.

1. 8.84: The military bans publication of Ecevit's reminiscences on the Turkish Army's Cyprus operation. Ecevit was prime minister at that time, in 1974. Although he insisted on the "rightfulness" of that operation, political observers in Ankara estimate that in the military commanders' opinion, this publication served Ecevit's personal propaganda campaign, playing down the military's role in that operation.

24.12.84: In Malatya, the public prosecutor starts proceedings to change the name of a 12-year old boy called "Ihtilal" (Revolution). The father, who fled for fear of being persecuted, is wanted by the security forces.

24.11.85: In Ankara, two high school students, 17 and 18 years old, are tried before the State Security Court, on charges of spreading communist propaganda.

6.12.85: In Ankara, 19 teachers are tried before a tribunal for having changed certain words in the national anthem when they sang it.

sity rectors and faculty deans have been chosen by YOK from right-wing people.

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of September 2-5, 1982, published some documents proving that Prof. Tarik Somer, rector of the University of Ankara; Prof. Erol Güngör, rector of the University of Konya Selçuk; Prof. Nihat Nirun, rector of the University of Malatya Firat; Prof. Halin Cin, rector of the University of Diyarbakir Dicle; Prof. Ahmet Sonel, dean of the faculty of Medicine of Ankara; Prof. Ahmet Akkoyunlu, dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Erciyes had close relationships with the neo-fascist MHP before the military coup of September 12, 1980.

1985: Year of Bans for the Turkish Youth

Despite the so-called "return to civilian rule," the *Year of Youth, 1985,* was a Year of Bans for the youth of Turkey. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 26, 1985:

- In many cities, university students who get together in coffee houses, or clubs are being forced by the police to leave these places and to return home.

- Thousands of students have been expelled from universities on the pretext that they are not successful.

- In all universities, all students are denied the right to organise themselves in youth associations.

On April 5, 1985, twelve university students who gave some opposition deputies in Parliament a petition about repressive measures were taken into custody by the police. They are accused of having made an unauthorized demonstration.

Moreover, the Higher Education Council (YOK) decided not to admit to universities those who work part-time to finance their studies. So, the children of poor families are automatically excluded from obtaining a university education, even if they had succeeded in entry exams.

For the academic Year 1985-86, YOK adopted new regulations concerning university education. University staff are charged with giving their students "a uniform formation in philosophical and ideological plans so as to make them fight against subversive and separatist currents."

The application of these new regulations are permanently controlled by special units to be set up in each faculty.

Whatsoever his academic capacity, nobody is allowed to have a university post unless he obtains a previous OK from the intelligence services.

According to a declaration by the National Education Minister, *Vehbi Dinçerler*, university students are allowed to organize only in sport and leisuretime clubs, and all kinds of organizations aimed at defending their proper interests or expressing their opinions on the country's problems are strictly forbidden.

As for international relations of sport and leisuretime clubs, they are allowed to collaborate only with touristic and sportive organizations of other countries.

According to a regulation issued on July 22, 1985, by the Ministry of National Defense, university graduates who are "suspected" by the intelligence agency will be assigned, during their military service, to special activites. As for the military academy cadets, if one is ousted from the academy, he will never be allowed to enroll in civilian higher education institutions.

One should remember that, having no confidence even in the universities purged by YOK and martial law commanders, the military put in the Constitution a provision entitling the Armed Forces to establish their own universities and higher education institutions.

Academic bodies headed by the military

To complete the new structure of the academic and cultural life of Turkey, another new established institution should be mentioned: *Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History.* This public corporate body, provided by the new Constitution, is under the authority of the President of the Republic and charged with developing scientific research and disseminating information on Atatürk's thoughts, principles and reforms, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and on the Turkish language.

In November 1983, General Evren appointed a chairman and four members of this institution's board. The first chairman of the institution is the *Retired General Suat Ilhan.* Four other members are known in Turkish academic

circles as fervent advocates of reactionary views.

In January 1984, by order of General Evren, the State Ministry drew up a new 30-year policy of scientific research. One of its main points is the implementation of all necessary measures to advance scientific research by reinforcing Turkey's military power.

This new policy in the field of scientific research is put in practice by another new institution set up by order from General Evren: The *Supreme Council of Science and Technology* which is chaired personally by the Prime Minister.

PROSECUTION OF TEACHERS

Besides university professors, thousands of primary and secondary school teachers have also been dismissed from their posts and many of them legally prosecuted.

Within the first one-year period of the military regime, more than 6,000 teachers were prosecuted for "having been involved in ideological actions" prior to the coup.

The *Teachers' Association of Turkey* (TOB-DER) was one of the Junta's choice targets. Chairman Gültekin Gazioglu and his 15 comrades were sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment and other trials were started against 55 leading members of the association with request for prison sentences of up to 15 years. In the meantime, Gazioglu was stripped of his Turkish nationality while he was abroad.

On November 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that 1,254 teachers were still under arrest and 1,311 teachers were fired from their posts.

On June 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that the number of dismissed teachers had risen to 4,968.

According to a survey published by an Austrian review, *Forum* (April-May 1984 issue), the number of legal proceedings against primary and secondary school teachers reached more than 50,000 within a 3-year period.

Turkish teachers charged abroad with teaching Turkish immigrant children have also been hit by repressive measures. The National Education Minister declared in 1982 that "all

A COURAGEOUS ACADEMIC: ISMAIL BESIKCI

Famous Turkish sociologist Dr. Ismail Besikçi was condemned to a 10-year prison term on March 25, 1982, by the military court of Gölcük Navy Command. He was accused of having defamed the Turkish State by sending a letter to the Swiss Writers' Union, in which he criticized the September 12 coup. At the moment of this writing, Dr. Besikçi was still in prison and his health was steadily worsening.

This was not in fact the first condemnation of this courageous academic. He had been condemned many times for defending the national rights of Turkey's Kurdish population.

Besikçi himself is not Kurdish. He was born in Çorum in 1939. While serving his military duty in the Kurdish area, he was interested in the Kurdish people's unfavourable situation and later he wrote his first book, "*Structure of Eastern Anatolia - Socio-economic and ethnic bases*", based on his doctoral dissertation thesis at Atatürk University in Erzurum. When the book appeared, he was dismissed from assistantship at this university.

In 1971, he restarted his academic work in the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. But a few months later, during the preceding coup d'état, he was arrested and condemned to 13 years and 2 days imprisonment by the military for his articles and lectures on the national question.

As a result of the general amnesty in 1974, he was freed along with other political prisoners. While other pardonned academics were returning to their university posts without any problem, Besikci's demand in the same sense was denied mainly for political reasons.

On September 7, 1979, Besikçi was again condemned by a court in Istanbul to a 3-year prison term and immediately incarcerated. His research entitled "*Turkish Thesis on History (The Theory of Sun Language)*" was considered separatist propaganda by the tribunal.

Besikçi's book focuses mainly on the nature of the *theory of Sun Language* that had been put forward in 1930s by Turkish scientists with the guidance and contribution of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, President of the Republic at the time. The theory could be exemplified as such: "The Hitites, Sumerians, Egyptians, Aegeans, Romans, Indians, Chinese all came into existence from the Turkish race. Their culture and language were created by Turks. Arabs and Jewish people are also from the Turkish race. Prophet Mohammed is a Turk also... And all the languages of the world originated mainly from the Turkish language; Turkish is the mother of all



ISMAIL BESIKCI
Permanent target of the military

Turkish teachers engaged by the *Länder* of the FRG, are under surveillance. Preliminary investigations have been initiated against 253 of them. Our aim is to bring teachers from Turkey to replace those who have been engaged."

The Turkish Ambassador in Brussels put pressure on the Brussels City Administration to dismiss *Inci Tugsavul* from her Turkish language teacher post, but this demand was turned down by the Belgian authorities.

Even after the constitution of a civilian government, the prosecution of teachers did not end. On April 24, 1984, the National Education Administration of Adana Province announced through the daily press that 104 school teachers were still wanted for legal proceedings pending against them. They, too, are accused of having participated in 1979 in a boycott by teachers.

On January 17, 1985, a military tribunal condemned 21 teachers to 2 months imprisonment each for taking part in the same boycott. They have been banned from teaching for an additional 2-month period.

About a hundred university professors have also been prosecuted and tried before military tribunals. Many of them are accused of having participated in the actions of DISK,

languages. There is no language such as Kurdish; Kurdish is only a degenerate dialect of the Turkish language. The Kurdish nation actually consists of Turks living in the mountains."

Ismail Besikçi who studies the formation and development of official ideology (Kemalism) discusses in his book the unscientific, racist, chauvinist nature of this ideology and exposes the political document denying the national existence and the basic democratic rights of the Kurds as well as the process of their being oppressed.

During his trial, Besikçi rejected the Istanbul Public Press Court as follows:

"This court is functioning just like the gendarme, the police, the national security organizations. To reject the reality of the Kurdish nation which is an objective fact beyond the will of persons and institutions, the court is trying to establish the hegemony of the official ideology based on fraud. Turkish universities enslaved by the official ideology depart from the scientific truth by denying the reality of the Kurdish nation. Your court tries to prevent criticism by professors who obtain material and moral advantages through political charlatanry on threat of punishment.

"Your court is preventing us from telling the truth. It puts barriers before free thinking and requests that we close our eyes to the social reality and become political charlatans. It defends racism and colonialist policy and tries to prevent and suppress the struggle waged against these policies. We cannot call it a Court when it accepts a lie without further ado and forces us to lie as well."

After serving two-thirds of his imprisonment, Besikçi was released in August 1981. But the military arrested him again on October 21, 1981, for informing Europeans of his prison conditions. The accusation is based on a copy of a letter he had sent to Switzerland. The military claimed that this copy had been found in his cell after his relase. He was condemned according to Article 140 of the Turkish Penal Code which stipulates a 10-year prison term and 5 years compulsory residence for those "who are leading activities harming the State's prestige and interests abroad."

Since then, he was given an additional - though less heavy - prison sentence. He has been adopted by Amnesty International. According to the Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad* of February 26, 1985, he was transferred from Canakkale prison, where he was permitted to read and to write, to Gaziantep prison (in south-eastern Turkey) where conditions of detention are based on the prisoners' isolation.

the Turkish Peace Committee or the petition action of 1,256 intellectuals.

Some of them have been tried for their opinions or writings.

For example, *Professor Yalcin Küçük* was condemned on April 25, 1984, by a military tribunal of Istanbul, to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment. He was accused of having made communist propaganda in his work entitled "Toward a New Republic." His sentence was overruled by the Military Court of Cassation, and he was condemned again by the lower court, but this time to an 18-month prison term. Since he already stayed in prison for 10 months and 16 days during his trials, he was not incarcerated again.

The prosecuted professors include *Sadun Aren, Alparslan Isikli, Gencay Gürsoy, Osman Nuri Koçtürk, Metin Özek, Gencay Saylan, Melih Tümer, Cumhur Ertekin,* and *Ercan Eyüboglu.*

But the most significant is the case of Assistant Professor *Ismail Besikci.*



STATE TERRORISM 3

PRESSURES ON THE OPPONENTS ABROAD

During the repression, even the regime's opponents abroad have not been immune from the regime's pressure. In order to prevent them from informing world opinion of the violation of human rights in Turkey, the military government has refused to renew passports or has deprived them of Turkish nationality. Their properties in the country were seized by the State. These repressive measures also aim to keep about two million Turkish migrants under the control of the military regime. Political refugees from Turkey have undergone mistreatment in European countries as well.

State terrorism has taken as target not only opponents within the country, but also those Turkish nationals who attempted to raise their voices abroad against the violation of human rights in Turkey.

Since the military coup, 1,242 Turkish citizens abroad have been ordered to return and surrender to military authorities. They are accused of "having carried out activities abroad against the Turkish State's interests." One hundred and sixteen of those who refused to return to Turkey have been stripped of their Turkish citizenship. Fifteen have been apprehended as they were crossing the border and 29 surrendered themselves. The proceedings against 113 others have been stopped on grounds that their "innocence" had been proved afterwards.

Those who were stripped of their Turkish nationality include prize-winning movie director *Yilmaz Güney*, famous musicians *Melike Demirag, Sanar Yurdatapan, Cem Karaca, Sah Turna, Fuat Saka*; Info-Türk's editors *Dogan Özgüden* and *Inci Tugsavul*, writers *Hüseyin Erdem, Demir Özlü, Yüksel Feyzioglu, Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, Nihat Behram, Fuat Baksi, Kamil Taylan*, TIP Chairwoman *Behice Boran*, TOB-DER Chairman *Gültekin Gazioglu*, DISK representative *Yücel Top* as well as some leading members of political parties, trade unions or democratic associations.

By taking this repressive measure, the military regime also foresaw intimidation of more than 2 million Turkish migrants abroad. For the Turkish rulers, this mass of migrants is a very important source of hard currency.

According to the daily Milliyet of August 26, 1984, Turkish immigrants had sent back $ 18,563 million to Turkey over the past 20-year period. However, the sums sent back in 1983 amounted to a mere $ 1,553 million, against $ 2,489 million in 1981.

Considering that the presence of migrant workers in Europe is getting more and more lasting, this downward trend is quite logical and easily understandable in view of the fact that they have to spend their earnings to cover growing needs and their children's education costs, instead of saving up and investing in their native country. The more they get integrated into the guest society, the less they send their money back to their native country.

To slow down this process and keep migrants attached to their country, Turkish governments resort to every means. If the immigrant workers of Turkish origin still feel strongly attached to their customs and remain confined in their ghettos, it is not only because of the "big differences regarding culture, religion, mentality and behaviour in daily life" or because they "only think of going back to their country", but also because the Turkish authorities, with the backing of the Turkish mass media, the islamic fundamentalists and the extreme-right, insist on their remaining in these ghettos.

Secondly, in the Turkish regime's view, which so far has remained isolated in the international arena on account of its anti-democratic practices, the only possible means to counter this isolation is to bring Turkish immigrants to defend the Turkish regime's position.

In addition to an indoctrination campaign to inculcate the supremacy of the Turkish race and Islam as well as the inferiority of all other nations and civilizations, the Ankara regime has been taking, ever since the 1980 military coup, several repressive measures aimed at intimidating Turkish immigrants abroad.

As a result of changed legislation with regard to the Code of nationality and the issue of Turkish passports, Turkish subjects who do not defend the Turkish regime's position are faced with two definite threats:

- Being deprived of the Turkish passport or
- Being stripped of Turkish nationality. This second measure envisages also the confiscation of all properties of the person in question.

So, this provision entails a grave threat to Turkish immigrants who have assigned all of their savings to purchasing real estate and goods in their country of origin.

In March 1981, General Evren launched a campaign of attack on the regime's opponents abroad. On a TV programme transmitted through the German TV-ZDF, Evren, addressing Turkish workers abroad, said: "The stateless people are now continuing their criminal activities in foreign countries. Because what is important for them is not being a Turk, but serving other countries for the sake of the perverted ideologies that they believe in. If they really had noble Turkish blood running in their veins, in Atatürk's words, they would have dared come to Turkey and give account of their deeds."

In another speech that he gave in Manisa,

Evren said: "How can we consider them our citizens? We have stripped them of Turkish nationality without any remorse; that is to say, the traitors and spies are deprived of noble Turkish blood."

In September 1981, the military began to oblige young immigrants who came back home temporarily for their military service, to denounce any opponents they happened to know among their relations abroad.

The Turkish regime has taken the following measures among others, to have its opponents abroad extradited and to intimidate potential opponents:

3.10.81: The Turkish Government gives the German Government a list of 15 political activists and asks for their extradition. Germany turns down the request because the persons in question are threatened with capital punishment.

22.12.81: The National Security Council establishes a new intelligence network by charging some Consulate functionaries and teachers sent by the Turkish State with obtaining permanent information about the anti-regime activities abroad.

April 81: The Prime Ministry issues a new circular to apply strict control on Turkish citizens abroad. Besides, to prevent the regime's opponents from travelling abroad, all passports will be issued by a central office instead of local authorities. The Turkish Government also applies to the German Government to dismiss Turkish teachers in German schools appointed by German authorities and to replace them with those to be sent by the Turkish State.

4. 5.82: The German State Secretary announced that 8 of 65 Turkish citizens whose extradition was demanded by the Turkish Government had already been sent back to their native country.

July 82: The German authorities expelled 37 Turkish citizens from FRG territories.

Sept. 82: The Turkish government requested the extradition of 118 Turkish citizens known to be in European countries.

28.10.82: Prize-winning Turkish filmmaker Yilmaz Güney is stripped of his Turkish nationality.

17. 1.83: The Turkish government asks the Greek Government to extradite Yilmaz Güney who came to Athens for the gala night of his prize-winner film "Yol." The Greek Government turns down the request.

Feb. 83: A law suit is brought against con-

INFO-TURK'S EDITORS STRIPPED OF TURKISH NATIONALITY

Within the framework of repression on the regime's opponents abroad, two editors of Info-Türk, Dogan Özgüden and Inci Tugsavul, have also been stripped of their Turkish nationality by the military government.

To begin with, on May 14, 1982, the Turkish Consulate in Brussels informed them that they could no longer obtain Turkish passports, this right being refused to them for their activities abroad, considered "harmful to the Turkish State's prestige and interests."

On November 11, 1982, the Turkish Embassy asked the Brussels City Administration to dismiss Inci Tugsavul, who also teaches Turkish language and culture in primary school, on the grounds that she leads activities against the Turkish State's interest. But the City Administration turned down this demand.

On December 14, 1982, the military government announced that Ozgüden and Tugsavul should return to Turkey by December 31, 1982, and surrender to military authorities. This appeal accusing the two journalists of carrying out activities against the Turkish State was announced by the Turkish Press and Radio. They refused to return and give themselves up.

On July 8, 1983, the Turkish Government decreed that they be stripped, along with 24 others, of Turkish citizenship. The decree also announced that the properties of those who were deprived of nationality would be confiscated by the State.

Another governmental decree dated June 11, 1983, announced that all writings or other artistic works of those deprived of nationality were declared "banned." Whoever keeps or distributes these writings or works would be subjected to legal proceedings.

The two journalists had been obliged to flee Turkey during the period of the preceding military regime of 1971-73 because of political indictments for publications which they edited. They got political refugee status.

At the end of 1977, on pressure from the Turkish Government, they were banned from entering Germany by an arbitrary decision of the German authorities. However, this decision was overruled by a German tribunal.

On the constitution of a left-wing government in 1978, they renounced their status and obtained Turkish passports. But after the 1980 coup they have become again the target of the military.

Ozgüden and Tugsavul, after the decision of the military government, were given political refugee status for a second time.

testing singer Melike Demirag and composer Sanar Yurdatapan for "activities demeaning Turkey abroad."

23. 7.83: During his visit to Turkey, the German Interior Minister was given a list with 150 names of persons whose extradition was being asked for.

22.11.83: The Police Administration announced that a new index-book with the names of 11,487 foreigners had been distributed to all entrance points into Turkey. All these foreigners are accused of carrying out activities hostile to Turkey. According to another statement by the same administration, the total number of Turkish citizens whose right to travel abroad had been suspended was reduced from 500,000 to 250,000 following up-dating of the registers.

24.11.84: The *Hürriyet* announces that since the military coup, 110,000 Turkish citizens have applied for political asylum abroad; 6,511 of the applicants are wanted by the security forces on account of their political opinions or activities.

12.12.85: It is reported that even the relatives of those wanted by the authorities are systematically refused passport.

Suicide of a political refugee

While the Turkish authorities were resorting to every means of repression and intimidation against the regime's opponents abroad, the European governments, not respecting the International Convention on political refugees, have applied many restrictive and even punitive measures against those Turkish nationals who request political refugee status.

Just after the military coup, on the other hand, all European countries, except Italy and England, imposed visa obligations on all Turkish citizens, whether tourist or working in these countries as immigrant workers.

According to official figures, 110,000 Turkish nationals requested political asylum, in European countries between September 12, 1980, and the end of 1984.

Many of these refugee candidates in Germany have been interned in special camps. They have not been allowed to work for two years, but have been forced to carry out all kinds of jobs such as digging graves, cleaning streets, etc. for an hourly wage of 0.75 dollar.

CEDRI (European Committee for the Defense of Refugees and Migrants) announced on April 14, 1983, that the FRG used every means to frighten and discourage those who asked for shelter. Within a 2-year period, competent courts accepted only 450 requests, but the Ministry of Interior gave notice of appeal for 300 of them. The German authorities have refused to acknowledge the obvious fact that, in Turkey, torture and execution were quite usual.

Because of the systematical refusals and extraditions, some political refugee candidates have committed suicide.

One of the most striking of these dramatic cases is that of Cemal Kemal Altun. This young political activist asked for refugee status in 1982. The Turkish Government demanded his extradition on the grounds that he had allegedly taken part in the murder of a former far-rightist minister in 1980. Thereupon, the German authorities in Berlin held him in jail for extradition for one year. As a result of thousands of protest telegrams and solidarity statements by well-known personalities and organizations, his extradition was cancelled in March 1983, at the very moment when the plane bound for Turkey was taking off. The personalities showing solidarity included European Parliament Speaker Piet Dankert and many European parliamentarians.

In June 1983, the highest authority for the recognition of political refugees, the Federal Office at Zindorf, decided that in Turkey Altun would quite probably be exposed to political repression, and therefore awarded him the right to political asylum.

Despite this stand, the Court of Appeal of West-Berlin decided on June 21, 1983, that Altun was to be held in jail for extradition.

On August 30, 1983, when he was brought again for interrogation to the Police Center, Altun, completely desperate, committed suicide by throwing himself from the 5th floor of the building.

Six months after Altun's suicide, the Administrative Tribunal of West-Berlin announced on February 17, 1984, that Altun had been granted the status of political refugee. This decision was the epilogue of a tragic affair.

The suicide of Altun was followed by a UN report highly critical of the treatment of political refugees in West-Germany.

STATE TERRORISM 4

REPRESSION OF KURDS AND CHRISTIANS

Pursuing a chauvinist policy, the military have reinforced all measures with a view to suppressing the national identity of Kurds and forcing Christian minorities to leave the country. All Kurdish militants and intellectuals defending their community's national rights have undergone mass arrests, tortures and condemnations. Two thirds of the Turkish Army's effective strength have been concentrated in the Turkish Kurdistan. Turkish troops entered Iraqi and Iranian territories in order to pursue Kurdish militants. The Kurdish population is deprived of the right to say "I am a Kurd" and to use its own language.

The national repression which has been applied unceasingly since the beginning of the history of the Turkish Republic has reached unimaginable proportions in Kurdistan of Turkey since the September 12, 1980, takeover.

More than a third of the political prisoners in Turkey are Kurdish militants guilty of claiming cultural and national rights for their people. In this latter part of the 20th Century, Turkey, which occupies an important part of Cyprus in the name of defence of the rights of the Turkish minority on this island, and demands teaching in the Turkish language for Turkish workers' children in Europe refuses to recognize any cultural right of the Kurdish people who constitute one fourth of its population. It even denies the existence of the Kurds as a people having their own language, their own culture and their own history.

A former minister, Serafettin Elci, a deputy, Serafettin Yilmaz, mayors, academics and teachers are imprisoned in the dark cells of the military dictatorship for having mentioned the existence of Kurds in Turkey.

"Besides they do not fail to accompany this exemplary cultural genocide with large-scale and violent physical repression. Two-thirds of the total strength of the Turkish Armed Forces keep the Kurdish Provinces under close control and there regularly indulge in combing operations."

The Kurdish People have to fight on three fronts: first, against the military dictatorship in Turkey; secondly, against Baath's chauvinism in Iraq; and finally, against national repression in Iran, increasing day after day.

These repressions are in fact the result of a policy that consists in "dividing to reign," applied by imperialism for years on a large scale in the Middle-East. The monopolies, denying people the right to self-determination, dividing the Middle-East according to their own interests, have carved up the Kurdistan in a political plan since the beginning of the century. Each parcel of Kurdistan has been under the control of a state that does not correspond to the voluntary union of peoples, and the Kurdish people have suffered from chauvinism, assimilation and repression applied by the dominant classes of those countries.

The situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey is even more painful.

During the war of independence against imperialism, the Kurds fought within the worker and peasant masses of Turkey, but at the end of the war, they faced one of the biggest perfidies in modern history. While non-Moslem minorities were recognized to have cultural, religious and social rights, the Kurds were deprived even of the right to say "I am a Kurd", to read and write in his mother tongue and to live according to national particulars.

The fact that in the Treaty of Lausanne non-Moslem minorities, such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews, were recognized as having some limited rights, does not change this truth. As a matter of fact, non-Muslim capitalists within the grand bourgeoisie of Turkey have always had some privileges... However, the toiling strata of these minorities such as workers, handicraftmen and little tradesmen, have always felt discrimination and national repression. Many of them have been obliged, especially after the events of Septembre 6-7, 1955, to leave Turkey, the homeland where they were born and where they grew up. As a result of the repression, the number of the non-Muslim population in Turkey fell to less than 100,000.

Even the Moslem minorities have been touched by repression and discrimination. The Moslem Alevites, who constitute an important part of the population of Turkey, are still suffering from repression and massacres.

But for the Kurds, the Kurdish people, the situation is completely different.

Today, more than ten million people of Kurdish origin are living on the entity called Kurdistan, united through a link of language, culture and economic factors. That is the Kurdish people, the Kurdish nationality.

After the military victory against imperialism, the alliance between the young bourgeoisie and the big landowners of Turkey (who seized power by eliminating political representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the Kurdish people) have exercised two forms of repression throughout the history of the republic: class repression on the working class and national repression on the Kurdish people. While political and trade union organizations of the working class were forbidden, national repression on the Kurdish people became, in certain periods, massacre... on the pretext of "suppressing Kurdish riots."

The jingoist representatives of the Turkish bourgeoisie have even qualified the Turkish race as a "superior race, the origin of all other

races" and treated the Kurds as "highlander Turks."

During the period of expanded liberties in the Sixties, along with the national question also came to the agenda of political discussions the organization of the working class on a political plan. After an interruption of more than half a century, Kurdish intellectuals attempted, with the risk of heavy punishments, to found cultural organizations.

During the semi-military repression period which started on March 12, 1971, the target of imperialism and its local collaborators was once again the working class movement and the Kurdish national democratic movement. The Workers' Party of Turkey was closed down for defending the democratic rights of the Kurdish people.

Another victim of the repression was the Organization of Progressive Culture of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO), whose leaders were also condemned to heavy punishments.

Since the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, the same play has been staged. With the military exercises code-named "Flying Gendarme," a dress rehearsal for national repression was already staged, even before the coup. After the proclamation of martial law, national repression was put into practice in the Kurdistan of Turkey. Kurdish villages were shelled, mass arrests reached the greatest dimensions in this area and those who resisted were either assassinated or jailed.

According to the International League of Human Rights, 81,634 Kurds were arrested, within the two-year period of September 1980 to September 1982. Many of them were subjected to torture at interrogation centers.

Turkish Army's Expansionism

A well-planned raking operation against the Kurds in Iraq was launched on May 26, 1983, when two brigades of the special forces of the Turkish Gendarmery and parachutist forces entered Iraqi territory. The troops were reinforced by two border-guard brigades and got "reduced" support from the Turkish Air Forces and some helicopters, according to Iraqi diplomatic sources.

The seven-day operation ended on June 2, "after being led successfully," the Turkish Foreign Office announced in a press release. The Turkish authorities asserted that "talks have taken place on this action with the government of friend and neighbour Iraq."

This "right to pursue" is provided in the framework of a "co-operation" developed four years ago after an agreement between the Iraqi President Saddam Hoseyn and General Evren, Chief of the General Staff of that time.

Both had decided to "co-ordinate their plans in order to control Kurdish minorities in the two countries".

The Iraqi Ambassador to Turkey, Mr Taha Mahmoud Al-Kaysi, said that the operation by the Turkish forces had "likely resulted in the arrest of about 1,500-2,000 separatist adventurers".

According to an alarm-cry of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in London, the Turkish Army surrounded about 20,000 or 30,000 civilian Kurds, of whom a majority were women, children and old people, who had taken refuge in DPK camps.

Diplomatic sources in Ankara also confirmed the size of the operation, which had obviously passed beyond a "simple chase of a few Kurdish separatists." According to these sources quoted by the AFP, 15,000 Turkish soldiers reinforced by Iraqi troops penetrated 40 km inside the Iraqi border. Antipersonal bombs were reportedly dropped on the region.

The only "balance sheet" made public by the Turkish military sources noted the 6 military men killed and did not breathe a word about the victims of the operation or the prisoners, estimated between 1500-2000.

The Turkish newspapers reported the operation with victory cries. The daily Tercüman: "Execrable Nests Broken", *Hürriyet:* "Traitors Crushed", *Milliyet:* "Our Army Cleaned up Armed Groups Based in Iraq". On the other hand, they by no means mentioned how many people had been killed in the course of this "cleaning up" and "crushing" operation.

Many observers in Turkey asserted that by initiating this "police action", the Turkish military regime had taken the first step to realize an old dream that it discreetly cherishes: to recover the north of Iraq, the "Vilayat of Mosoul" inhabited by Kurdish people.

At the end of the First World War, Britain forced the Kemalist regime to give up this province, and a British mandated state, Iraq, was created. Many of the Turkish military take it for granted that this region with rich petroleum

reserves should fall to them by full right, especially because of an important Turkish speaking minority living among Kurds.

According to *The Times* of May 28, 1983, "last year an article in the *New Statesman,* alleging the existence of a Turco-American plot to seize northern Iraq, aroused great interest and anxiety in the Arab World. Such a notion seems extremely farfetched, given the amicable cooperation existing between the Turkish and Iraqi governments, and it is most unlikely that what happened has anything to do with such a plan. But it does remind us that some hitherto unthinkable things might become thinkable in the event of a complete collapse of central government in Iraq.".

Just after the raking operation, it was announced in September 1983 that the Headquarters of the 2nd Turkish Army had been shifted from the Central Anatolian city of Konya to Malatya in the Turkish Kurdistan. This headquarters commands two-thirds of the Turkish Army's effectives forces controlling this region.

Kurdish Armed Resistance and "Sun Operation"

Despite all the military control over this area, The PKK militants started an armed resistance in 1984, and on the night of August 15, they attacked many garrisons and gendarmerie stations in the Siirt Province. In retaliation, Turkish commandos launched a new combing operation code-named "Sun Operation." The Chief of General Staff went immediately to the operation area and extended the combing to other provinces.

In addition, Turkish troops crossed the border and once more entered Iraq. The agreement for this operation was reached following a sudden visit to the Iraqi capital, on October 14, by the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Vahit Halefoglu, accompanied by Deputy Chief of Staff General Necdet Oztorun.

According to the European press, several reasons led the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to allow Turkish troops to cross the border. As the war with Iran deprived him of several of his outlets, he was determined to stay on the best of terms with his northern neighbour who offered him facilities for exporting his oil and conveying supplies. In domestic policies, the war with Iran and the army's mobilization along the border also furthered a reawakening of the Kurdish opposition which suffered a fatal blow in March 1975, when the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein signed the Algiers agreement. However, the Barzanist PDK continued to wage armed struggle against the Iraqi regime. So, the regime of Saddam Hussein was "in such a state of weakness and powerlessness that he was forced to use foreign troops in order to quell the Kurdish rebellion on his territory."

Contrary to what had happened a year before, Iran now was opposed to the Iraqi-Turkish agreement aimed at fighting Kurdish guerillas. Talks between Teheran and Ankara on a possible penetration of Turkish troops into the border area with Iran collapsed.

The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 19 condemned the aforesaid agreement on "coordinated struggle" between Iraq and Turkey, considering that it "jeopardized the security of the region as a whole".

"We warn that this kind of move is likely to aggravate the crisis in this sensitive part of the world," a communique from the Iranian Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

In fact, Tehran actively supported the Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by Massud Barzani. Contrary to the Kurdistan Patriotic Union (KPU) led by Jalal Talabani, which was more inclined to collaborate, the KDP was a staunch opponent of the Iraqi regime. Unlike the KDP, the KPU of Talabani negotiated for several months with the Iraqi government in an attempt to reach an agreement enabling it to rally, while President Saddam Hussein was making concessions as well. Therefore, Saddam Hussein, angry with Iranian assistance to the PDK, gave his support to the Kurds of Iran, rallying under the banner of the Iranian Kurdish "Democratic Party" (KDP) headed by Mr. Ghassemlu, and the banner of Komala (Kurdish Communists).

Faced with the Iranian Government's opposition, the Turkish regime did not hesitate to disown the Turkish press' triumphal headlines reporting the Turkish Army's penetration into Iraqi territory, while at the same time "Operation Sun" was actually going on on both sides of the Turco-Iraqi border.

Indeed, the combing operation unleashed in Turkish Kurdistan in August 1984 turned into a bloodbath. Since the regular Turkish Armed Forces remained powerless before the

Kurdish combatants who had a thorough knowledge of the mountainous regions, the Turkish Generals themselves were mobilized and went to the operation area to incite the Kurdish population to inform against the "peshmerge".

During a 5 days' journey to Turkish Kurdistan, ending on October 5, 1984, General-President Kenan Evren tried hard to persuade the local population that the Turkish Government did not contemplate remaining passive in the face of increasing activities by "separatists," without, however, mentioning the word "Kurd". The Turkish Government did not intend to abandon "the population in the hands of armed adventurers," he said.

During the same journey, the General-President referred with satisfaction to the "loyalist attitude" of the local population and launched the idea of distributing weapons to "carefully selected" peasants in order to drive "separatist" militants out of the villages. The Army commanders, however, regarded as quite dangerous the idea which had suddenly occurred to Evren, because the distributed weapons could be transferred by the "selected persons" to the Kurdish militants. Thereupon the idea was dropped.

Instead of this, the following decisions were taken:

- intensifying raids in Kurdish villages,
- clearing Kurdish border villages of their inhabitants and deporting them to the western part of the country,
- gunning down without warning anybody looking like a "separatist",
- mining border zones to prevent people in Iraq or Iran from crossing the Turkish frontier.

These exceptional measures were immediately carried out by Turkish commando troops.

During the combing operation, the West-German daily *Tageszeitung* reported, the villages of Pervari, Genzag and Zorova in Hakkari province were bombed and shelled, as the Kurdish tribe of the Jirki, living in this region, refused to collaborate with the military. According to the Turkish daily *Hürriyet,* the five tribal chiefs who fled into the mountains (apparently followed by their tribesmen) are wanted by the security forces. Furthermore, a prisoner camp was set up in the village of Esgrik, near Hakkari province, where prisoners were flown over by helicopter.

On May 23, 1985, the Interior Minister in Ozal's Government, Mr Yildirim Akbulut, referring to the resistance of Kurdish militants, said: "This is warfare, guerilla warfare... All imaginable measures have been taken against them. Specially trained teams are on the spot. Gendarme units and police forces are also there. But, this is a guerilla affair. They hit and escape. It is very difficult to estimate when and from where they come."

This statement by the top official in charge of internal security aroused strong reactions from those circles who sought to minimize the resistance. In its editorial, the daily *Günes* of May 24, 1985, said: "This statement, besides being regrettable, is not factual. Brigands who desire to imitate rural guerillas have thus been given an exaggerated status... To state that 'this is a guerilla war' is a tacit acceptance of a state of civil war in Turkey. Especially when the words belong to a person of authority such as the Minister of Internal Affairs. It should not be expressed, even if it were true..."

In the National Assembly, a spokesman for the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) approached the question from another point of view. He said: "If a minister of the Turkish State designates the incidents as guerilla warfare, our State will be obliged to act according to international conventions and to treat the captured persons as war prisoners."

As reactions broke out at his minister's statement, Prime Minister Ozal was forced to contradict him, on May, 29, 1985, stating that: "Their total number is about 400-500. Half of them have already been captured, the other half have surrendered. This is a matter of a few pillagers. I do not attach importance to them. This is not an affair to be exaggerated."

As the Ankara regime proved unable to quell the armed resistance of Kurdish militiants, it stepped up the deployment of military units all over the Turkish part of Kurdistan. At the same time, Ankara signed an agreement with the Iranian Khomeiny regime to join their efforts in army operations against Kurdish combatants.

This new scheme by the Turkish Generals, playing the part of "wielding the big stick" in the Middle East while seeking at the same time to take advantage of the prevailing conditions in this part of the world, was disclosed and exposed in a press release issued on May 21, 1985, by the Foreign Delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran:

"According to information that we have just received, several talks have taken place between the Turkish and Iranian authorities, in particular on May 9, 1985, at Gavar (40 km from Urmieh), where a commander-in-chief of the 64th division at Urmieh had discussions with a high-ranking Turkish commander. At this meeting, the Turkish and Iranian authorities signed an agreement regarding the repression of the Kurdish peoples' movement in Iranian Kurdistan: this repression was to be carried out by their joint forces.

"Subsequently, units of the Turkish Army have entered Iranian territory, on the request and with the agreement of the mullah regime; after joining the Iranian forces, they have launched operations together against the bases of the Kurdish combatants. According to recent information, Iran and Turkey have landed forces in the region of Galibardarach, as part of a common plan. They have occupied a part of territory held by Peshmerga fighters of the PDKI.

"This attitude is in contradiction with national sovereignty and with territorial integrity so dear to the authorities of the Islamic Republic."

While the combing operation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan was going on, the Turkish government decided on June 28, 1985, that in 13 provinces mainly inhabited by Kurds, "Countryside Protectors" could assume their functions. According to a special law, these "Countryside Protectors," to be designated provisionally, should first be trained intensively and then provided with arms. About one thousand people assumed this function in the Siirt area. This province is due to be followed by Van, Agri, Kars, Mus, Bingöl, Tunceli, Bitlis, Urfa, Diyarbakir, Adiyaman, Mardin and Hakkari.

On the other hand, the Government launched a new campaign to build "Roads of Peace" in Kurdistan, so as to track down Kurdish militants more easily. All these roads, to be built along the Iraqi and Syrian border, will be permanently floodlighted by means of electric poles to be erected at regular intervals of 48 meters.

Moreover, all village heads throughout Kurdistan have been provided with transmitter-receivers, to allow them to inform on suspects as soon the latter are spotted.

The strained situation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan roused some anxiety in Washington. According to a statement by the U.S. Foreign Secretary, published by the daily *Milliyet* on August 2, 1985, the U.S. Government advised its nationals to avoid the eastern area during their stay in Turkey "because the terrorist separatists are a scourge there and any kind of violence is to be feared there. In case a U.S. citizen still goes to that area, he should collaborate with the local authorities."

According to the General Staff's communiqué of December 31, 1985, the total number of those killed in armed clashes since August 15, 1984, amounted to 279, including 118 Kurdish militants, 74 military and policemen, and 77 civilians.

Other details concerning the military operation carried out in the Turkish Kurdistan in the same period:

Captured militants	309
Identified and wanted	641
Kurdish attacks	102
Seized arms:	
Pistols	836
Machine guns	8
Rifles	860
Automatic rifles	11
Hand grenades	157
Anti-tank mines	43
Anti-personnel mines	48
Small arms	47,314
Rocket launchers	2

Dimensions of the armed clashes in Kurdistan are getting more and more alarming for Ankara. The Armed forces recently, to better prepare their units for further sweeping operations, started on September 4, 1985 a big military exercise in the Turkish Kurdistan. These exercises were attended by general Evren himself, as well as the Chief of General Staff Necdet Urug, the National Defence Minister Yavuztürk and all commanders of the Army.

On the other hand, the Kurdistan Committee in Paris on August 28, issued a press communiqué in which it declared: "The Turkish General Staff, which has been silent until now on the war developing in Kurdistan, distorted in its press release all facts concerning the one-year period of actions, military operations, arrests and assassinations.

"All actions carried out in this period have been led by the HRK (Liberation Unity of Kurdistan), founded on August 15, 1984. Today it exists on a line of 1000 kilometers, from



Semdinli and Yüksekova (in the province of Hakkari) up to the north-west, passing through south-west, where fierce combats are being carried on. The following cities are in this fighting zone: Hakkari, Siirt, Bitlis, Mardin, Van, Mus, Bingöl, Diyarbakir, Elazig, Urfa, Adiyaman, Kars, Agri and Dersim (Tunceli).

"In all, 117 attacks, ambushes and clashes have occurred and 402 military personnel, policemen, guards and high-ranking officials (of whom 30 pc are Army officers or NCOs) have been shot dead and 188 others wounded in these operations.

"130 Turkish GIs were captured. They were later released, after being disarmed.

"46 well-known denouncers have been punished by death."

Since the very first day of the proclamation of martial law in Kurdistan, tens of thousands of Kurds have been taken into custody and tortured at interrogation centers, and thousands of them have been tried by the military courts and hundreds condemned to capital punishment.

As can be seen in the Table published in the chapter "Mass Trials", different Kurdish organizations have been hit, in different degrees, by the State terrorism.

The vast majority of the defendants are presumed to be militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK). In fact, the armed resistance of the last two years was launched by this organization.

According to the February 1985 issue of this party's central press organ *Serxwebûn,* up to that date, 121 party militants had already been sentenced to capital punishment.

After August 15, 1984, the date of the armed resistance's beginning, about 300 party militants have been arrested and brought before military tribunals. Ten of them have been sentenced to death, while others face the same punishment.

Ideological brainwashing in prisons

The prison conditions in Kurdistan are much worse than in other military prisons in other regions of Turkey. Besides the physical and psychological tortures which are common in every military prison, the prisoners in Kurdistan are subjected to a special treatment aimed at annihilating their national conscience.

To better illustrate this ideological condi-

tioning, we are reprinting below some excerpts from a report written not by an opponent of the present regime, but by one of its notorious propagandists, Tokay Gözütok; this report was published on August 2, 1983, by the rightist daily *Tercüman* with the permission of the military authorities:

"In the military camp of special confinement in Diyarbakir, over two thousand prisoners belonging to eighteen different organizations are being held. As ornaments, everywhere there are Turkish flags and Atatürk's portraits, which have been hung up by prisoners.

Treacherous thoughts pass through my body,
I am a descendant of brave heroes,
Pain and disgust oppress my heart,
Your enemies are not brave people,
Only a Turk is a friend for a Turk;
he has no other friends.

"These words, which were heard in the camp at Diyarbakir, resound in our ears. We had thought these were soldiers singing marching songs while training. We were mistaken. We met these people who serve their prison terms here, as they were striding along like soldiers, singing in unison. Previously, they used to display marxist, leninist and separatist ideologies and wanted to divide our country and our people. We moved step by step forward through the prison's corridor, restraining our emotions. We lived history over again while moving forward from the canteen to the dormitory. Turkish flags had been hung on the ceiling as well as banderoles describing the part played by Turks and their greatness. No part of the wall had been left uncovered. What we were seeing helped us to relive history, and through what we were reading, we get to know the greatness of the Turks. We read catchwords such as: *'One Turk is as strong as the world'- 'I am so happy to be able to say that I am a Turk!'- 'Oh young Turk, what strength flows through your veins!'."*

Political prisoners have resorted many times to resistance actions such as hunger strikes in protest against this humiliating treatment, which very often have resulted in death.

On February 8, 1986, during the PKK trial before a military tribunal in Diyarbakir, the military prosecutor confirmed that 32 detainees died in the military prison of the same city. According to him, eight of these 32 victims committed suicide, six died after a hunger strike, and as for the sixteen others, they died from natural causes.

Does the Kurdish language exist or not?

Despite the fact that the Turkish authorities deny the very existence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish language in Turkey, a military court in Diyarbakir was obliged on August 26, 1983, to yield to reality.

Twenty-eight persons, mainly Kurds, were brought before the military tribunal on the accusation of having been involved in arms traffic. During their interrogation, most of them were unable to answer the questions in Turkish, because they knew only the Kurdish language. Thereupon, the judge was forced to interrogate them with the help of a Kurdish interpreter.

Taking into account that the majority of the detainees are young militants, the pronouncement of "natural" death is far from convincing. The defendants at trial said that the number of the victims is higher than 32 and most of them had been killed either through torture or because of ill-treatment in prison.

Although some Kurdish prisoners are accused of having resorted to armed actions, the great majority are tried only for having defended the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people or simply for saying that they are Kurds.

One of the most significant examples of this kind of prosecution is the condemnation of Turkish sociologist Ismail Besikçi. As has been detailed in the preceding chapters he has been condemned many times for writing articles or books proving in a scientific manner the existence of a Kurdish nation and a Kurdish language.

Many distinguished Kurdish intellectuals, such as Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, author of a Kurdish Alphabet, publishing house director Recep Marasli, lawyers Mümtaz Kotan, Hüseyin Yildirim and Serafettin Kaya, have been pursued and condemned for having made publications in the Kurdish language or on Kurds, or for assuming the legal defence of Kurdish prisoners.

The former Mayor of Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, has been in prison since the very first day of the military regime and has been sentenced many times. Diyarbakir is the chief town of Turkish Kurdistan. Zana is the first Kurdish mayor of a Kurdish town asserting his national identity. But, in addition, he is the first socialist mayor of an important city of the country. In

DOCUMENT

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The International Writers' Reunion was held on June 15-19, 1981, in Lahti, Finland. During this meeting, Mr. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, Kurdish author of Turkey who is actually in Sweden, gave the following speech on the oppression of the Kurdish language and literature in Turkey:

"Please let me first ask you some questions:

"Can you imagine a language in which it is completely forbidden to write?

"Can you imagine a literature which is not allowed to be written or read?

"Can you imagine a culture that has been threatened by extermination for more than half a century?

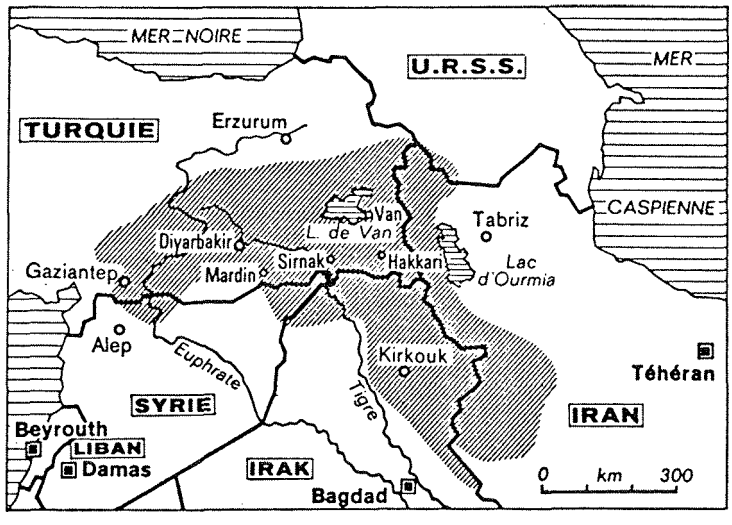
"Can you imagine a people with a population of more than 10 millions, that is not allowed to use its own language, its literature and its culture?

"Can you imagine millions of children who are not allowed to study in their own mother tongue in school, but have to use a foreign language?

"Can you imagine a nation that has signed even international law and treaties on Human Rights but yet tries to exterminate a culture, kill a literature and forbid a language before the rest of the world with all its democratic and Human Rights organisations?

"Perhaps these questions and their implications seem unbelievable and untrue. Perhaps you begin to think that these questions belong to some ancient mythological tales from some barbarian days of long ago.

"But neither those questions nor their content belong to prehistory. They belong to our days, the twentieth century, and they are about the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and the Kurdish literature, that has been totally forbidden by the Turkish state against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and Kurdish literature.



A Totally Forbidden Language

"The Kurdish language is an Indo-European language that is one of the three old major languages in the Middle East (the two others being Arabic and Persian). After 1701 when Turkish tribes began to settle in Anatolia, the Turkish language became the fourth major tongue in the Middle East.

"The Kurdish language is spoken by about 20 million people living in Kurdistan, that has been divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Kurdish minorities also exist in the Soviet Union and Lebanon. Since the middle of the 1960's many Kurdish immigrants live in every country of western Europe and Australia.

"About 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan, a Turkish colony since 1923. That is more than half of the total Kurdish population. There are also about 1 million Kurds living in different parts of Anatolia because they were exiled from Kurdistan by the old Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic. Some of them also moved there during recent years in search of employment.

"As I have already said, about 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan although their language has been completely forbidden since 1923. During the feudal Ottoman empire, every language spoken within the territory of the empire, including Kurdish, was allowed. But when the Turkish republic was formed, the Kurdish language was forbidden throughout northern Kurdistan. This situation has continued until today, and the Kurdish language is still forbidden.

"It is not allowed to write or to publish books in Kurdish. It is not allowed to do any research on the Kurdish language.

"The Turkish government has continually attempted to exterminate the Kurdish language and assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks. The Turkish government also uses all possible facilities, such as education, mass media and different kinds of oppression, to fulfil this aim.

The Only Forbidden ABC-Book

"In my country you are not even allowed to write and publish an ABC-book in Kurdish. I am fully aware that it is not proper to use oneself as an example. But since in northern Kurdistan there is only one example of an ABC-Book and this example involves myself, I simply have to use myself as an example. And this is the case:

"As a Kurdish author I felt a responsibility to my people and my language and I decided in the middle of the sixties to write an ABC-book in Kurdish for Kurdish children and illiterates. The book called ALFABE was published in 1968 in Istanbul, Turkey. This was a great event for the Kurdish people and the Turkish government. Because this book was the only Kurdish ABC-book in northern Kurdistan, every Kurdish child and adult greeted it with great joy. On the other hand the Turkish government reacted strongly towards me and the book. After two days, two courts, one in Istanbul, the other in Diyarbakir (the main city in Kurdistan), banned the book and declared it illegal throughout Turkey. Also, the Turkish authorities accused me of trying to split Turkey and form an independent Kurdish state with this little ABC-book of only 64 pages. Because of this accusation I was kept in prison for four months. The book is still forbidden in Kurdistan and all of Turkey. All this for only one reason: the ABC-book is written in Kurdish and the Kurdish language is forbidden in Turkey.

"So, this Kurdish ABC-book is, as far as I know, the only ABC-book in the world that has been forbidden. I have never heard of anything like it anywhere in the world, not even in South Africa. This is a scandal and a black sin against Humanity and Human Rights and the responsibility rests on the Turkish government.

"Last year the second edition of this ABC-book was published in Sweden, thus becoming the only Kurdish ABC-book in Europe. Kurdish children and adult analphabets in Europe began to use it too.

Oppression of the Culture

"It is not only the Kurdish language that is suppressed in northern Kurdistan and all of Turkey but also the ancient Kurdish culture. Like all people throughout the world, we too have special traditions and folklore, which the Turkish state is trying to exterminate. Because of the Turkish government's racist policy, a Kurd is even not allowed to say 'I am a Kurd'.

"Because the Turkish government decided to assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks, they want the Kurdish people to forget their culture, their traditions, their folklore and lose their national identity in order to feel like Turks.

"This is another crime that the Turkish government commits against Humanity and Human Rights.

"We consider all cultures to be common goods, belonging to all human beings throughout the world. Everyone, regardless of country and culture, can learn to know each other by giving and taking from each other's culture and by knowing and studying each other's traditions and folklore. Thus culture forms a very big part in creating friendship and a wider understanding between people from different countries.

"This is why the crime committed by the Turkish government against the Kurdish people is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings in the whole world.

The Forbidden Literature

"Kurdish literature is forbidden in northern Kurdistan as well as in the rest of Turkey. We have a very rich folk literature and a very old classical literature. Folk tales and classical poems are the two basic elements in Kurdish literature. But it is not allowed to develop the old literature and create modern Kurdish literature. The younger generations are not allowed to write short stories, novels or poems in Kurdish.

"If a Kurd does write and publish in Kurdish, he or she will risk prison, oppression, etc. The Turkish authorities will immediately ban the Kurdish publication and the Kurdish people will not have the opportunity to read it.

"In recent years some collections of Kurdish poems and short stories have been published, but they were all banned and burned by the Turkish police. There are some Kurdish books published abroad, for instance in Europe, but the Kurdish people in Kurdistan are not allowed to import and read them. It is not only forbidden to publish Kurdish books in Turkey, but it is also forbidden to receive Kurdish books, papers, records, cassettes, etc. from abroad. The Turkish government decided in 1967 to forbid the import of anything of Kurdish origin published abroad.

"This suggests that the Turkish government has decided to exterminate Kurdish literature. This is a crime against Humanity and Human Rights. We all know that literature, any literature, is an important platform where people meet, learn to know one another, understand the problems of one another and explore the traditions of other people. Through literature there is a creative exchange of cultures between nations, and therefore literature is of common interest for every human being in the world. Because of this, the crime committed by the Turkish government by forbidding and attempting to exterminate the Kurdish literature is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings.

The Children Have to Study in a Foreign Language

"Kurdish is the mother tongue and spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become seven years of age and begin school, they are forced to talk and read in Turkish, although Turkish is a completely foreign language to them. Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is like that of English and Arabic or French and Swahili.

"I do not think that it is very hard to understand how difficult it must be for the school children to be forced to talk and read in a completely foreign language. This is a severe form of torture against children and this is another crime against humanity. It is hardly to be found anywhere else in the world, but this is the situation the Kurdish children have to face in northern Kurdistan. This crime is committed against them before all peoples in the world and before all organisations defending democracy and Human Rights."

1979, he was elected mayor as the independent candidate supported by all left-wing and Kurdish movements. While he was at the head of the municipality, 20 buses were granted to Diyarbakir by left-wing municipalities of France. On the arrival of the military, he was arrested on the charge of "separatism". He has been tortured, and the death penalty is being requested for him. The Mayor of Nantes (France), M. Alain Chénard, in an open letter published by *Le Monde* of February 9, 1982, drew attention to the trial of Zana by claiming that he had been brutally tortured by the military during his detention.

Christian Minorities in Turkey

During the 5-year period of military dictatorship, the subject of Christian minorities in Turkey has been one of the main topics in the international mass media as well.

First of all, a series of politically motivated attempts on the lives of Turkish diplomatic representatives abroad, carried out by young Armenian people, have drawn world attention to the demands of the Armenian population in diaspora.

Secondly, the massive arrival in European countries of Christian asylum seekers from Turkey has given rise to questions on the Christian minorities in this country, mainly Armenians, Assyrians, Nestorians...

According to a survey entitled "Christian Minorities in Turkey," published in 1979 by the *Churches Committee on Migrant Workers in Europe,* different Christian communities of Turkey comprised at that date an estimated 100,000 people. This was only a small remnant of the communities present at the end of the 19th century, when the Christians ammounted to 30% of the total population of the Ottoman Empire. The distribution of the 100,000 into different Christian groups was estimated at 10,000 Greeks, 42,000 Armenians, 44,000 Assyrians and 4,000 Arab Christians.

While Armenians once constituted the major population of Eastern Anatolia, historically their fatherland, their number fell from more than 1.5 million to a few ten thousand today, because of genocides and deportations carried out by the Ottoman rulers at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. The majority of this population now lives in Istanbul.

In Eastern Turkey we find mainly Christians belonging to the so-called Syrian Church. Known as *Süryaniler* in Turkey, they are called *Assyrians.* They live in the area between the River Tigris in the north and east, the Syrian border in the south, and the Diyarbakir-Nusaybin-Mardin line in the west. This area is an important part of Kurdistan. Also within Kurdistan there lived another Christian minority, the *Nestorians.*

The majority of each ethnic group of Christians belongs to the original Orthodox Church. A small group within each ethnic community has united with the Roman Catholic Church.

A small Greek Orthodox minority still exists in Istanbul.

Of the aforementioned groups the Armenians and the Greeks, along with the Jews, are the only religious minorities having non-Moslem minority status in Turkey. The other Christian denominations are not considered to be non-Moslim minorities, and therefore do not enjoy the protection of the Turkish State.

Whatever their particular status, all Christian minorities, without exception, have been submitted to discrimination since the foundation of the Republic.

First of all, they do not have the right to jobs as public servants, except degrading work, despite the fact that they, like other Turkish nationals, do military service and pay taxes.

During the 18-month military service, they are generally ill-treated by their commanders because of their ethnic or religious origin.

As for those who live in the south-eastern part of the country, they are under the absolute and arbitrary domination of the local power structure. The big landowners, called *Aghas* in Turkish, very often have control of the whole village and its population, and they exploit the people who work for a minimal wage or share of products. Acts of violence against Christian minorities are a daily practice carried out by the aghas' gangs. Legally, some Christian families are the official owners of the lands that they cultivate, but the aghas resort to every means of violence and intimidation to force them to leave the region in order to take over their land and other properties. Because of this pressure, tens of thousands of Assyrians have been for-

ced to flee Turkey and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries or in Europe.

As for the Armenians, a recent draft report drawn up on June 26, 1985, by *Mr. Vandemeulebroucke,* reporter for the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament reads:

"Seventy years after the dramatic events concerning the Armenians, the Armenian question is kept alive both by the Armenians and by the Turks because both 'parties' are literally diametrically opposed to each other in terms of current relevance as well as with regard to the historical analysis of the events in question.

"This conflict is accentuated by the unacceptable phenomenon of Armenian terrorism, by the Turkish denial of massive Armenian deportations in time of war and the official Turkish justification of such deportations and by the unique existence of an Armenian identity that has remained a link throughout the entire world.

"The first phase of the emigration of Armenians from the Ottoman-Turkish empire occurred at the end of the 19th century and the second phase as a result of the tragic events of 1915. Those who dispersed throughout the world after this date have, together with the first wave of Armenian emigrants, introduced the concept of the 'Armenian diaspora'. In most of the host countries, the Armenians have been given the status of refugee as laid down by the United Nations.

"In Turkey, there are today 50,000 Armenians, which is all that remains of what was once an intellectually and economically advanced 'nation' of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the non-Russian Armenians now live scattered throughout the world:

- 575,000 in the Middle East (mainly in Lebanon, Syria and Iran)
- 335,000 in Europe (mainly in France),
- 600,000 in North America (mainly in the United States),
- 170,000 in Latin America (mainly in Argentina),
- 50,000 in other parts of the world.

The 'diaspora' thus amounts to some 1,730,000 persons.

"The events of the First World War forged a new link between the first generation of Armenian refugees and the refugees that survived the Turkish deportation. Religion, language and culture have remained the bond linking the 'Armenians in the diaspora' despite the fact that they have plainly become assimilated in the host country.

"According to the minimalist Turkish position, there were still 1,300,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1914. Today the Armenian presence in Turkey must be estimated at 50,000. As a minority, their identity, education and religion are recognized and relatively well safeguarded by the Turkish authorities.

"A younger generation in the diaspora, which can be called the third generation, is again stressing the Armenian identity. This generation harks back to the harm done to the Armenian nation, and to the promise of a separate Armenian State stipulated in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which was however reversed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

"Some of them recognize objectively the reasons for the Armenian nationalists' failure to form a separate Armenian state. These are threefold. There was the *moral reason*: the young nationalist intelligentsia, educated in the mission schools, was too isolated from the masses. Then there was the *political reason:* Russia incited a number of Armenians to revolt in order to weaken Turkey, although it had no interest at all in their emancipation. Finally, there was the *geographical reason:* Armenian nationalism always lacked the geographical framework needed to foster the struggle for independence. The Armenian nation was too dispersed between the stronger Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the diaspora a distinction is still made today in peoples' mind between the pan-Armenian nationalists, the Soviet Armenians and the non-Communist Armenians. Other Armenian young people of the third generation, with the moral support of older generations and keenly aware of the harm done to their own families, want the Turkish State to recognize the events of 1915 to 1917 as genocide. Their first demand is for the moral recognition of the fact of genocide for them-

Condemnation of an Armenian Priest

An Armenian priest, Hirant Küçükgüzelyan, was condemned by Military Tribunal No. 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Command to a 16-month prison term. He is charged by the military prosecutor with "having made racist propaganda and having weakened national feelings." (*Cumhuriyet,* February 27, 1982).

MOTION ON ARMENIAN QUESTION

On behalf of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, Chairman Ernest Glinne and Mrs Duport tabled on September 20, 1983, a motion for a resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question.

"Having regard to the upsurge in terrorist attacks organized by groups of Armenians, who claim responsibility for them,

"whereas the necessary suppression of terrorism will not eliminate the injustices on which these groups base their actions,

"whereas violence is not the principal means of expression of the Armenian communities, their major political organizations having proposed other solutions which have so far been rejected,

"whereas the right of cultural and linguistic ethnic minorities to recognition of their identity presupposes recognition of their history,

"whereas the Armenian people have been deprived of their history by the Turkish Government, which, by refusing to admit to the genocide of 1915, is obliterating the historical reality of Armenia,"

The Socialist Group proposes:

"To protest strongly at the attacks which discredit the cause they claim to support;

"To express solidarity with the victims of these attacks;

"To call on the Council of Ministers of the EEC

a) to declare its recognition of the genocide,
b) to obtain recognition by the Turkish Government of the historical fact of the 1915 genocide,
c) to convince the Government of Turkey that a just and lasting solution to the Turkish-Armenian problem can only be found by establishing a political dialogue, and
d) to obtain an identical declaration from the UN."

selves and for the victims of the events of the First World War. Their moral demands become more vociferous the more the Turkish Government minimizes the Armenian reality or questions their loyalty towards the Ottoman Government. Lastly, there is the other 'third generation', a faction of which engages in acts of terrorism against everything emenating from the Turkish State. The main terrorism army movement is called ASALA. It has carried out many attacks and, according to reports, lost all links with the Armenian nationalists in the Diaspora after the attack at Orly in 1982."

After analysing the positions and arguments of the different parties, the rapporteur comes to the following conclusion:

"The events in Turkey affecting the Armenians during the war period of 1915-1917 must be described as *genocide* within the meaning of the UN Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

"Recognition of these facts by the European Parliament, as the only directly elected international parliament in the world, is in keeping with its mission to regard violations of human rights and rights of peoples as a matter of international concern and to expose such violations. It is plain that the present Turkish government cannot be made at all responsible for the acts of genocide committed by the Young Turks. The present rulers are, however, the heirs of the Turkish State on the territory of which these events occurred. In view of this fact, the Turkish Government can no longer deny the history of the Turkish-Armenian question and the element of genocide. Recognition of these events will of course only have moral consequences but Turkey would thereby implictly play a special preventive role in consolidating respect for human rights in the international community. Moreover, such recognition would eliminate one of the main reasons for the senseless, desperate and inexcusable acts of terrorism committed by splinter groups from the Armenian diaspora.

"In this process of recognition the various states also have a special, albeit indirect, responsibility on account of their interests at the time which did not do enough to prevent the crime or even indirectly facilitated the crime. Furthermore, the role of the European Community should not be confined solely to moral recognition of the Armenian genocide. Within the framework of European Political Cooperation, the Ten should speak out with one voice in the United Nations to ensure that the Human Rights Committee includes the Armenian genocide in its report on the prevention and punishment of genocide. This is the appropriate international forum where, seventy years after the events, a political solution is possible to the Armenian question."



In Eastern Anatolia, whatever their origin, all people, Kurd, Turk, Armenian or Assyrian, live in an absolute poverty while a handful landlords are getting richer and richer by mercilessly exploiting them



STATE TERRORISM 5

TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT IN PRISONS

All political detainees have undergone torture or ill-treatment in special interrogation centers, police stations and even in military prisons. Hundreds of detainees have been killed under torture. Even at the beginning of 1986, many torture allegations have come from the victims and their families. Thousands of political prisoners are still suffering from ill-treatment. The Turkish Government claims that police torturers are legally pursued. But the torture practice has been organized and carried out by the sinister Counter-guerilla Organization of the Turkish Army.

Among other methods, torture has been one of the principal means of interrogation, intimidation and even condemnation used systematically by the military since the 1980 coup. Any publication and even allusion to torture have been banned for years in the Turkish mass media. However, Turkey's torturing of political prisoners has been one of the main preoccupations of world democratic institutions. Basing their knowledgde on allegations coming from Turkey, Amnesty International, human rights organizations and European parliamentary bodies have very often issued warning documents regarding these practices.

It is only at the beginning of 1986 that the Turkish press began to talk timidly about torture practices and that left-wing deputies started to raise the question in the National Assembly.

Without any doubt, all this debate is the consequence - on one hand - of the strengthening of popular resistance to the anti-democratic practices of the present regime; and, on the other hand, of the pressure being put on Ankara by European democratic forces who demand total respect of human rights in the Southeast of Europe.

However, despite the lifting of martial law in Istanbul and Ankara, debate on torture has not developed as it should, and those who dare to make any revelations or demand firm measures for an end to torture often risk intimidation, threats, or simply persecution.

In minimising the testimony or irrefutable revelations, government circles describe all debate on torture as an element of the communist campaign seeking to discredit the Turkish police and to destroy the Turkish State's prestige abroad.

Even "President of the Republic" Evren and his prime minister Ozal have made themselves heard in this manner. During a visit to the presidential palace and braving General Evren's anger, Aydin Güven Gürkan, the chairman of the SHP, found himself obliged to justify his parliamentarians' steps against torture in the following way: "Mister President, as you know, there's a big campaign abroad proclaiming that democracy does not exist in Turkey and that human rights are systematically violated. Five European countries have begun a process to judge the Turkish State by international standards. We want to show them that these topics can be discussed in Turkey under every circumstance. By our parliamentary initiative on this subject, we render a service in the interest of our country..." According to the *Milliyet* of February 8, General Evren would have allowed this opinion, but advising the parliamentary opposition leader not to go too far and to be prudent in his declarations.

All the same the authorities' reaction to the weekly *Nokta* which published the admissions of a former police torturer has not been as understanding.

Sedat Caner has admitted in his interview that he had practised torture on 200 left- or right-wing activists after the military coup. He has also revealed the names of detainees who have been killed during torture.

What's more, *Nokta,* basing itself on Caner's revelations, published drawings which explained the different methods of torture used at interrogation centers.

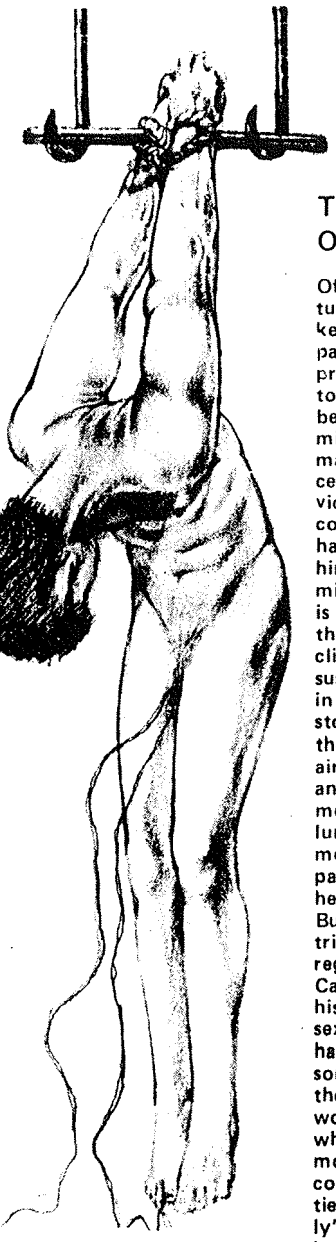
It was after these revelations that polemics were let loose in the Turkish press as well as the National Assembly. While Prime Minister Ozal proclaimed that the author of the admissions was an extreme lefist militant and that his declarations had no credibility at all, the Minister of the Interior accused *Nokta* of taking part in the campaign of lies organized and orchestrated by communist organizations abroad.

However, since martial law has been lifted in a great part of the country, a banning of the weekly by a mere decree from a military commander has not been possible anymore. Nevertheless, while waiting for a decision from the judge of the ban and seizure of the editions which had the former torturer's admissions, thousands of police officers were made to buy in bulk all copies of the daily in each of the country's provinces. Some days later, a justice of the peace in Istanbul decided on confiscating the weekly in question.

As for the former torturer, he has been brought before the Public Prosecutor in Ankara and was arrested immediately to testify before the judiciary. It is possible that he may be tried as a torturer, as well as certain police officers held responsible for their victims' death in certain torture cases.

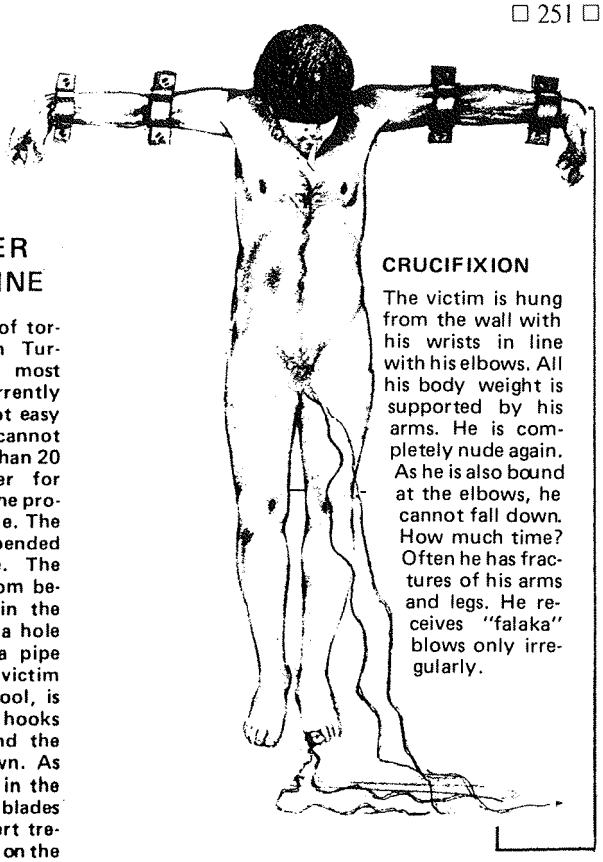
Doubtlessly, all these judicial actions will be held up before world opinion as new proof of the "goodwill" of Turkey's leaders.

But torture is not only the deed of certain sadistic policemen abusing their power, but rather quite a part of the state's repressive poli-



THE HANGER OF PALESTINE

Of all the forms of torture practised in Turkey, this is the most painful. It is currently practised. It is not easy to resist. One cannot bear it for more than 20 minutes. Whether for man or woman, the procedure is the same. The victim is suspended completely nude. The hands are tied from behind with belts in the middle of which a hole is made before a pipe through it. The victim climbs onto a stool, is suspended from hooks in the ceiling and the stool is withdrawn. As the victim hangs in the air, the shoulder blades and the sides exert tremendous pressure on the lungs and at this moment the victim feels a pain so unbearable that he faints after a while. But he is given an electric charge to make him regain consciousness. Cables are attached to his big toe and to his sexual organs. A cable hangs "empty" and is sometimes attached to the nose or ears, in other words, to the places which will hurt him most. The operation continues until the patient responds "correctly" to the questions he is asked.



CRUCIFIXION

The victim is hung from the wall with his wrists in line with his elbows. All his body weight is supported by his arms. He is completely nude again. As he is also bound at the elbows, he cannot fall down. How much time? Often he has fractures of his arms and legs. He receives "falaka" blows only irregularly.

tics which is manifested more brutally with each military intervention.

According to an Amnesty International report titled *Turkey: Victims of Torture Testify* and published in Paris in January, 1986, "Torture is systematic and widespread in Turkey. Anyone detained in this country for political reasons runs great risk of being tortured, and few detainees escape the ill-treatment of all kinds meted out in the commissariats, the prisons and the security forces' interrogation and detention centers.

After the 1980 military coup, the security forces went on to make thousands of arrests. The people arrested by the security forces at the end of the preliminary inquiry numbered 178,565. The duration of detention without a court-warrant was immediately raised to 30 days, then, in November of 1980, to 90 days; in September 1981, this period was reduced to 45 days. Then in May, 1985, to 30 days.

During this period of preliminary inquiry "the police practiced torture in the police stations, but Amnesty International has been made aware of details about torture equally practiced in prisons and other institutions under the control of the army, particularly the prisons of Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Mamak (near Ankara) and Metris in Istanbul. Burning political prisoners with cigarettes seems equally routine in the Buca prison in Izmir and in the Category E special civil prison of Malatya, one of the numerous prisons reserved over the last years for political prisoners and arms dealers.

"The primary reason for torture in the police stations seems to be to obtain admissions

and information. As detailed accounts of torture show, intimidation and humiliation seem to have as much a role in military prisons as in the police stations. Amnesty International has learned equally that prisoners have been interrogated and tortured anew after several years of detention.

"Since the 1980 coup, Amnesty International has given the authorities the names of a hundred people who might have died during their detention. Amnesty International has received a reply from the authorities about 82 of them. In some cases, they declared that procedures or instructions were in process. In others, the deaths were attributed to suicide, accidents or sickness. For the others, a lack of information is blamed or the absence of any record of detention. In nine cases, the person in question was still alive. For the unanswered cases, Amnesty International does not know if investigations have been launched.

"On July 24, 1980, the prime minister's press service published the following information in a document about the cases against torturers.

- Total number of allegations of torture and ill-treatment 897
- Cases under investigation 153
- Complaints without grounds (dropped from investigation) 584
- Cases brought before tribunals 46
- Closed cases 114
- Suspects under arrest 9
- Suspects tried but still not arrested 69
- Suspects acquitted 218
- Sentences to prison 102



THE TORTOISE CELL: The victim enters bent over. He cannot budge: his articulations are blocked. When he leaves, he walks like a hunchback. This breaks his spirit and causes him pain.

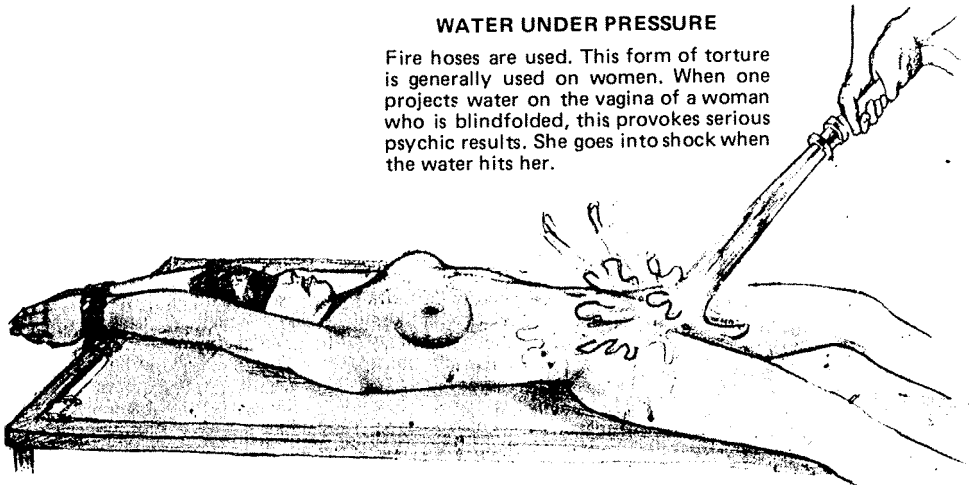
"The Turkish authorities have several times denied the systematic character of torture. Often, during their trial, defendants have declared that they had been tortured, but no investigation seems to have been carried out. With regard to the great number of complaints lodged, Amnesty International estimates that, altogether, very few of them have been the object of an official investigation.

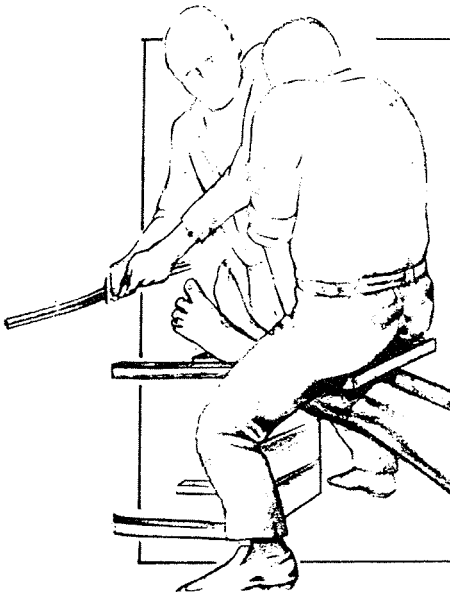
"In April 1985, Amnesty International continued to receive information about detainees being tortured.

"In light of the detailed and repeated information which has been reaching it for some years, Amnesty International thinks that the Turkish government should engage itself with putting an end to torture, respecting human

WATER UNDER PRESSURE

Fire hoses are used. This form of torture is generally used on women. When one projects water on the vagina of a woman who is blindfolded, this provokes serious psychic results. She goes into shock when the water hits her.





THE FALAKA (Blows on the soles of the feet)

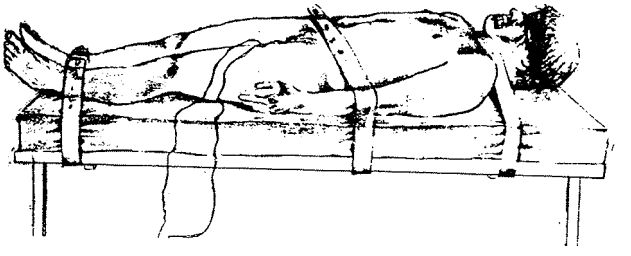
The "Falaka" fashion has already passed. As of now, even the criminals are not submitted to it: they themselves undergo the electric shocks. The "falaka" is little used because it leaves traces. If the victim has received the "falaka," he will urinate blood. When one does not find an appropriate corner for the "falaka," one can use a chair. One puts the feet through the back of a chair, on which someone else sits, in such a way that the victim cannot move. He lies on his back and the police sits in such a way as to block his feet which someone beats, on the soles, with a club or baton.

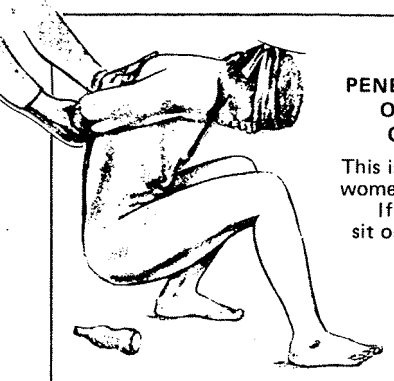


SEPTIC PIT

This is generally applied to the leaders of an organization, when the interrogation is finished and after breaking the victim's spirit. He is put in the septic pit up to the neck. He does not leave it until he has to follow the call of nature. When he leaves the pit, he has on his body fist-sized lumps of filth.

OPERATION TABLE: It is called a table, but it is not really one. It is a cot. There are belts at certain points of the cot. The victim is tied by his feet and hands, completely nude with eyes blindfolded. Afterwards, his body is wet with salty water to assure that the current passes through his entire body. The salty water is thrown on both the victim and the cot. Therefore, when the electric charge comes, it goes through his whole body.





PENETRATION OF BOTTLE OR BATON

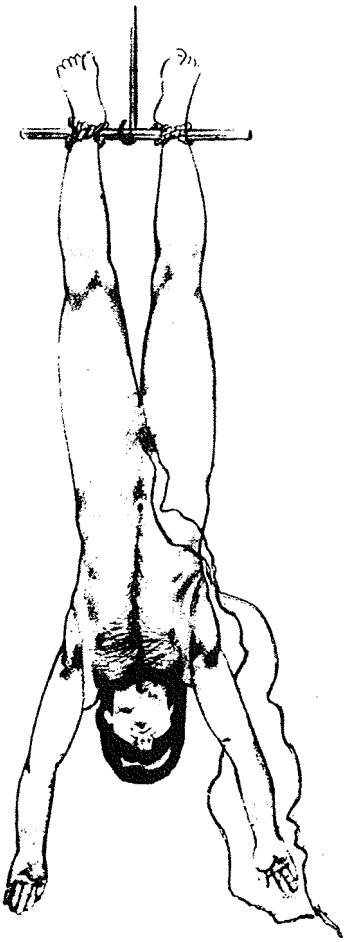
This is applied to women and men. If the victims sit on Coca-cola bottles, the bottles are filled with blood

rights, and putting in action the following measures:

- The highest Turkish authorities should give clear and public instructions to all those responsible for the detention, interrogation and care of prisoners, indicating that torture will not be tolerated under any circumstances.
- Steps should be taken so that secret detention does not facilitate or give rise to torture. The government should bring it about that all detainees are quickly brought before the courts after their arrest, and that relatives, lawyers and doctors can visit them quickly and regularly.
- Family and lawyers should be quickly informed of where the prisoner is being kept. None should be detained secretly.
- An independent body should regularly

THE BUTCHER'S HANGER

There are two kinds of hangers in an interrogation room: the butcher's hanger and the hanger of Palestine. They both are fixed to the same place: the ceiling. If one does not work, the other is used. Weights are attached to each but the means of using them is different. Again, there is a pipe, two hooks and a belt. The difference from the other? Here the victim hangs by his feet and he is completely nude.

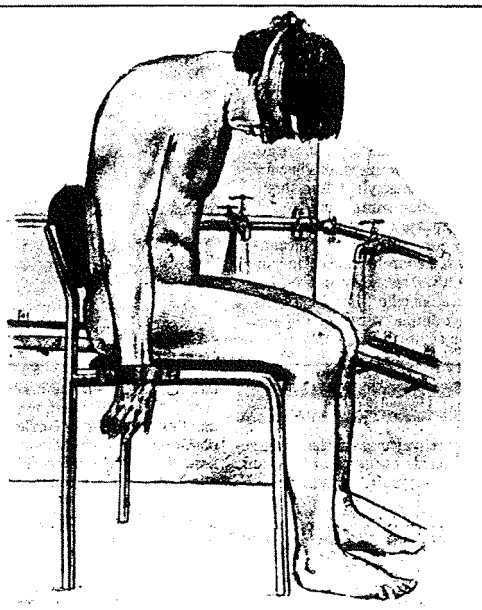


visit the detention centers, to ensure that torture is not being practiced there.

• The Turkish government should institute an impartial commission charged with investigating all complaints and information about torture; the methods and results of the investigation should be made public.

• The admissions and other declarations obtained through torture should in no case be used during a case.

• Each time it is proved that a functionary committed or instigated torture, court proceedings should be brought against him, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on torture.



SALTY CHEESE

Pipes are installed around a room and fitted with taps. The room has taps all around. The victim is set in the middle of the room with hands and feet tied. He is given very salty cheese to eat. The taps are then allowed to run incessantly.

• It should be clearly taught that torture is a crime, to the functionaries, members of the armed forces, and those responsible for the detention, interrogation and care of prisoners. These functionaries should be informed that it is their duty to refuse the torturer's order. The United Nations Code of Conduct for those responsible for applying the law and all regulations of the treatment of detainees should be widely distributed.

• Torture victims and their families should receive reparation and compensation for their moral and physical suffering, without prejudice to any other civil action or penal process."

Those really responsible for torture

It should be remembered right away that the civil government coming out of the 1983 legislative elections have not taken up to now any initiative to put into practice the steps Amnesty International proposed.

Although a parliamentary inquiry commission was formed in 1985 to control prison conditions it has not effected a serious investigation into prisons directed by the military. The majority of political prisoners are still in military-directed *jails,* despite the lifting of martial law in many provinces.

As we have pointed out several times, despite the fact that the present government is a civil one, the real power rests in the hands of the military.

The military never gives authorization to investigate their responsibility in practices of torture, because it is they that institutionalized torture as an interrogation method when they overthrew the civil government and forced the National Assembly to proclaim martial law in 1971.

It is during the two-year period after this first repressive coup that a department of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces made its name as the author of all kinds of measures, such as manhunt and torture. We are talking about the Counter-guerilla Organization. The official title of this organization is "The Department of Special Warfare."

Several witnesses to torture during this period have revealed irrefutably that even the generals and colonels in this department have practiced torture in the interrogation centers. Figuring equally among them are the martial law commanders.

Following these revelations, after the return to civil rule in 1973, this department returned to its clandestine activities again. Alarmed by the department's illegal and anti-democratic practices, Mr Bülent Ecevit tried several times as prime minister to show evidence of its status and subversive activities, but he came up against the refusal of the Army Chiefs.

Between 1973 and 1980, the Counter-guerilla organization maintained close relations with the neo-fascist party of ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes and provided this party with arms and covered its violence acts. What is more, the department had a "special bureau" known as "Bayraktarlik" and located in Cyprus, which gave asylum to extreme right-wing political assassins who have killed progressive people.

The purpose of this department's collaboration with neo-fascist assassins (the Grey Wolves) was to provoke political violence in the country and to furnish the army with the pretext for a new coup.

On September 12, 1980 - as soon as their objective was accomplished - the Grey Wolves, who were responsible for the deaths of more than five thousand victims of political violence, stopped their activities.

As for the officers of the Counter-Guerilla Organization, they immediately put in practice all instruments of repression, including the special interrogation centers.

After the modification of the law on martial law use, all the security forces, including the police and the gendarmerie were put under the command of martial law officers.

Therefore, all torture practices, whether in the Counter-Guerilla Organization's special interrogation centers, in the police stations or in the military or civil prisons, have been inflicted either by the military or by police directed by them.

As Amnesty International has indicated, with regards to the great number of complaints lodged, very few have been the object of an official inquiry. In fact, since the coup, more than 200,000 people have been detained without court warrant by the security forces for preliminary inquest. During the trial of more than fifty thousand politically accused before the military tribunals, thousands of complaints were lodged about the practice of torture and ill-treatment. The military judges have systematically refused to carry out an investigation into these complaints.

In fact, in several cases where a complaint was lodged, evidence of torture had been inflicted during the first days of the detention-without court-warrant, whose duration was 90 days at the start and shortly after was reduced to 45 days. Furthermore, of the 897 complaints of torture, only 153 have been investigated and only 102 torturers have been sentenced to prison. Among those sentenced only about two have actually been incarcerated. As for the others, they kept their jobs at interrogation centers and continued to practice

torture while waiting for the higher court's decision.

What's more, all the torturers sentenced are policemen who, through lack of experience, left traces or caused their victims' deaths during torture. As for the Army officers practicing torture, they have been "well-trained" by the Counter-Guerilla Organization and leave no traces.

To save face following protest by European circles against torture in Turkey, the military have accused some policemen as scapegoats and have presented themselves as "paragons of virtue" in the fight against the torturers.

In spite of all the claims that Turkey might have ended the period of military rule with legislative elections in 1983, testimony about torture inflicted on political prisoners does not stop coming.

Even after the "friendly settlement" between Turkey and five European countries, the Turkish press published several cases of torture. According to this settlement, the State Supervisory Council created by Article 108 of the 1982 Constitution has been charged with seeing to it that all the authorities (including those at the detention centers, the police stations and the civil and military prisons) strictly observe the obligations Turkey assumed under Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

But, this agreement on Turkey's part has no value, because according to the Constitution "the armed forces and the judicial bodies are outside the competence of the State Supervisory Council." Moreover, "members of the Council, including their president, are nominated by the president of the Republic..."

Given that General Evren was the chief of General Staff from 1977 to 1982 and commander in chief of the Armed Forces with the title of "President of the Republic" since 1982, he is personally responsible for all forms of torture practiced by the military.

Amnesty International's report on torture

The first comprehensive Amnesty International Report on torture in connection with the post-coup period was presented by Anne Burley to the meeting of the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe on April 28, 1981. The report reads:

"I have been Amnesty International's researcher responsible for work on Turkey since 1972 and have visited Turkey in my professional capacity six times, most recently from April 17-25 this year, when I was one of two delegates who conducted discussions with the Turkish authorities about Amnesty International's concerns in Turkey. The other delegate was Admiral Backer, recently retired from the Dutch Navy. Our official meetings were with General Öztorun, Deputy Chief of Staff, General Ergun, the Ankara Martial Law Commander, General Bölögirey, Coordinator of the Martial Law Commands, Fahri Görgülü, Director of the Turkish police, Mr. Turkmen, the Foreign Minister and Professor Oztrak, Minister of State. We also had unofficial meetings with former Prime Ministers Ecevit and Demirel, with lawyers - including the Presidents of the Turkish and Istanbul Bar Associations - with journalists, relatives of detainees and released detainees.

"Although we were not able to meet a member of the National Security Council, as we had requested, and were informed in advance that we would not be able to talk to prisoners, we otherwise met with cooperation from the Turkish authorities and were not impeded in our attempts to collect information from other sources about those matters of concern to Amnesty International. I should, however, point out that those in authority to whom we spoke were not always entirely straightforward with us and sometimes appeared deliberately to mislead us. The matters which we discussed and about which we were seeking additional information were prisoners of conscience - people who are imprisoned because of their political beliefs, religion or ethnic origin, who have not advocated or committed violence; fair trials for all political prisoners; cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners and the use of the death penalty. The main emphasis of my statement to you will be on the treatment of prisoners, but I am willing to expand on the other matters if requested.

"Before our visit to Turkey, Amnesty International had received a considerable number of allegations that prisoners in Turkey had been subjected to torture. We had information about 22 cases of people who died in custody since the military takeover on September 12,

1980. These cases had been referred to the authorities and many of them had been mentioned in the Turkish press. The authorities had responded by stating that torture was not permitted under Turkish law, was not tolerated by the authorities and that all allegations would be investigated. Some investigations have taken place, and in some cases prosecutions of those responsible for the ill-treatment have followed. Amnesty International welcomes this indication that torture is not officially tolerated in Turkey, but in our discussions with the authorities we insisted that our experience led us to believe that further precautions were necessary to safeguard prisoners from ill-treatment. In particular we emphasized the dangers of a law permitting detainees to be held for up to 90 days, without access to lawyers or relatives. In practice even this period is sometimes exceeded. We pointed out the need for clear, precise and public instructions to military and police personnel that ill-treatment of prisoners was unequivocally forbidden.

"I am sorry to say that the information we obtained in Turkey from unofficial sources confirms our belief, based on earlier information, that torture is widespread in Turkey at the present time and is carried out as a routine practice in police stations and in some military establishments all over the country.

"I have brought back from Turkey statements from people who have been tortured -some of whom I interviewed - medical reports supporting the allegations, information about torture provided by journalists, lawyers and relatives, and a list of 106 people, some in prison, some free, who are prepared to testify to torture of themselves and others. The pattern and methods of torture, the places where it occurs and the equipment used establishes, I think, without doubt a systematic practice, not an occasional aberration on the part of individual policemen and soldiers. Methods of torture include *falaka* (beating on the soles of the feet), electric shocks to all parts of the body, rape by truncheon or stick and beating on all parts of the body. Torture allegations come from all over Turkey, but some places recur frequently - these include the 1st section of Police HQs in Ankara and Istanbul, Police HQ in Bursa, Davutpasa Prison in Istanbul, Uskudar Police Station in Istanbul and Samandra Military Barracks in Istanbul.

"This information makes a clear and, I think, irrefutable case that torture is being practiced on such a large scale in Turkey that it is impossible that it is carried out without official sanction. Although, as I said earlier, in some cases, especially when a death has occured, an investigation is initiated by the authorities, not all allegations brought to their attention have been investigated, and in those cases where investigations have taken place, there are sometimes doubts that the action taken by the authorities is sufficient to ensure that their intentions concerning torture of prisoners are made unmistakeably clear. The case of Ilhan Erdost provides two examples which may serve to illustrate my point: although the four soldiers charged with beating Mr Erdost to death are in prison while their trial continues, the NCO also charged in connection with the death remains at liberty. This is particularly remarked on at a time when many other people, not even accused of involvement in violent actions, have been held in detention for many months. The second example concerns the statement made by the Commander of Mamak Military Prison, Colonel Raci Tetik, to the Ankara Martial Law Prosecutor, in connection with the investigation into the death of Ilhan Erdost. He said: "I had given orders that after the preliminaries were completed all prisoners, with the exception of the aged, women and children, the lame and the diseased, be struck with a truncheon once or twice each below the waist in their rude places and on the palms of their hands and they should be warned not to come to prison again. I am not going to deny my order. My aim is to ensure discipline." On November 11, 1980, Captain Sezai Aydinalp, the Deputy Military Prosecutor, sent 25 documents from his investigation and a letter to the Ankara Martial law Commander's Office formally notifying that an offence had been committed by Colonel Raci Tetik under Articles 109 and 456 of the Turkish Penal Code and asking for articles 93 and subsequent articles of law 353 to be invoked. No action appears to have been taken to date against Colonel Tetik.

"I was told many times of the difficulties encountered by people who try to make complaints of torture and of threats to them and their families. One such case is that of Hasan Ayvaz, a member of the Maras Committee of the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Party who was taken into custody in January 1981 and

TWO CONFESSIONS FOR SAME ACT!

Two different groups were tried before different tribunals for the assassination of a goldsmith in 1979 in Ankara. While Bünyamin Karaman, Adalet Erbas and Süleyman Sagol were being judged for this assassination before the 3rd Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara, Ali Baspinar, Alper Tunga, Levent Yakis and Mehmet Baha Cetintas were also accused for the same act in another trial, that of 574 defendants of Dev-Yol. Both sides assumed responsibility for the assassination at their police interrogation!

tortured. His father put in a formal complaint on his behalf to the authorities and was himself then detained and tortured. He was forced to give the name of the lawyer, Mustafa Unutmaz, who drew up the complaint and in February Mr Unutmaz was also detained and tortured. His father went to Ankara and informed lawyers, which resulted in a complaint from the President of the Turkish Bar Association to the Minister of Justice about this interference with a lawyer in the pursuit of his professional duties. Mr Unutmaz was subsequently released about one month after his detention;

"As far as I know, his client remains in prison, although the Party of which he was a member has not advocated or committed violence. Other officials of the same Party have been tortured and are in prison.

"This brings me to another of Amnesty International's concerns, which is the detention of many people who have clearly not been involved in the violence which has indeed created a state of emergency in Turkey in recent years. Among these are the Executive Committee members of the Workers' Party of Turkey, officials of DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey), and members of the National Salvation Party who are on trial at the present time. Mr. Ahmet Isvan, the former Mayor of Istanbul, is another detainee who cannot conceivably be connected with violence. In addition, Amnesty International has been given information about journalists who have been sentenced for articles they have written, and about lawyers, in addition to the case already mentioned, who have been detained in the course of performing their professional duties. I heard only yesterday that Mr. Ercüment Tahiroglu, one of the lawyers for the DISK officials, has himself been taken into custody in Istanbul. All the lawyers with whom I spoke, including the presidents of the Bar Associations, emphasized the difficulties they experienced in preparing an adequate defence of their clients and in particular they stressed the dangers of the 90 day period of detention during which they are denied access to their clients. This denial of access to detainees was returned to again and again by families, lawyers and others concerned with the welfare of detainees. Lawyers are also concerned by the new law which states that sentences of under three years are not subject to appeal.

"I would like to make it quite clear that Amnesty International is not suggesting that torture started for the first time after the military take-over in September 1980. During my previous visit to Turkey in May 1980, I found that it was being carried out on a large scale, and I was provided with information about torture by both right and left wing parties and groups. Amnesty International has brought allegations of torture to the attention of all governments in Turkey during the past 10 years. In a recent editorial in the periodical *Arayis,* Mr. Bulent Ecevit stated that torture was almost a tradition with Turkish police, was due to lack of proper training in methods of detention and was practised under all governments in varying degrees. The issue in which he wrote this was banned, as have been other papers which reported torture allegations. However, the number of detainees held at present and the extension of the detention period to 90 days have undoubtedly exacerbated the situation, and new deaths in custody are being brought to the attention of Amnesty International all the time. I was given a list of 36 people said to have died in custody since September 1980, including the 22 names already known to Amnesty International.

"No one in Turkey denies that torture takes place: the question is on what scale and to what extent it can be said to be government policy. I would like to point out that torture can be practised routinely and on a large scale - as I believe is happening in Turkey today - without an order to this effect having come from the highest level, but to prevent torture occurring it is necessary that the authorities address themselves to the problem with vigour and determination. I am not convinced that the actions taken so far by the authorities in Turkey have resulted in any cessation of torture. The question of access to detainees is crucial, and until detainees are given access to lawyers and fami-

lies throughout the period of detention, I am afraid that torture will continue."

With the purpose of discrediting Amnesty International, the military junta launched a campaign to refute this human rights group's claims.

A group of Turkish journalists was invited to inspect the military jail of Mamak in Ankara, on February 23, 1982, but this invitation was not extended to foreign correspondents.

Nevertheless, the Financial Times gathered the impressions of the Turkish journalists visiting the jail and published them in the issue of February 25, 1982:

"Five prisoners squatted by the wall in the small prison yard at the Mamak military jail in Ankara. It was the first sunny day for months, but they did not seem to be enjoying it. About 60 other prisoners jogged round the yard in military formation.

"The five prisoners - men in their twenties with shorn hair and pallid complexions - remained outside the formation so that the group of Turkish journalists could take their photographs.

"The five men seemed to the spokesman selected from among several thousand held in the prison - one of Turkey's biggest - on the grounds that they would give evidence against Amnesty. The correspondents, and the prison authorities, who probably shared the same assumption, could not be more wrong.

"'*There is torture in Turkey*', said Mr. Nasuh Mitap, according to a tape recording of the interview heard by the Financial Times.

"'There is a lot of torture. Torture has made me lame. They broke my back. For a long time I could not walk. I have seen a lot of my friends being tortured. There are reports, medical reports.'

"Mr. Melih Pakdemir said: 'What we want is to be treated like human beings and to be given an opportunity to prepare our defence. Torture is something relative. It is true that there is repression in jail. We are grilled for between 12 and 14 hours every day. Everything here is done by command. If anybody disobeys a command - moves even slightly - he is clubbed by the nearest soldier. One can also be taken to the cage and beaten there.'

"A journalist asked Mr. Pakdemir whether he had been subjected to such treatment.

"*There is no one who hasn't,*" he replied. *'I, too.'*

"Had he a message for Amnesty International?

"'Yes. There is moral and physical repression. At this moment'.

"Mr. Oguzhan Müftuoglu and Mr. Ali Baspinar refused to speak on torture allegations.

"The fifth detainee collapsed and started whimpering before the interview, which took place on Tuesday. He was Mr. Ulvi Oguz.

"Colonel Raci Tetik, the prison director, who accompanied the journalists, said: 'He is putting on a show.' A correspondent said he wanted a doctor's opinion. The colonel had the prison doctor fetched who said that Mr. Oguz was suffering from 'nervous collapse.' He said this was common in Mamak.

"Talking to correspondents afterwards, Col. Tetik said: 'This is a prison run by the army of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey). Absolutely nothing is done here to hurt human rights."

SOLDIER'S WORD!

ANKARA, March 17, 1981 (AFP) - Mustafa Kemal Camkiran, a member of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP), was arrested on Tuesday at the airport of Ankara, immediately after arriving by plane form the Federal Republic of Germany.

Camkiran, who had been a refugee in FRG since the military coup d'état of September 12, 1980, is the first of the 275 Turkish refugees whom Ankara summoned to return to Turkey and give themselves up to the authorities.

Camkiran explained that by his decision to return, he wanted to underline the positive efforts being made in his country to return to parliamentary democracy.

The Turkish Prime Minister B. Ulusu declared on Saturday that everyone "who did not betray the country... could be sure of their rights" and "should not be afraid of a confrontation with the honest and independent Turkish judges."

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ANKARA, March 19, 1981 (AFP) - Mustafa Kemal Camkiran, a member of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP), was beaten black and blue on his arrival at the prison of Ankara. This revelation was made by his attorneys, Mm. Ugur Uzer and Nusret Senem. They claimed that there were many echmoses on his hands and his body.

Torture team: "DAL" group

Turkey Solidarity Campaign's "Turkey Information Bulletin" gave in its March 1982 issue the following information about torture centers in Ankara:

"In Ankara, there are two torture centers for political prisoners. One is the Ankara Police Headquarters, 6th Floor; the other is the next door building, the 'Yusuf Kahraman Police School', known as the DAL Group. This particular building is on the grounds of the Police Headquarters and is joined to it by a corridor.

"The DAL Group is a number of interrogators made up of members from the Ankara Police Headquarters and the MIT (National Intelligence organization). They are directly answerable to the Political Police Branch and to the MIT. The DAL Group chief is Kemal Yazicioglu, nicknamed 'the Doctor'.

"Each interrogation team consists of 7 people, including its head, and each has special responsibilities. The most important team is the 1st Interrogation Team which has two policemen and two MIT members. Bekir Pullu is in charge of this team. They apply various methods of torture such as electro-shock, cold water and snow baths, hanging, crucifixion, falaka (beating on the soles)..."

Police officer Ekrem Ozbey said on April 13, 1982, at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara: "All interrogations at the Police Headquarters are made under torture. I also participated in some torture practices. Later on I resigned from the police service."

At the 1st Martial Law Court of Ankara, police officer Rahman Gümrükçü said on April 6: "If the detainee does not tell the truth, he is tortured and then interrogated once more."



At the trial on the death of publisher Ilhan Erdost, on April 16, witnesses said that the sergeant and soldiers at the Mamak Military Prison beat each new detainee.

On April 19, Superintendent Tugman Aykin, witness in the Kurtulus Trial at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara, said that he made moral pressure on detainees in order to get their deposition.

Labour and peace leaders' torture allegations

Although the military authorities claimed that the torture allegations coming from detained political militants could not be credible since they were given on the instruction of "clandestine" organizations, many important personalities being tried before military tribunals declared that they, too, had been tortured at interrogation centers.

The testimony of DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk has been given in previous chapters. At the same trial, other DISK leaders made the following declarations:

Celal Küçük: "I was interrogated under heavy torture at the police. They took me there blindfolded. When they got me out of the car, they hit me on my back. I was led into a large, dark building where I heard the noises of a crowd. There, they interrogated me under torture. At this moment I heard cries and clamours. They were forcing the people to cry: 'Down with Bastürk' (President of DISK)."

Kemal Nebioglu: "I did not make a statement to the police. They blindfolded me and led me somewhere. There, I was tortured for seven days and nights. They said: 'If you don't make a deposition as we wish, we'll kill you, and we'll say, in our report, that you tried to run away.'"

As for the Chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, he was kept under inhuman conditions in prison despite his serious health situation. On September 13, 1982, Amnesty International issued the following alert:

"A biopsy on a prostate tumour revealed that this tumour was malignant and the doctors have recommended an immediate operation. Delay might put the life of Dikerdem in danger. Amnesty International thinks that the military hospital where he is presently being treated is not equipped for such an operation.

Would you please send urgent appeals to the Turkish authorities, expressing your strongly-felt anxiety and insist on his immediate release in order to be operated on in a civil hospital. If possible, would you please organize appeals by doctors' organizations."

Amnesty International issued on April 6, 1983 another detailed report on the violation of human rights in Turkey:

"Since the coup, Amnesty International's concerns in Turkey have been about large numbers of prisoners of conscience, widespread and systematic torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners, and the imposition and execution of the death penalty. In April 1981, Amnesty International sent a mission to Turkey to discuss these concerns with the authorities. In January and August 1982 and April 1983, other Amnesty International missions visited Turkey to observe trials."

"All political offences are tried by martial law courts, except for some press offences which are tried in civilian courts. Since the coup AI has received complaints from lawyers acting in cases heard by Martial Law courts of the difficulties they face in preparing the defence case, in particular of the lack of sufficient access to their clients and the conditions under which consultation with clients takes place. AI remains concerned about the restrictions of the right to appeal in sentences of over six months, and the continuation of the 45-day detention period during which detainees are not usually given access to lawyers or families. Most allegations of torture relate to the detention period."

"The most recent case of a death in custody reported to AI is that of Mustafa Hayrullahoglu who was detained in Istanbul in October/November 1982. It is doubtful if all allegations of tortures reported to the authorities are subjected to investigation. A Dutch lawyer who attended hearings in three mass trials in Turkey in January 1983 reported that in each trial defendants stated that the statements being used as evidence had been obtained by torture."

A victim of torture at the E.P.

During a press conference organized by the Socialist Group on October 6, 1983, at the European Parliament in Brussels, Ludwig Fellenmaier, chairman of the EEC/Turkey Commission, which has been supended for some time, presented a victim of torture to the press. His name is Sahabettin Buz, a Turkish citizen residing for the moment in West-Germany.

Buz went to Turkey in September 1982 to do his military service. Two weeks later he was arrested by the gendarmerie and ill-treated for several days. He was hanged up by his wrists, had his genitals injured, was forced to drink his urine and to eat his excrements. He was subjected to such brutal beatings that the skin of his feet burst.

On the one hand, Buz was blamed for being a member of a German trade union and, on the other, the Youth Center of the City of Hanover, where Buz was employed as an engineer, was accused of being Maoist or Leninist. In addition, they accused him of reading trade-union publications and of taking part in May Day demonstrations. As Buz refused to sign a piece of paper "proving" his adherence to an illegal leftwing organization of Turkey, he was tortured by means of electric shocks. Besides, the names of the state officials who tortured him are known. As he was subjected to torture, Buz signed a confession, the content of which he did not know.

Though seriously injured, Buz got merely aspirins at Antakya hospital where he had been brought at his request. After 50 days spent in police custody, Buz was transferred into a military prison where all inmates were tortured by soldiers. The only charge against him was his "confession". On March 29, 1983, the Adana Military Court N°1 acquitted Buz. Despite this judgment, Buz was subsequently threatened several times, deprived of his pass and forbidden to leave Turkey. Yet, he managed to cross the border and to return to West Germany.

Prisoners' acts of resistance

In protest against ill-treatment and torture, political prisoners many times have resorted to different forms of resistance.

On September 23, 1981, Kazim Karaçiçek, a defendant in the "Emergency Group's" trial, announced in the court room that the group had started and ended a hunger strike. "We warned the competent authorities of the ill-treatment in prison. But they took no heed of our warnings, so we started a hunger strike... Even after we ended this action, they deprived us of water, newspapers and visits by our parents", he said.

On october 31, 1981, in the military prison of Elazig, 216 political detainees revolted against torture and ill-treatment.

On January 8, 1982, ninety-one women detainees of the Mamak Military Prison in Ankara were brought before military tribunal for rebelling against prison conditions. They declared that the Prison Director insulted them by crying "Whores..."

On February 21, 1982, in Erzurum, 325 defendants of the Dev-Yol Trial started a hunger strike in military prison.

On March 15, 1982, on the first day of the Dev-Sol Trial, 428 defendants refused to declare their identities unless an investigation into tortures and ill-treatment applied in Metris prison was started.

On May 13, 1982, other political prisoners from the same prison joined the protest action and went on a hunger strike.

In June 1982, 250 political prisoners in Gölcük Military Prison went on a hunger-strike.

On January 3, 1983, it was reported that 32 detained women had been enclosed in coffins to force them to own up their "anti-governmental activities." According to their lawyers, the women were placed in wooden coffins of 1.75 X 0.75 X 0.75 mtrs.

In March 1983, Dev-Yol/Fatsa Trial's defendants, in Amasya, refused to answer the judge's questions or to take their places in the docks, protesting against the procedure.

On April 9, 1983, military tribunal N° 3, on the pretext of breach of discipline, deprived 1,116 detainees of Metris Prison in Istanbul of their right to receive visitors.

In May 1983, the Police Department asked prison administrations to take strict measures against the activities of political prisoners in jails. According to the Department, political prisoners continued their activities in jails by corresponding among themselves with messages in Morse.

During this resistance, many international human rights organizations attempted to visit Turkish military prisons and to have firsthand information on the conditions of imprisonment; But all attempts were foiled by the military junta.

A delegation of the International Federation on Human Rights publicized this obstruction in January 1983. Lawyer Peter Aerbersold, Doctor Jean-Alain Dubois and Translator Helmut Oberdiek reported the story of their mission of November 18-27, 1982, as follows:

"At the French Embassy we were informed that the relations between France and Turkey were already strained enough (probably because of the Armenian question), and for this reason the French Ambassador could not do anything for us.

"At the Swiss Embassy we were received by the Ambassador Mr Dieter Chenaux-Repond. He immediately contacted the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office and the Ministry of Justice were not ready to receive us and still less to let us enter the prisons.

"After being ploughed before the civilian authorities, we looked for a possibility from the military. General Recep Ergün, the head of the Military Justice of Ankara told us that it was legally impossible to visit a military prison.

"A few days later, we could only see from the outside the Military Prison of Mamak which is located in an enormous and entirely closed military area. We could hear prisoners being drilled to marching songs.

"The Foreign Office, which received us shortly after, let us know very directly that the civilian authorities did not want any mission of inquiry either from the Red Cross, from the Council of Europe, from Amnesty International, from the IFHR or from any other organization. Such delegations would always come with prejudices that would easily be confirmed their stay in the country. Turkey, as an independent country, should be answerable to nobody. Each time that we requested permission to visit military prisons, the objection was raised that they were closed even to Turkish lawyers, doctors, scientists, politicians or reporters.

"It was difficult to get information from concerned persons (ex-prisoners, relatives of prisoners or defendants at liberty). Most of them refused to express their opinions on their trials or on jail conditions because they were afraid of reprisals... Indeed, we have some reliable information on the civilian prisons and penitentiaries, while we have to rely on testimonies that we cannot verify concerning the military ones. The serious allegations against the military prisons will not be refuted as long as the Turkish authorities are not interested in giving information in an objective manner and especially in accepting neutral observers. In any case, we cannot lessen any of the allegations raised."

Amnesty International on February 17, 1983, issued a press release reporting an interview with Kurdish lawyer Hüseyin Yildirim who was imprisoned in Diyarbakir Military Prison from November 1981 to July 1982 and now lives in Sweden.

In his interviews, Yildirim described in detail his own torture and that of other prisoners in Diyarbakir Military Prison, most of whom are, like him, ethnic Kurds.

Amnesty International arranged for him to receive medical examination after his arrival in Sweden. The medical report of November 2, 1982, stated that he "shows signs of external violent injury to the head by a blunt weapon, both upper extremities, the trunk and both lower extremities, and that the injuries may well have occurred as a result of the torture he describes."

In the same press release, it was announced that Mazlum Dogan, another detainee in the same prison, died in custody on March 21, 1982. According to the Turkish authorities, he committed suicide by hanging himself with his tie. Hüseyin Yildirim says that Dogan was tortured badly for 15 days starting from March 6, 1982.

Kemal Pir and Mehmet Hayri Durmus were reported to have died in custody in September 1982, after having been on hunger strike together with other members of PKK, in protest against torture and inadequate defence facilities.

First mass hunger strike in prisons

Protesting against inhuman conditions of detention, some 2,500 prisoners went on a hunger strike on July 4th, 1983, in the prisons of Metris, Sultanahmet, Kabakoz and Sagmalcilar in Istanbul. This act of resistance later spread to other military prisons in the cities of Ankara, Diyarbakir, Corum, Adana, Erzurum and Elazig. Although the action was stopped in some prisons because of harsher practices by the military authorities, the total number of political prisoners who started hunger strikes of various durations at different times amounted in the middle of August to some 6,000.

In a common appeal to world opinion, more than 2,000 political prisoners being tried in the trials of Dev-Yol, Dev-Sol, Partizan, TDKP, Devrimci Kurtulus, Halkin Devrimci Oncüleri, PKK, Devrimci Halkin Birligi, Halkin Birligi, Cayan Sempatizanlari, Dev-Savas, Birlik Yolu, Acil, Rizgari, Kawa, TDY, Kurtulus, THKP-C Savascilar, Partizan Yolu, TIKB, Halkin Yolu and Eylem Birligi explained the reasons for the hunger strike and their demands as follows:

"Since the fascist junta seized power, thousands of progressives and patriots have been tortured in police stations, in the political police department, in buildings of MIT (the National Intelligence Service), in military barracks and headquarters. Torture has become a widespread and systematic method of inquiry. Hundreds of people were killed under torture. The proceedings allegedly instituted against torturers are solely designed for deceiving world opinion. In addition to people murdered under torture, hundreds of progressive and democratic people have been shot dead in the streets and in the mountains by police and army units. And more than 20 progressives were executed following trials which were a mere mockery.

"In his speeches, Evren claims that he did not set up extraordinary courts. That is simply because he had no need of this. For the existing military courts are themselves extraordinary. The bills of indictment are based on confessions obtained under torture. In mass trials, the prisoners are not brought together to court; only groups of 10 or 15 are allowed. Court proceedings take place without previously proving the defendants' identity, without previous judicial inquiry; in some cases the defendants never appear in court. The witnesses are brainwashed before being brought to court; defendants are given no opportunity to defend themselves; they are not even allowed to read their petitions; the time allowed for the defence is very short, and sometimes the defendant is not allowed to speak. In short, the trials are just designed to deceive public opinion.

"The period of detention, which lasted 90 days during the first year of military rule, was reduced to 45 days when the law allowing police to take any prisoner from prison for interrogation, was passed. Consequently, the period of detention is unlimited. Prisoners face at any moment the threat of being kept in detention, but they are resisting as much as possible the enforcement of this fascist law. During such an operation in the Istanbul-Alemdag Military prison, two revolutionaries, Hakan Mermeroluk and Serif Akkaya, were killed by gas-bombs.

"The military prisons of the fascist junta are centers of torture. Since September 12th, 1980, military training and torture have been prevalent in Turkish prisons. With this military training, they want the prisoners to be subordinate to the officers as well as soldiers, to salute the symbols of the junta, to be subjected to the junta's education, to have their hair shaved completely; in short, they want to deprive a prisoner of all human rights and to make him lose his dignity. To resist against these coercive measures means to be tortured, to be beaten, to be subjected to all kinds of repression, not to be allowed to meet lawyers or relatives, to be deprived of the right to go out for fresh air, to get newspapers and books. In Diyarbakir, Ankara/ Mamak prisons, many people have become insane or disabled; there are even people who committed suicide as a result of depression. For istance, in the summer of 1982 in Istanbul/ Metris Military Prison, Hakki Hocaoglu was not hospitalized, although he was in a state of depression; consequently, they let him commit suicide. In prisons, interviews with lawyers are forbidden; or 15-20 prisoners are given only 20 minutes to have interviews with their lawyers, and these interviews are heard by the soldiers. Beside, there is no opportunity to prepare defense in prisons, and, recently, martial law command has forbidden the prisoners to get paper and pens. Petitions are seized by the prison administration while the prisoners are being brought to court. The relatives cannot give them any clothes or food during the interviews, which last only a few minutes. Progressive, revolutionary prisoners have been resisting against this torture for years; they started hunger strikes many times. Countless hunger strikes, which lasted 10 to 30 or more than 40 days and in which all the prisoners took part were organized. At the end of each hunger strike, the representatives of the junta said 'we will stop the torture, we will recognize your rights'; but torture, beatings and prohibitions still continue.

"Today, the fascist junta is applying more and more intensively the methods of torture and repression in the prisons of Istanbul. According to a new regulation, the prisons will be subordinate to the Ministry of Interiour and will be ruled by the Commissioners of Police. Besides, new prisons of one or two-man cells are being built; the revolutionaries who resist these forms of repression and who are in the position of being leaders of certain groupings will be put in these prisons. The aim is to torture and put under pressure these revolutionaries, who are selected from various prisons. One of these 'cells-type' prisons was opened in Istanbul/Sagmalcilar on July 4th, 1983. Revolutionary prisoners, selected from various prisons in Istanbul, were brought to this new prison. As the prisoners were entering the prison building, they were beaten until they fainted; all prisoners have their hair completely shaved, their civilian clothes are seized and they are forced to put on the prison uniforms. The attempt to make the revolutionary prisoners wear prison uniform is a new step in the enforcement of military rules. And this method is now applied in Istanbul. Torture and repression done to force the prisoners to wear these uniforms are prevalent in the prisons of Mamak, Diyarbakir, Antakya, Bartin, Canakkale and Malatya. In the cells-type prison of Sagmalcilar, political prisoners refused to wear prison uniforms, despite torture and beatings, and replied with anti-fascist slogans.

"Revolutionary prisoners will never surrender in the face of torture and repression. The revolutionaries (who are put into one-man cells in Sagmalcilar Prison and are facing torture and bloody intrigues) and more than 2,000 political prisoners in various prisons in Istanbul have started an unlimited hunger strike in protest against torture, oppression and various prohibitions. Their demands are:

"- Withdrawal of prison uniforms and the return of civilian clothes,"

"- An end to torture, oppression and all kinds of prohibitions (regarding interviews with lawyers, families, going out for fresh air, obtaining books and writing letters)"

"- The one-man cell system should be destroyed and the system of wards reestablished,"

"- Recognition of all rights of political prisoners."

After the hunger strike started, hundreds of political prisoners were severely tortured, and at least 150 of them were hospitalized as a result of this torture.

The prisoners' relatives who protested in front of the prison buildings against the enforcement of these measures were also beaten up. One of the parents who could not bear this situation attempted to burn himself but was rescued.

After a few months, another mass hunger-

strike was started in the military prison of Diyarbakir by Kurdish prisoners, and about 2,000 detainees participated.

Amnesty International reported that the hunger strike was started on September 2, 1983, by one group of prisoners with most other inmates joining afterwards.

During the trials of members of political organizations such as PKK, DDKD, Kurtulus, KIP, TKSP, Partizan, KUK and KAWA, the defendants announced that they were joining the hunger strike. AI received reports that after the announcements, the defendants were beaten and removed from the courtroom. Agence France press reported the death of two hunger strikers in Diyarbakir prison.

On September 28, a defendant announced before a military court that the prisoners had ended the hunger strike on the written guarantee given by the commander of the military prison to satisfy their demands.

Torture and ill-treatment after the elections

After the 1983 general elections, prison conditions remained unchanged, despite the setting up of a civilian government. For example, in the Military Prison of Diyarbakir, the directors had already forgotten all their promises given a few months ago and again banned the introduction of food, pencil and paper into prison; reduced prisoners' talks with their families; and ordered prisoners to be beaten up before the eyes of their visitors.

Thereupon, on January 3, 1984, prisoners of the Diyarbakir Prison once more went on hunger strike.

On January 6, 1984, it was reported that all political prisoners of Mamak Prison in Ankara who refused to wear prison uniforms had been beaten for three days and three nights. The victims of this inhuman treatment requested on January 9 that the military tribunal trying them take every step necessary to ensure their security.

Besides, the families of those prisoners who were beaten up visited the new-elected Speaker of the National Assembly, Necmeddin Karaduman, and handed over a petition requesting an end to the ill-treatment in Turkey's prisons.

Despite the protest actions, Turkish martial law authorities have extended the practice of forcing political prisoners to wear prison uniforms when they appear before military tribunals.

In Istanbul, defendants in the Dev-Sol and THKP/C trials took off their prison uniforms and entered the military courtroom in their underwear in protest against this practice. Thereupon, they were thrown out of the courtroom by force.

The same scene reoccurred the next day in Ankara during the trial of 10 alleged members of Dev-Sol.

Trade union leaders and journalists are also subjected to this treatment incompatible with human dignity. On January 19, 1984, all the defendants in the DISK Trial, including Chairman Abdullah Bastürk, were brought before the tribunal in prison uniforms. Likewise, Ali Sirmen, columnist of the daily *Cumhuriyet,* was tried on February 3 in prison uniform by a court in Istanbul.

On February 16, 1984, Amnesty International called on the head of the Turkish Armed Forces to account publicly for seven prisoners reported to have died in a military prison in Eastern Turkey in January.

In an urgent message to the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Necdet Urug, the international human rights organization expressed concern about reports on the resumption of torture and ill-treatment of inmates in Diyarbakir Military Prison.

It named seven prisoners reported to have died in the prison that year. Four were known to have been buried, it said. In three other cases, Amnesty International had learned that the families had been informed of their relatives' deaths but that the bodies were not available for burial.

Amnesty International said that all the families concerned should be given the bodies of their dead relatives and allowed to arrange independent medical examinations to establish the cause of death.

The Amnesty International call followed a visit by one of its delegates to Diyarbakir (more than 1,000 km from Istanbul) to seek information about three prisoners reported to have died in unexplained circumstances.

The military authorities in Diyarbakir acknowledged the deaths of two prisoners, Necmettin Büyükkaya and Yilmaz Demir. They told the delegate that one of the prisoners had committed suicide and the other had died of a brain tumour, Amnesty International said.

After the delegate's visit the organization received information on the deaths of four more prisoners.

After eleven of their inmates died following a 45-day hunger strike, the surviving Kurdish detainees at Diyarbakir prison ended their protest.

The military authorities forced the parents of the Diyarbakir prison detainees who died following the hunger strike to bury their children in a hurry and as discreetly as possible. Some detainees' mothers who went to the Turkish capital early in March to draw the authorities' attention to the inhuman conditions in that prison were placed under surveillance on their return to Diyarbakir.

The inmates of Diyarbakir prison did not obtain any real improvement in their conditions of confinement and gave up their movement because it was "decimating them in vain". Visits, banned since the beginning of the year, were allowed again. According to the parents' evidence many detainees were in a "dredful state".

On the other hand, several hundred political prisoners in Mamak military prison (Ankara) started a hunger strike on February 22, 1984, in protest against acts of violence and torture they suffered, according to what they said before the military court.

In that prison, the detainees were gathered on a prison square where dogs were set on them. The military authorities seized their civilian clothes, ordering them to put on uniforms. Having refused to undergo this new humiliation, many detainees, dressed only in briefs and undershirts, stayed for several weeks in their cells and even on the prison squares, where they were forced to march and shout out military songs and slogans in praise of the Turkish State and its founder Atatürk. After about 1,500 political prisoners went on a hunger strike, the hearings of their trial were deferred for a month, so as to conceal the deplorable state they were in.

According to the Belgian daily *Le Soir* of March 8, 1984, "all testimonies corroborate others exposing 'destruction machines', both physically and morally, in the Turkish military prisons. A former professor who had been held for about one year at Sultan Ahmet, the Istanbul military prison, declared, following his release, that the military penitentiary institutions 'are not prisons but slave camps'..."

The German weekly *Die Zeit* on February 24, 1984, published a story by a German tourist going under an assumed name, Wolfgang Simons, who was tortured in several jails in Instanbul, where he was held for 500 days. And *Die Zeit* comes to the following conclusion: "For the West-European democracies, Turkey is an awkward partner. Why? This has been revealed especially by the experiences this young German went through, who, under inconceivable circumstances, has been detained for 16 months in a Turkish jail. His sufferings are not an isolated case, but merely a case among others."

The Turkish General Staff announced on April 5, 1984, that 290 prisoners at Mamak Military Prison had ended their hunger strike. Forty-six prisoners who had started the action on February 22, 1984, were hospitalized due to deterioration of their health.

In another official communiqué, the General staff rejected all allegations of systematic torture and ill-treatment in Turkey's military prisons, describing them as propaganda aimed at weakening the Turkish Government and harming its prestige abroad. "Leftist terrorists, the communiqué said, try to infringe prison regulations; some of them refuse to wear prison uniforms and continue their activities in prison."

The political prisoners and detainees in the military prisons of Metris and Sagmalcilar in Istanbul started a hunger strike on April 11, 1984. The military authorities claimed that one sixth of all detainees participated in the action.

During this hunger strike, two political detainees died in prison; DEV-SOL militant Abdujllah Meral on June 15, and TIKB militant Mehmet Fatih Okutulmus on June 17.

Thereupon, Prime Minister Ozal declared on June 20 that the Government was not prepared to yield to the demands of detainees who went on hunger strike. The hunger strikers' demands included recognition of the status of political prisoners, the right to move about freely inside the prisons, to organize themselves in groups, to meet visitors without being under surveillance, to have access to publications of any kind, as well as to radio and television. Furthermore, they insisted that the "infamous body searching" be stopped. With regard to the demand for the status of political prisoner, Ozal added: "As far as we are concerned, there are no political prisoners in Turkey."

A GREY WOLF'S COLLABORATION IN TORTURE

A witness in the trial of seven ultra-right activists belonging to the Turkish Vengeance Brigade (TIT) declared before a military court on January 16, 1985, that he "had helped police to torture" one of the defendants. Salahattin Zorlu, who had already been sentenced in another case to 25 years' imprisonment for murder, described how he had helped police to extract confessions from one of the defendants, Turgay Tas. "Turgay refused to speak," Zorlu said. "Along with the police officers we hanged him up from the ceiling by his arms. I tied the ropes. After a while, he confessed."

This statement by the Prime Minister has been followed by the death of two other hunger strikers: Haydar Basbag, of the TIKB, and Hasan Telci of Dev-Sol.

In addition, the lawyers announced the death of another hunger striker, Sermet Parkin, but nothing has leaked out about his fate. In any case, his death has not been denied by the Turkish authorities.

Notwithstanding their comrades' deaths, ten prisoners went on with their hunger strike at Istanbul military hospital. All of them were in a critical state. In particular, the case of a 20-year-old militant, Aysel Zehir, gave cause for anxiety: her lawyer had seen her "in the mental state of a 3-year-old child".

There were also hunger strikes in Buca (in Izmir province on the Egean coast), in Bartin on the Black Sea and in Elazig (in Turkish Kurdistan). In addition, some parents of detainees mentioned hunger strikes in the military prisons at Gölcük (near Istanbul) and at Malatya.

The military authorities claimed that the prisoners' hunger strike was "political", but their lawyers refute the authorities' argument that the hunger strikers allegedly were demanding general amnesty and the abolition of the death penalty. "It's untrue," a lawyer said "They insisted that their very basic human rights should be respected and not subjected to the guards' arbitrary. They've had enough of being searched, even in their anus, and of being permanently insulted. Do not underestimate this complaint, honor is something very important in Turkey."

The hunger strikes in Turkey's military prisons did not hit the headlines of the mass media, and at the same time by order of General Evren, the Turkish press was not permitted to refer to it.

Nevertheless, a few European newspapers expressed their concern as follows:

"If they chose this way to move world opinion by their protest, it is because, eight months after a civilian government has been restored in Turkey, they have no other resort left... In today's Turkey two powers exist. One, the civilian power of Premier Ozal, who embarked upon the difficult task of economic recovery that, no matter what one may think of his methods, deserves to be encouraged. However, for all that, Europe cannot be satisfied with a situation where the other power, that of General Evren and the Army, does its utmost to keep the country under its heel." *(Le Monde,* 21.6.1983)

"Premier Ozal, the civilian tree hiding the military forest, has been asserting repeatedly that the detainees were calling for a general amnesty and for abolishing the death penalty. This argument has strongly been refuted by the Turkish lawyers... Aysel Zehir who is awaiting death, had been sentenced to five years' imprisonment. It is for the sake of dignity that Aysel is going through her last struggle in Turkey. It is for the sake of human rights that 100,000 Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian detainees are rotting in the dungeons." (*L'Humanité,* 23.6.1984)

"There is little likelihood that Hollywood will produce a film about him, that some famous actor will play his part... Likewise, there is no chance that right-thinking people will organize a big show where ministers and opposition leaders are pushing to get in, though they are embarked on an election campaign. No president has hesitated to visit his country, no president has made a scene in order to get trustworthy information about his state of health. His name is not Sakharov, but Abdullah Meral. He is a Turk and he is dead; one would be almost tempted to say that he died from it: so great is the indifference to this country... Maybe the Generals have started to move back towards their barracks, but their civilian successors have kept dirty habits, at least as far as the treatment of prisoners is concerned." (*Libération,* 22.6.1984)

"Even their dead failed to move 'kind souls'... Their fate does not hit the headlines of big press which affects to be concerned by the defence of human rights. The point is that this is going on in Turkey, a member country of

NATO, linked by treaty with the EEC and represented within the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly." (*le Drapeau Rouge,* 23.6.1984)

A European mission fooled

During this period of mass hunger strikes, a fact-finding mission of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe went to Turkey and a 3-man delegation visited the Diyarbakir Military Prison on April 27, 1984.

On their return, they told the Council that prison conditions had improved and that it was necessary to develop dialogue with the Turkish regime instead of refusal. Thereupon, on May 8, 1984, the representatives of the Turkish regime were reintegrated into the Council of Europe.

After this decision, the members of the mission noticed that they had actually been fooled by the Ankara dictatorship during their visit. One of the members of the mission, M. Claude Dejardin, confirmed that, during their visit to Diyarbakir Prison, a false list was presented to them as an Amnesty International list of prisoners killed. When the deputies saw some of these prisoners alive in Diyarbakir, they thought that Amnesty International's information was not correct.

On May 9, 1984, Amnesty International denied its authorship of this list of "deceased". Moreover, the building that the mission visited in Diyarbakir, was in fact reserved for administrative staff and prison guards, while the detainees were confined to three other blocs from which the European parliamentarians had been barred.

In its resolution, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe said that it "welcomed with satisfaction the proposal of some members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly to set up a parliamentary committee to investigate allegations concerning the situation in Turkish prisons."

In fact, this parliamentary inquiry had been proposed by three members of the Motherland Party on April 27, 1984, during the visit of the Council of Europe mission. But the Justice Committee of the Grand National Assembly, even without waiting for the end of the debates in the Council of Europe, rejected this proposal on May 3. Chairman of the Committee Ali Dizdaroglu said: "As you know, the representatives of the Political and legal Affairs Committees of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe already visited some prisons. They ascertained that the allegations on prison conditions were completely groundless. They made public their observations by organizing press conferences when they got back to their countries. So, the aim has been achieved. Therefore, we do not consider it necessary to put the matter on the National Assembly's agenda."

About four-hundred detainees in Mersin military prison (in southern Turkey on the Mediterranean coast) went on a hunger strike on January 12, 1985, in protest against inhuman treatment.

Forty-two parents of these left-wing prisoners submitted to the Ministry of Justice a petition denouncing the use of torture on their children.

On the other hand, dozens of detainees in Adana, Gaziantep and Kahramanmaras military prisons also went on hunger strike.

Evidence of continued torture practices in interrogation centers was revealed by top civil servants on trial for some irregularities at Customs. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of January 30, 1985, one of these defendants said: "We were made to sign a well-prepared scenario under torture. If we had not signed it, we would have been killed under torture."

When populist deputies brought the torture question to the National Assembly, spokesmen for the right-wing parties publicly defended this practice. On October 9, 1985, ANAP deputy Mehmet Budak, answering the opposition, said: "Is there any country in the world where torture is not applied? If a guy is a traitor, why should they not torture him?"

On October 29, former army general Turgut Sunalp (founder of the Nationalist Democracy Party and a martial law commander from 1971—1973) defended, in an interview given to the weekly *Nokta,* the "necessity" of physical pressure on a detainee during his interrogation. He claimed that this was not torture.

Concerning ill-treatment in prison, one of the most controversial examples has been the death of Bekir Celenk, the famous Turkish "godfather" whose name was involved in the assassination attempt against the Pope in 1981.

After being released by the Bulgarian

authorities, Celenk was incarcerated in Turkey from July 1985. During his interrogation, he was kept in a prison cell instead of a hospital, despite the fact that he was suffering from a cardiac illness.

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 16, 1985, accused the judicial authorities of having brought on his death, and thus preventing the clarification of many obscure points relative to arms and drugs smuggling as well as the attempt against the Pope.

Torture is still practiced

To conclude this chapter on torture, we are reproducing below some items which appeared in the Turkish press at the end of 1985. They show that this inhuman practice was still going on despite all pressures from democratic circles.

On September 17, in Fethiye, Mrs Cihan Yülük reported that her husband, Halil Yülük, 41, had been killed at a police center while he was being interrogated for a traffic infraction. Police has claimed that this driver, the father of 5 children, committed suicide.

On October 2, in Sebinkarahisar, two teachers, Nuri Tan and Seref Kalas, and six other persons alleged that they had been detained without any reason at the police center and subjected to torture by 8 police officers during 32 hours.

On October 23, police authorities announced that one of the Dev-Yol Trial defendants, Kenan Ozcan, had committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell. He faced capital punishment. His comrades claimed that his suicide had been provoked by the unbearable conditions of his solitary confinement.

On October 24, a populist deputy, Cüneyt Canver, revealed that a minor had been raped by policemen at the police center of Sariyer in Istanbul.

On December 18, a retired teacher, Mr Nurettin Gedik, revealed at a press conference that he had been tortured for 21 days at a police station in Elazig.

On January 5, 1986, at the Dev-Yol trial in Ankara, lawyers denounced 20 policemen responsible for the deaths of six detainees during torture. According to the lawyers, in the DAL section of the Police Center of Ankara, political detainees were tortured in the following ways: deprivation of food and water, "the falaka," beatings, electric shock, introduction of batons into the anus, sticking a needle under the fingernails, twisting the testicles, etc.

On January 16, lawyer Sakir Keceli revealed that he had been tortured with his four colleagues and that the latter were all handicapped because of being tortured.

On January 30, Necati Emgili, an accused in the Dev-Yol trial, revealed details of the torture he was submitted to during his interrogation at the Mersin police station.

On January 31, the populist deputy Fikri Saglar denounced the fact that at Adiyaman, Kazim Cakir, a detainee, had been killed in prison while his brother Mehmet Cakir had been crucified by torturers.

On February 2, a 23-year-old detainee, Recep Tuna, was found dead in the prison at Sagmalcilar. His relatives have demanded an autopsy.

On February 3, a detainee, Hasan Celik, was hospitalised in a comatose state following his interrogation at the police center at Corum. Although doctors said he was suffering from brain trauma, governor Fikret Koçak declared that he was suffering only from shock brought on by a gendarme's shout.

On Feburary 5, the daily *Cumhuriyet* revealed that a detainee, Zekeriya Ulkücü, was in a coma following the introduction of a baton in his anus by torturers, while he was in a commissariat in Istanbul for his interrogation.

The same day, populist deputy Kadir Narin revealed the names of 22 detainees who had been tortured during their interrogation.

A recent enquiry mission by the Social-democrat Populist Party (SHP), has reached the conclusion - through studies it carried out - that Eastern Turkey has become a big concentration camp under the martial law regime that is still in force there.

According to the populist deputies Ihsan Elgin and Cüneyt Canver, the martial law commander in the region has stripped of their authority 49 elders (moukhtars) elected in 1984 in Tunceli Province, populated mainly by Kurds, and has deported 27 people accused of "activities harmful to the State's interests." The Minister of Interior declared himself powerless before the practices of the martial law.

The two deputies have classified Tunceli - one of those provinces where the proportion of police in relation to inhabitants is the highest - as "the biggest prison in Turkey."

The same mission, during its investigation in the region, discovered a murder committed during torture.

In the Genç district of Bingöl Province, a teacher, Siddik Bilgin, and his uncle, Mehmet Bilgin, were arrested July 27, 1985, by soldiers. Up to July 31, they were interrogated under torture. According to evidence from Mehmet Bilgin, who is a former senator, after the torture, the soldiers took Siddik Bilgin to a cemetery and cut him down with bullets. Following the murder, the victim's corpse was buried in the garden of the interrogation station. Although everyone knew it was a military unit under the command of Captain Ali Sahin that had executed Bilgin, the military prosecutor has not opened a judicial inquiry into the actions of those responsible. Captain Ali Sahin claimed that Bilgin was a "separatist" and was killed while trying to escape.

The two deputies have decided to let their beards grow as a sign of protest and have declared they will not shave until a file is opened on the affair.

Elsewhere, in the Hozat district of Tunceli Province, a retired teacher, Yusuf Karaagaç, revealed that his son, Mahmut Sirin Karaagaç, 24, had been similarly cut down by policemen after having been tortured for 45 days.

He has also revealed that in Pazarcik district in Kahramanmaras Province, six people - Hasan Mesken, Ali Cetiner, Hüseyin Engirek, Ali Ovayolu, Didan Yildirim and Ali Tasyurdu - disappeared following disciplinary operations against militant Kurds by the Armed Forces in the region.

According to a December 23, 1985, dispatch from the Agence France-Press, about fifty parents of those in detention publicly accused warders in the military prisons in Metris and Sagmalcilar in Istanbul with beating political prisoners who refuse to wear uniforms, with making them stand for hours in the snow in their underclothes, and with beating them up when they resist forced searches. The women, according to these accounts, were as much a target as the men. Certain detainees were still being kept in cells known as "Siberia."

A populist deputy, Fikri Saglar, declared that three detainees in the prison at Mersin set themselves afire as a sign of protest against ill-treatment. Furthermore, another detainee, teacher Ali Uygun, might have been buried secretly after having been killed during torture at the prison in Tarsus.

Ill-treatment in the Adana prison brought about a hunger strike on the part of 145 political detainees, starting from January 31, 1986.

Growing indignation

All these recent revelations have given rise to great indignation on the part of people in Turkey; and even former right-wing politicians, who were always in favour of repressive measures against the regime's opponents, have declared themselves in favour of steps to end torture. But the present rulers take no account of any criticism or suggestion on this subject.

The populist deputies have already drawn up a legal plan with the idea of increasing prison sentences for torturers, but the governmental majority of the juridical Commission of the National Assembly rejected it on January 15, 1986.

Mr Haydar Ozalp, one of the spokesmen for the parliamentary group of the ANAP, the party in power, declared to the ANKA press agency that even when acts of torture have been proved, they must be kept hidden to preserve the Turkish State's prestige abroad.

Conversely, the other right-wing parties as well as the former right-wing political leaders of the regime before the coup have declared that they support all the steps against torture taken by the social-democrat SHP. Former Prime Minister Demirel has declared: "If torture takes place in a country, it is a political problem and the leaders of the country are equally responsible for this practice. Therefore, these leaders should quit their posts." The Turkish Doctors' Union (TTB), whose leaders are persecuted for having demanded an end to the death sentence, announced on February 4 that they would nullify the professional certificate of any doctor who took part in torture.

Finally, the stand with regard to torture has become a major criterion in Turkey to determine the level of respect individuals or organizations have for fundamental human rights.

The present rule, with all its components - military or civil - has been found in flagrant crime. A rule that has no intention of respecting international conventions forbidding torture does not deserve to be a part of international institutions such as the Council of Europe.



All political prisoners in military jails undergo a barrack discipline and are forced to participate in regulary military drills every day.

NO AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

One of the prerequisites for resuming Turco-European relations, as laid down by the European Parliament, has been general amnesty for political prisoners. However, even the civilian government of Turgut Ozal, obying General Evren's order, has remained indifferent to this demand and turned down all amnesty proposals coming from opposition parties.

The amnesty issue has been one of the main topics in Turkey's political life since the 1983 legislative elections.

Since the very beginning, Prime Minister Ozal has avoided promising amnesty, on the ground that the new constitution is opposed to amnesty for those who were condemned or are tried for "crimes against the State" described in articles 140, 141, 142, 146, 149 and 163 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Considering that the amnesty issue was getting more and more arguable, mainly because of pressure from the families or political prisoners, martial law commands first banned on January 10, 1984, all polemics on this subject.

Nevertheless, prior to the local elections of March 1984, all political parties, considering the electorate's great concern in this area, saw themselves obliged to make some gestures with the view of winning the support of the prisoners' relatives or left-wing voters. But some draft bills tabled for a limited amnesty were turned down on May 10, 1984, by the parliamentary majority.

Both General Evren and Prime Minsiter Ozal declared on many occasions that they were categorically against any amnesty for political prisoners.

At a press conference on February 8, 1984, Ozal said: "This is a very complex issue that we

sould think over not once, not twice but ten times. Let's not be ostriches with our heads in the sand. We have come through a difficult era when, before the military intervention, not democracy but anarchy prevailed. An amnesty in 1973 had freed 3,000 convicted terrorists. This led to a surge of terrorist violence and the result is that now there are over 20,000 inside."

General Evren, responding to the petition from intellectuals (*See preceding chapters*), announced that any modification in the Constitution to make political amnesty possible was out of the question: "One of their aims is to force us to proclaim a general amnesty which would include all those terrorists who brought us to the point of destruction. Therefore we felt the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the way for these terrorists to enjoy amnesty."

In another speech to mark the opening of the National Assembly on September 1, 1985, the General-President said: "I believe that the Turkish Parliament will ignore the ruling propaganda made in favor of those who committed crimes which are mentioned in Article 14 of the Turkish Constitution, namely those who have committed crimes against the sole existence of the State."

Instead of an amnesty for political prisoners the National Assembly in one year adopted two different laws for the conditional release of some prisoners.

The first one, adopted on May 7, 1985, stipulated acquittal for prisoners accused of non-violent "crimes" against the State, if they denounced their comrades. For the denouncers who had committed violent acts, the law stipulated a reduction of the prison term. The same law also ensures that a denouncer, if need be, will benefit from free esthetical surgery or will be given a new identity card bearing a different name and sent abroad.

According to a declaration from the Justice Minister, 330 prisoners condemned or prosecuted for "crimes against the State" denounced their comrades and benefitted form the Law on Repentance within a four-month period.

In fact, the reduction in prison sentences in favour of denouncers already existed under Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code which are aimed at acts of organisation or propaganda on the basis of a social class or an ethnic group.

This law on Repentance aroused strong reaction in democratic circles in Turkey. The Chairman of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations, Mr. Teoman Evren, said that these kinds of measures could be a prelude to a period of false denunciations and could destroy all moral values of society. Changing a face through a surgical operation or delivering a false identity card are not compatible, he added, with human dignity.

While the debate on the amnesty issue was growing stronger and stronger, the National Assembly adopted on March 11, 1986, a new law which reduces the prison term of those who have never disobeyed prison rules, but the Assembly excluded the possibility of amnesty for political prisoners.

According to this law, prison terms of five years have been reduced to two years and three days; 10 years to four years and five days; 15 years to six years and seven days; 20 years to eight years and 10 days; 24 years to 9 years, seven month, and 21 days and life imprisonment to 20 years. As for capital punishment, if it has not been ratified by the National Assembly, the prisoner will see 30 years in prison. So despite the wish expressed by the European bodies, the death penalty is still in force, and a political activist can be executed if his sentence is ratified.

The Ministry of Justice announced that some 48,000 prisoners would benefit from this law although some 30,000 remain in prison. Most significantly, the majority of political prisoners cannot benefit form this reduction because they are considered "disobedient to prison rule", due to their acts of resistance against the inhuman treatment in the prisons. To be able to benefit later from this reduction, they will have to be quite obedient in the nine months to come. Even a small discussion with a guard can deprive the prisoner of a reduction in his priosn term... a discussion which might have been provoked by the prison authorities if they do not want the prisoner in question to be set free.

The example of this arbitrary practice is the situation of sociologist *Ismail Besikçi.* (See: Page 228). According to the new law he should be freed because he has already served more than half of his 10-year term. But the prison authorities, claiming that "he had been disobedient", keep Besikçi in prison.

One of the consequences of deceiving political prisoners has been the suicide on March 21 of an inmate in the Sinop prison. When this prisoner, sentenced to 26 years, learned he was not going to be freed, he hanged himself.

STATE TERRORISM 6

GREY WOLVES START THEIR ACTIONS AGAIN

The prosecution of Colonel Turkes and Grey Wolves after the coup was a political maneouvre of the military with a view to proving that they were determined to crush the right-wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones. While left-wing intellectuals and militants were being tried and condemned in mass, all neo-fascist leaders were released later on and allowed to start their actions again. Despite the findings on their relations with smugglers and European extreme-rightist organizations, Grey Wolves carry on their sinister activities in Europe.

After the military coup d'état, the generals desperately tried to present themselves before domestic and international public opinion as being determined to crush the right wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones, and, as "proof" of this "even-handed" policy, put Türkes on trial along with a few hundred members of the MHP and its side organizations.

The Junta's intention was to neutralise large sections of the people, especially the middle classes, by using the rhetoric of being "against fascists as well," and to weaken resistance and protests against their acts of oppression and terrorism towards the working class, trade unionists and socialists.

The events that have taken place in the MHP trial from its beginning strongly indicate that it is only a show, whatever its outcome may be. All leaders of the MHP, including Ex-colonel Türkes, have already been released from prison.

Türkes, in a letter he wrote to Junta head General Evren, told him that the policies of the Junta since it came to power had for many years been put forward by the MHP; and the "ideology" and "spirit" announced by General Evren in the September 12 "operation" were the same as the "ideology" and the "nationalist-Atatürkist principles" of the MHP. He went on to say that they would continue to support the Junta to the end.

During the trial Türkes repeated these views and added that many of the generals in the top echelons of the Armed Forces or in the 5-man Junta, were his old friends, class-mates and colleagues. He said that he could not understand why he and his party were put on trial at all. The friends he referred to included the commanders of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Armies and last, but not least, General Evren himself... and General Ersin, another member of the 5-man Junta.

Vice-president Agah Oktay Güner, also, said, "The seven principal economic decisions taken by the new power were in reality formulated by us. While our ideas are in power, we are kept in prison." Somuncuoglu, another defendant in the MHP Trial, added: "We are accused of advocating the idea of measuring the skulls of citizens in order to determine their races. But it is a fact that Atatürk, too, measured skulls. At Anitkabir (mausoleum of Atatürk), among the personal belongings of Atatürk there is also a compass used for measuring skulls."

There was a possibility that the MHP leaders might reveal their connections within the Armed Forces, secret police and various state organisations. In fact, Türkes used this as a threat during the trials. To prevent this happening, the military prosecutor, *"in order not to put the security of the State in danger"*, demanded some court hearings to continue in secret. It is also known that some written documents related to the relationship between the army, secret police and the MHP have not been included in the prosecution's case.

While all the arrested leaders of the neo-fascist party were being released one by one, many notorious "Grey Wolves" were placed in key posts in the administration and formed a hard-core within the governing party, the ANAP.

According to *The Times* of September 11, 1984, "In particular they have taken effective control of the State Radio and TV Corporation (TRT), whose new director was formerly a senior figure in the Nationalist Action party (MHP) of Türkes. Another former MHP member is secretary of the Ministry of Employment. The last development, even more sinister, is the appointment of two deputy directors of the National Police Force, one of whom was in charge of the torture center in Ankara during the previous military regime in 1971 and had since then been kept out of sight, while the other's name was found among the secret documents of the MHP as the future director of the National Police Force had the MHP captured power. Such appointments raise the question whether the 1980 intervention was really a comprehensive defeat for terrorism as its authors claimed."

Within the first "civilian government", well-known sympathizers of the defunct MHP are State Minister Halil Sivgin, State Minister Kazim Oskay, State Minister Mesut Yilmaz, Minister of Communication Veysal Atasoy and Under-Secretary Hasan Celal Güzel.

The Secretary-General of the ANAP, Mustafa Tasar, is also a renowned MHP sympathizer.

Besides, neo-fascist activists have been elected mayors in many important cities, such as Ankara, Erzincan, Erzurum, Adapazari, Bingöl, Elazig, Yozgat, Gaziantep, Antakya, Kastamonu.



Agca and Grey Wolves

After Turkes' release, the "Grey Wolves" began to reorganize within a newly founded political organization: *the Nationalist Labour Party (MÇP)*, founded by some former MHP members and sympathizers.

As for the foreign links of the neo-fascist movement, they drew the attention of all world opinion on the occasion of the failed attempt against Pope Paul John II in 1981.

This tragic event showed once again the dimension and the international connections of the Turkish fascist movement that murdered more than 5,000 people over a 5-year period and provoked the installation of a dictatorial regime in Turkey...

"Grey Wolves" have branches in many other European countries, notably among the neo-nazi organizations, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Türkes, the leader of the MHP, had close contacts with *Adolph Von Thadden,* the NPD leader, and *Joseph Strauss,* the CSU leader... All activities by the "Grey Wolves" in European countries have been covered by local neo-fascist organizations.

Mehmet Ali Agca is only one of the numerous fascist murderers who found protection and shelter in the FRG. After having escaped from Turkey, he was tried by default and condemned to death in Turkey. An international arrest-warrant was leveled upon him through Interpol, but no serious effort was made to find and catch this ferocious murderer. He was not troubled by police during his travels though several countries and had the opportunity to perpetrate one of the most daring assassination attemps known in modern history.

Since the early seventies, the "Grey Wolves", activists of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), headed by former Colonel Türkes, got themselves organized in all European host countries for Turkish migrant workers. They first set up local branches of the MHP; but given that in Turkey at that time, under the Political Parties Act, parties were forbidden to organize abroad, Turkey's Constitutional Court had warned the MHP that, unless it closed down its foreign branches, it was in danger of being banned definitively.

Thereupon, from 1977 onwards, the Grey Wolves closed down MHP branches abroad and got organized within parallel organizations such as the "Foyer of Idealists" (Ulkü Ocagi) or the "Turkish Cultural Association" (Türk Kültür Dernegi).

Following several visits by their leader Türkes, all these Grey Wolves associations grouped together round the Frankfurt based *"Türk-Federasyon".*

Shortly after these events, the West German Metal Workers Union (IG Metall) published in its periodical (Metall, No.2 of January 23, 1980) an overall survey on the Grey Wolves' organization, strategy and tactics in West Germany.

Under the headline "Grey Wolves calling for Holy War", this article, published shortly after a Turkish member of IG Metall, Celalettin Kesim, had been assassinated in Berlin on January 5, 1980, by extreme-rights assailants, highlighted a great many other bloody incidents provoked and perpetrated by the "Grey Wolves" in West Germany.

According to *Metall,* all activities of Turkish fascists in Germany were directed by the Türk-Federasyon. Its chairman Serdar Celebi,

now on trial in Rome, was a member of the Turkish neo-fascist party. The financial means of this organization were provided by drug traffickers and by "night club" owners.

One month earlier, on November 27, 1979, Info-Türk Bulletin had reported that two progressive migrant workers had been assaulted and injured by "Grey Wolves" in Frankfurt when they refused to accept fascist leaflets:

"Following this incident, the German police searched the headquarters of the Türk-Federasyon (headquarters of the Grey Wolves in Federal Germany) in Frankfurt and arrested the chairman of their local association and another suspect.

"On the other hand, there are some indication that extreme-rightist terrorist Mehmet Ali Agca is operating among the Grey Wolves in Europe, since his escape from a Turkish prison.

"On December 15, 1979, during an incident between leftist and rightist Turkish students in Paris, gunmen opened fire on the leftist students in a coffee-house, wounding five of them as well as three French waiters. There are rumours that this ambush was planned and directed by Agca who escaped from Turkey. But this claim has not yet been confirmed."

At that time, Grey Wolves activities in Belgium were directed by a group established in the city of Namur. This group - who had a very close relationship with Turkish intelligence officers who were on an assignment at NATO headquarters near Mons, as well as with certain fascist-minded people at the Turkish Consulate in Brussels - had been developping its activities in Brussels since April 1978.

During all these attempts to organize, "Grey Wolves" benefitted from the support of local fascist organizations and persons. The following press excerpts give evidence of these relations:

Ties with German fascists

A letter Adolph Von Thadden wrote to Turkes was published in the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet on September 19th, 1979:

"Dear Turkes,

"I enjoy receiving your letters. I thank you for your appreciation of me and my party. Even more, I am glad to learn of your position concerning the identity between both our parties (...) There are common basic principles we share. I am sure that you wish to expand and reinforce these friendly relationships. So, I accept enlarging the relations between both our parties. We decided unanimously to do an exchange of youth sections groups (...) Would you be kind enough to accept the invitation as my personal guest. It would be nice to have an exchange of views on both our countries and to scrutinize the means of mutual assistance."

Excerpt from a report written by Enver Altayli, general inspector of the MHP in the Federal Republic of Germany, to Türkes, April 28, 1976:

"... Dr. Kannapin will be in Köln on May, 4, 1976. He intends to introduce me to the president of the Turkish section of the organisation. According to Dr. Kannapin this person is a member of the CDU and a former officer in the German Army, a real anti-communist."

Excerpt from Enver Altayli's report to Turkes, Köln, June 24, 1976:

"At the end of May 1976 we had nearly 20,000 DM on our bank account... My target is to get 40,000 DM before the end of September... Our relationship with Dr. Kannapin protects us against investigations by the German security organisations; he uses every means so that those organisations do not shackle our work, but support them."

Excerpt from the letter written by Turkes to Enver Altayli, July 22, 1976:

"Having that in mind, each month you can withdraw 2,000 DM from my personnal account at the Köln BFG for your needs."

Excerpt from the Cumhuriyet, September 23rd, 1979:

"Despite the decision taken by the Constitutional Court (June 28, 1976), the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) did not close its organisations in West Germany. A week later, Turkes, who was appointed vice-premier in the second rightist coalition headed by Demirel, sent a note to the presidency of the MHP's executive committee in West Germany, asking them to work under cover of association to avoid curiosity from the authorities and to benefit from the collaboration with the NDP on this subject." (From page 56 of the Türkische Rechtsextremisten d'Amnesty International).

Excerpt from the daily newspaper Hürriyet, December 15, 1980:

"The Department of the Interior Ministry in Baden Württenberg is scrutinizing the files concerning the rightist extremists trained in

RISE OF RACISM

Encouraged by the military regime's chauvinist orientation, the theorists of Turkish racism started to appear in the pages of high circulation newspapers.

One of them, Reha Oguz Türkkan (Türkkan means "Turkish blood" in Turkish), put forward the following theses in his article which appeared in the daily Hürriyet of January 9, 1983:

"Some Western historians claim that the present people of Anatolia (Asian part of Turkey) is a mixture of different races; the Ottoman Turks, after arriving from Western Asia, were mixed with the peoples present in Anatolia at that time.

"By the order of Atatürk, the Ministry of Health carried out a countrywide survey, measuring skulls, noses, eyes and hairs of about 40,000 persons in Anatolia. This survey proved that the characteristics of the human being of Anatolia are identical to those of Central Asian man. The Turks who arrived in Anatolia in the year 1071 brought not only their wives and children but also their language, religion, music and even their dogs and herds. They swept away the Greek language.

Furthermore, Swiss anthropologist Prof. Pittard pointed out that the Hittites, contrary to general belief, were not of Indo-Germanic origin... The oldest Anatolian people, the Proto-Hittites were the near kin of the Proto-Turks."

This racist writer announced in the same article that the majority of participants in the 1st National Culture Conference, held in 1982 in Ankara, had adopted a resolution based on the same thesis.

Germany. A Turkish group of 18 persons is being trained in the foothills of the German Alps."

Excerpt from IG Metall, January 23, 1980:

"The Grey Wolves are calling for a holy war. All the activities of the Turkish fascists are run by the Türk-Federasyon, established in Frankfurt. The chairman of this federation is Serdar Celebi, and the secretary general is Ramazan Öz. Both are members of the neo-fascist party of Colonel Turkes."

Excerpt from Der Spiegel (February 1980):

"Being so anti-communist, Franz Josef Strauss has contacts with the ultra right and all kinds of fascists all over the world, not only as an adviser but also supplying funds...

"Strauss had an appointment with the extremist Turkes in Münich on April 28, 1978."

•

Excerpt from Cumhuriyet, November 11, 1980:

"Isa Armagan, sentenced to death for having killed 5 people, has escaped from Mamak prison and fled to Germany on July 26, 1980."

•

Excerpt from le Drapeau Rouge, March 7/8, 1981:

"The National Commission on Law Enforcement declared that Interpol had been headed by a former SS officer, Paul Dickopf, between '68 and '72. Many ex-nazis are still occupying key-posts..."

•

According to the military prosecutor's indictment, Turkes had an account in Germany, opened in the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft in Köln. Account No: 10243246 - BLZ 47010111 - 5 Köln.

•

On a paper with Türkes' handwriting:

The account	
of Enver Altayli:	225.000 DM
	77.000 DM
and then:	13.000 DM

Moreover, 15 American-Express money orders issued by the San Diego Trust-Saving Bank were seized. They were drawn in the name of Alparslan Turkes and sent to the seat of the Nationalist Action Party. Proof was obtained that the money transfer was made from California by a certain W.J. Pferisch, Jr. with a card mentioning the National Fascist Party. (May 1981).

Farce in the Rome trial

"The attempt on the Pope's life is linked with the third secret of Fatima. In the name of God the almighty, I announce the end of the world, I am Jesus Christ reincarnated. The whole world

will be destroyed during this generation..." (May 27, 1985)

"I was an ideologist rather than a terrorist. I used to make plans and schemes against the system, but I have never killed anybody..." (June 5, 1985)

"The orders to kill the Pope came from the Soviet Embassy in Sofia. We Grey Wolves acted with the complicity of three Bulgarian officials in Rome. For the assassination attempt, the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Sofia paid three million Deutsche Marks through Bekir Celenk..." (June 11, 1985)

Theze crazy words pronounced by Mehmet Ali Agca marked the opening of the trial of the "Bulgarian Connection" which was held in Rome. That sort of "reincarnation" of the Turkish terrorist inside a kind of "bunker", that was specially built for the trial of the Red Brigades, have given rise to serious doubts about the psychic state of this "Grey Wolf", who is the main witness for the prosecution in the present trial against the Bulgarian citizen Serghei Antonov and two of his fellow countrymen.

As noted by the Belgian daily *Le Soir* of May 28: "How can we trust this not very commendable person, who is so eager to make confessions, to create confusion, and whose views are subject to frequent and sudden reversals? And now he is even making statements worthy of a village idiot?"

Obviously, after Agca's statement, the "Bulgarian Connection" is in serious danger... In contrast, Agca's cross-questioning - as well as that of Omer Bagci, another defendant at the Rome trial - is giving substance much more to the "Grey Wolves Connection" than to the "Bulgarian Connection".

The foreign connections of the "Grey Wolves" have not been limited to local fascist people or organizations in Europe, but they also had contacts with arm and drug dealers.

A former Turkish Interior Minister, Mr. Hasan Fehmi Günes, revealed before the coup that several "Mafia" type families had collaborated with the "Grey Wolves". Sixty-six deputies of the CHP called for a parliamentary investigation into drugs and arms smuggling and said:

"Enemies of democracy and of our people have started to put into practice their bloody conspiracy planned underground. Drugs and arms smuggling is one of the main factors of anarchy and terror, which have reached today's dimension in our country. It has been said, written and testified repeatedly in courts that a political party's militants, side organizations and aggressors trained in camps, are taking a significant part in the terrorist incidents. Two thousand million liras (67 million DM) worth of illegal arms have been seized within the last two years, and perhaps ten times more arms than this amount is now being used by enemies of democracy and people against Turkey's future and our democracy."

During the investigation into the arms and drug smuggling and on the attempt against the Pope, much proof was obtained about this collaboration.

In 1982, former CIA agent Frank Terpil declared on British Television how he sold guns, explosives and poisons to clients, including the now-toppled Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, the late Shah of Iran... and the Grey Wolves.

Despite all the evidence of the Grey Wolves' ties and complicity with European fascists and smugglers, certain media started a campaign to publicize the "Bulgarian connection".

Four or five days after the assassination attempt, the Italian daily *Giornale Nuovo* presented it as a Soviet plot.

On September 5, 1981, British TV network ITV claimed that the assassination attempt had been hatched by the Bulgarian and Soviet secret services.

On September 4, 1981, British TV network Thames Television designated this affair as the "Bulgarian Connection".

In September 1982, *Reader's Digest* magazine published a story by Claire Sterling on the "Bulgarian Connection".

However, between May 13, 1981, and May 2, 1982, no element whatsoever, that could be considered relevant from a legal point of view, had been found to support the argument in favor of possible Bulgarian involvement - examining judge Martella started a new investigation late in 1982, following Agca's claims regarding the "Bulgarian Connection". In the meantime, Agca had been sentenced to life for attempting to murder the Pope. The verdict said he acted on his own.

Since then, the claims and the accusations

INSTITUT de PARIS



Agca, author of the attempt against the Pope, and Serdar Celebi, Chief of the Grey Wolves Organization in Europe, at the Rome Trial

leveled by the examining judge at the three Bulgarians have not been proven by the facts, but the complicity of Grey Wolves has been more evident.

Grey Wolves start their actions again

As the leaders of the Nationalist Action party (MHP) are tried before military tribunal in Turkey, their accomplices abroad enjoy open support and protection of the Turkish diplomatic missions. According to the report given by *Demokrat Türkiye,* the chiefs of the Türk-Federasyon (Federation of Grey Wolves organizations) organized a meeting in Hannover on May 8, 1982. The Turkish Consulate alloted them the Turkish House (Türk Evi) for the meeting. But on protests by Turkish and German progressives, the meeting could not be held.

The 4th congress of the Türk-Federasyon was held in May 1984 in Koblenz. Serdar Celebi, Ali Batman and Enver Altayli, who are accused by the military prosecutor of having organized Grey Wolves abroad, addressed the congress. At the end of the meeting, Serdar Celebi, who would be arrested later in connection with the Agca Trial, was re-elected chairman of the federation.

The Grey Wolves again started their assaults against progressive Turkish citizens in Europe in 1985. On January 7, at around 6 pm, Turkish worker Zeki Sonraci was assaulted and badly wounded in Hannover, FRG, by eight activists of this Turkish extreme right movement. Shortly before, these eight persons had been distributing leaflets edited by the Frankfurt-based "Türk-Federasyon" (i.e. the European Federation of Turkish extreme right organizations). Sonraci had refused to accept this leaflet.

The victim had lived for 13 years in West Germany and had taken an active part in the activities staged by the West German trade union IG Metall.

On the other hand, on January 12, 1985, 24 Turkish and German associations staged a

demonstration in Munich in protest against a meeting due to be held at Schwabingbrau Hall the next day on the Grey Wolves' initiative. These associations sent a letter to the mayor of Munich, Social-Democrat G. Kronawitter, calling for a ban on the Grey Wolves' meeting. This letter included a statement that Munich was increasingly becoming a center for the Grey Wolves' drug trafficking and arms dealing...

The congress of Türk-Federasyon was held in Castrop-Rauxel, West Germany, on May 18, 1985, on the eve of the opening of the trial in Rome. On this occasion, they adopted a resolution in support to their former chairman Serdar Celebi, one of the defendants at the trial. Ali Batman was re-elected chairman.

Next, the Grey Wolves passed a further stage at the opening of the trial in Rome: about fifty members of the Türk-Federasyon managed to get into the courtroom chanting slogans in favour of their former chairman.

In short, Grey Wolves have entered 1986 restructuring their organizations and restarting their violence. Since all their notorious leaders have already been released, it will not be a surprise to see Grey Wolves again playing their provocative role in future if there comes a relatively more democratic period in which left-wing forces have a chance to regain power.



Propaganda material of the neo-fascist MHP, with the portrait of Türkes, the three-cresent emblem of the party and the names of the party's nine principles.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

CHICAGO BOYS' MONETARIST DIKTAT

The military regime rendered possible putting in practice all drastic measures imposed by the IMF. Big capital has been given all privileges to the detriment of working people. Although Turkey can serve debt payments by putting a curb on consumption, foreign debts in total climbs from 16.4 to 24.6 billion dollars in five years. Inflation rate is still the highest among the OECD countries. Growth of GNP remains lower than expected. Annual foreign deficit remains at the same level. The annual income per capita fell under the level of 1,000 dollars. Foreign investments, despite all encouragement measures, are still very far from satisfying Turkey's needs.

As is explained in detail in previous chapters, one of the principal tasks of the military rule - besides the restoration of "law and order" and the strengthening of the US military hegemony in the region - was to put in practice all the drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF and adopted on January 24, 1980, by the then civilian government. These measures, which the civilian government could not apply as the IMF wished because of strong social and political opposition, were mainly:

- reducing the workers' purchasing power to restrain inflation,
- encouraging savings by having high interest rates,
- increasing foreign capital and the credit flow by granting them extraordinary benefits,
- increasing export by curbing internal consumption.

It was not so hard for the junta to carry out the first of the measures, after suspending the right to collective bargaining and strike and jailing all progressive union leaders and officials.

Nevertheless, one cannot say the other measures were as succesful.

In the first three years, wage-earners lost 50% of their purchasing power because of the suspension of their trade union rights, on one hand, and, on the other, because the rise in prices could not be controlled. The inflation rate was still over 30% in 1983, and Turkey still had first place among the 24 OECD countries.

The new economic policy worked only in favour of big capital. As a result of the "free interest rate" policy, hundreds of brokers were aroused and started to collect savings with the promise of an interest rate of up to 60% for one-year-deposit accounts. The banking system was so regulated that it allowed only the strong banks to survive. Already in 1983, half of all savings was placing in the two biggest banks in Turkey.

The same process could be observed in the development of industrial and commercial firms. The total number of stock-holding companies increased from 2,406 in 1980, to 3,903 in 1982, while the total number of small size firms decreased from 9,216 to 7,325 in the same period.

Private enterprises obtained on the average a 628,362 TL profit per worker in 1982, while the figure was 183,632 TL in 1979.

Unemployment climbed from 2,3 million in 1979 to 3,3 million in 1982; in other words, from 14% to 18.19%.

Because of the fall in real wages, two-thirds of the factories failed to increase their production. The average capacity usage ratio in industry remained at 59%.

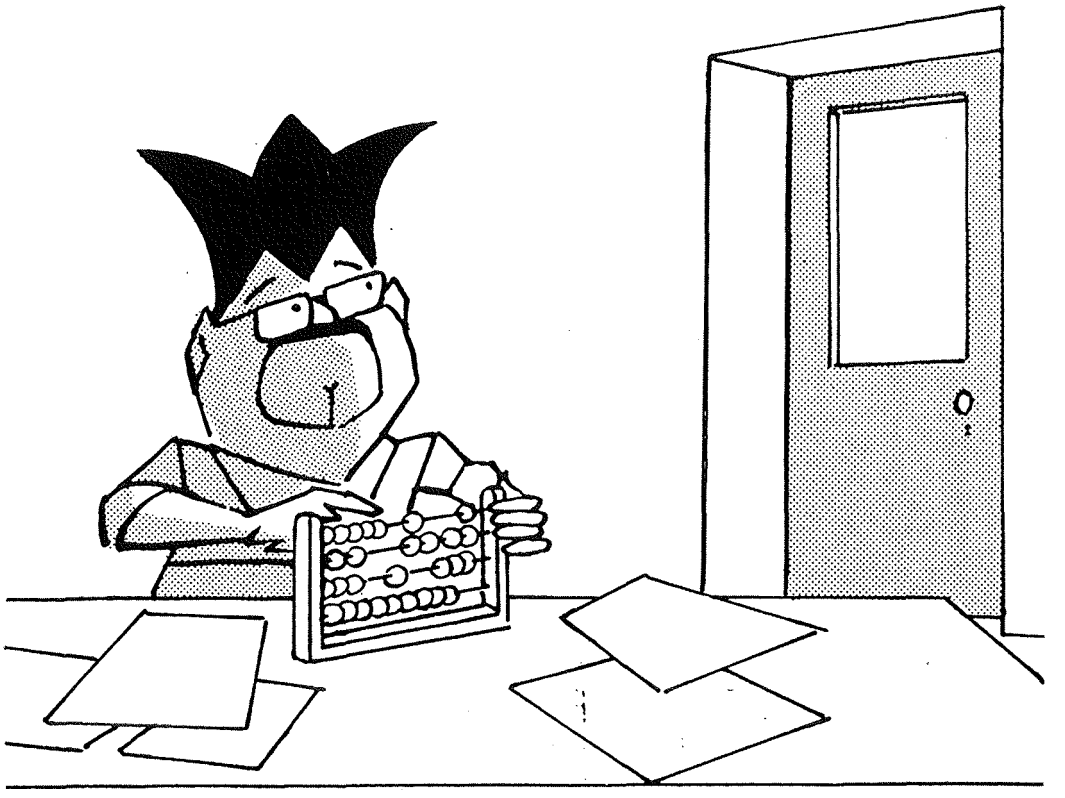
On June 22, 1982, some sensational news upset public opinion: just at a time when the debts of banks marketing their deposit certificates through brokers reached a very high level, the most famous broker, Cevher Ozden, best known as *"Banker Kastelli"* fled the country for Switzerland, and three companies he owned demanded their liquidation. The certificates of deposit marketed by Kastelli and his side-companies amounted to 86 billion Lira, together with interest coupons.

The main victims of this financial scandal were the small and even medium-sized enterprises for whom the brokers had been the only source of financing. The other victims were the savings owners. This layer of the society, facing an annual inflation rate of 50%, could save themselves from starving only by investing their savings with brokers, in return of an annual interest rate of 50-60%.

Although it was the military junta itself which was really responsible for this financial scandal, General Evren found a scapegoat in order to save the junta's prestige. It was Vice-Premier *Turgut Ozal,* who is known as the architect of the austerity measures and had the reputation of "economic czar" of Turkey. He was forced by General Evren to resign from his post, along with Finance Minister Kaya Erdem. The Junta named a new "economic czar": *Adnan Baser Kafaoglu,* Evren's advisor for economic affairs.

The changing of "economic czar" did not mean a modification in the economic policy imposed by the IMF. After taking over the Finance Ministry, Kafaoglu declared that there would not be a major change in the economic policy, but he made public that he had the intention to decrease the interest rate and to loosen anti-inflationary policy in order to satisfy industrialists. What is most important, the new "czar" of the economy announced that, in order to avoid repetition of the "Banker Kastelli" scandal, it would be better to encourage big capitalists only instead of supporting all enterprises.

The daily *Hürriyet,* defender of the interests of big business, in its issue of June 26, 1982,



announced the opening of a new era in Turkey's economy: "The shock of June 22 has been a new step in the application of the economic policy of January 24, 1980, that is to say, some changes are to be made as regards its objectives without making any fundamental change in its essence. This new era will bear the stamp of the big banks and finance holdings."

Return of Chicago boys

Within a year of the changing of the team, it became evident that the Chicago Boys' monetarist policies could be better applied only by the Chicago Boys themselves. The one-year practice of the Kafaoglu team resulted in a further deterioration of the economic situation. Since, in the given political framework, there was no alternative economic model, the IMF's favourite man, Turgut Ozal, reentered the political scene as chairman of an ultra-liberal political party, the *Motherland Party* (ANAP). Despite General Evren's personal allergy to him, Ozal, with the open support of international and local finance circles, succeeded in obtaining absolute majority in the new national assembly and was consequently named Prime Minister at the end of 1983.

Following the formation of the government of "Chicago Boys", all Turkish citizens found themselves subjected to a series of drastic economic measures designed to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and to turn Turkey into an open market for international capital.

Consistent with his electoral manifest, Premier Ozal unveiled on December 29 the first package of measures liberalizing imports and taking a definite step toward full convertibility of the Turkish currency.

Under the new economic program described as "revolutionary" by an Ozal aide, wealthy Turkish citizens have been allowed to hold unlimited foreign exchange deposits in Turkey's banks. Previously, only Turks residing and employed abroad were permitted foreign exchange accounts at home or in a foreign country. For others, holding foreign currency was an offense punishable by a prison term.

The government also lifted restrictions on travel abroad. Any Turkish citizen was freed to travel to a foreign country as many times as he

likes by purchasing $ 1,000 worth of foreign currency from the Central Bank for each trip, provided of course, he has no problems with the security authorities and with getting a passport.

The exchange rate of the Turkish lira against other world currencies would continue to be announced daily by the Central Bank. But, according to a new government decree, other banks were allowed a 6 percent "float margin" in determining their own transaction rates against the Central Bank rate.

Another decree liberalized imports in line with Ozal's free market program. Foreign goods were divided into three categories: items whose imports are banned; items that can be imported with special permission; and goods not subject to any import restriction. Any commodity not listed under the first two categories could be imported freely, by paying the required customs tax.

There was also a fourth category, consisting mostly of consumer goods, that could be imported by paying a charge higher than the regular customs tax. Thus, wealthy Turks were allowed for the first time to buy foreign goods, including luxury cars, color TV sets, Scotch whisky...

Ozal maintains that foreign competition on the domestic market will force Turkish manufacturers to produce higher-quality and lower-priced goods and will thus enable them to get a better chance of competing on world export markets. In addition, surcharges on consumer products (for example, $ 400 on a high-priced color TV set) will go into a special fund that will be used to subsidize low-cost housing.

As for exports, the government encouraged monopolistic companies: those exporting goods worth $ 50 millions or more were to get larger tax reductions than small firms. Like every typical Ozal package, this one also included price hikes. Turkish citizens were stunned when fresh price increases ranging from 11 to 50 percent were announced for State-produced cigarettes and alcoholic drinks only 3 days before New Year's Day.

Furthermore, the Ozal Government increased interest rates on bank deposits: Banks were to pay 47 percent interest on time deposits of 6 months to one year, up from a previous 35 percent. The interest rate for one year time deposits went up to 45 percent from 40 percent. Interest rates for sight deposits, however, were reduced from a previous 20 percent to 5 pc. As an advocate of free market economy and tight money policies, Ozal considers higher interest rates necessary to increase savings and reduce inflation.

The first repercussions of Turkey's new liberal import regime erupted when an Izmir businessman imported 10 tons of bananas from Panama for the first time in more than 40 years. And Turkey found herself invovled in a "banana quarrel."

In view of the fact that Turkey is a producer of tasty bananas, the appearance of Panamanian and African bananas of the "Chiquita" brand in greengrocers' stalls gave rise to a lot of controversy.

Adnan Baser Kafaoglu, the Finance Minister of the previous military-backed government, said: "The balance of payments situation in 1984, with an estimated deficit of $ 3,5 million, does not allow such measures. Even much richer countries cannot venture on such a liberalization program."

In Premier Ozal's opinion, this reaction was a new example of what he called "bureaucratic details". Before leaving Ankara for Davos in Switzerland where he was to attend the meeting of the European Management Forum, he termed the "banana import" matter a "sword of Damocles" and emphasized the need to prevent "artificial" hikes in banana prices. If the prices were to go up, more bananas would be imported, and this would be the case not only for bananas but for any commodity, in line with the "philosophy of the Turkish model."

Although the measures announced by the Ozal Government were the continuation of those which had been adopted on January 24, 1980, when Ozal was the economic adviser in the then government, on the 4th anniversary of these policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund, Ozal asserted that the "January 24 package" expression was out of date and that the model should now be labelled the "Turkish model."

"The systems implemented in other countries are not identical with ours", Ozal said. "Ours is a Turkish model, a Turkish miracle which has a lot of prestige. Why? Because it has succeeded in stemming inflation and at the same time raised the national income by



approximately 4-4.5 percent and has also increased exports."

However this new model may be labelled, the fact remains that, since January 24, 1980, Turkey has been in the process of changing her economic policy based on the "substitution of imports" which had been applied from the early 60's up to 1980. For 20 years, the import of goods similar to those produced in Turkey had absolutely been prohibited. This policy was aimed at encouraging and protecting the national industry.

From January 24, 1980, especially after the military takeover, Turkey gave up this policy and started liberalizing imports, despite the fact that the country suffered from a lack of foreign currency. The only remedy for this was to foster exports by offering low-rate credits, by reducing production costs of export goods (thanks to the ban on collective bargaining and strikes) and by enforcing a wage-freeze.

"Are the jumbo-jets of the foreign investors' army ready to touch down at Yesilköy Airpot in Istanbul?", asked the *Turkish Daily News* of Feburary 13, 1984.

Ozal's government program emphasizes the need for foreign resources to carry out investments in all fields selected to that end.

In comparison with foreign investments prior to the military coup, the investment level reached over the past four years is rather high. However, the new government's aim was to go much further. In pursuance of the new measures, Turkey would become a tax haven for foreign firms. The Cabinet was empowered to raise to 100 percent tax reductions for firms investing in "key" sectors and in "development priority" areas.

The new economic measures of the Ozal Government have given rise to unrest not only among wage-earners and small producers and tradesmen, but also among big businessmen.

During the General Assembly meeting of the *Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen* (TUSIAD), held on January 20, 1984, two fractions of big business collided with each other: the faction that had gained its economic power thanks to the policy of "imports substitution" and, on the other hand, the faction that has grown richer over the past four years thanks to the "exports fostering" policy. Whereas members of the former contented themselves with marketing their products only within the country, the second generation of Turkish businessmen made a breakthrough, especially toward the Middle East countries.

The Ozal government, by granting trade privilege with socialist countries to 13 firms whose exports reached $ 50 million in 1982, openly put its weight in favour of the new generation of businessmen.

Consequently, the first generation of Turkish business accused the government of serving the new monopolies. In response, the Government spokesmen reminded them that for 20 years the first generation of businessmen had exploited the domestic market, thanks to the policy of "imports substitution", and that it was the turn of those who endeavoured to exploit the foreign markets, thanks to the Government's new economic policy.

Whichever of these two fractions was right, it was beyond doubt that Turkey had been in an accelerated process of monopolization of all economic sectors since the imposition of the January 24, 1980 measures; and this process destroyed the "mainmast", a term used by Ozal for the masses of wage-earners, little peasants, tradesmen and handicraftsmen, while the wealthy classes were getting more and more wealthy.

According to the daily *Tercüman* of January 19, 1984, over the past year 7,082 small firms had been forced to close down through inability to cope with the competition of monopolistic companies.

Fail of the monetarist policies

When Turgut Ozal presented his government program in December 1983, he claimed that the main feature would be an attempt to control inflation and to reduce its annual rate from 40% to 10% within a 5-year period.

But the 2-year period of his government shows that while inflation is constantly falling in other European countries, it has gained new impetus in Turkey and price hikes have been higher than expected, and all efforts to fight inflation have turned out to be unsuccessful.

Years	Rate of inflation
1980	107.2%
1981	36.8%
1982	25.0%
1983	30.6%
1984	52.0%
1985	40.0%

Have the monetarist policies of the Turkish "Chicago Boys" been successful? The easiest way of assessing the consequences of this policy is to look at figures, such as the GNP, inflation and unemployment rates, balance of payments and various other statistics.

First of all, the Gross National Product ... Although a relative growth was registered just after the coup, it has been stagnating since 1981 at a level which is lower than the 8% forseen in the 5-year Plan.

Years	Growth of GNP
1980	– 1.1%
1981	+ 4.3%
1982	+ 4.4%
1983	+ 3.2%
1984	+ 5.9%
1985	+ 4.9%

In view of the annual growth rate of the population which is still about 2.64%, the real GNP growth rate is much lower than the announced rate. Besides the Turkish Lira's loss in value against foreign currencies has produced a negative effect on the national income per capita:

Years	Income per capita
1980	1,313 dollars
1981	1,308 dollars
1982	1,151 dollars
1983	1,066 dollars
1984	974 dollars
1985	973 dollars

One of the most ambitious objectives of the ultra-liberal economic program was to narrow foreign trade deficit. Although the volume of exports has risen from 2.9 billion dollars in 1980 to 7.2 billion dollars in 1985, foreign trade still suffers from a chronic deficit:

Years	Export	Import	Deficit
1980	2,910	7,513	4,603
1981	4,703	8,567	3,864
1982	5,890	8,518	2,628
1983	5,905	8,895	2,990
1984	7,389	10,331	2,942
1985	7,928	11,581	3,652
		(in million dollars)	

Thanks to worker remittances totalling 2 billion dollars annually, the foreign deficit has narrowed to about 1.5 billion dollars. But in Europe and the USA, Turkish exporters of textiles and clothing face serious restrictions. There is a considerable fall in the turnover of the Turkish contractors in oil-producing islamic countries. Because of all these reasons, a rapid increase can be expected soon in Turkey's foreign trade deficit.

On the other hand, Turkey's luxury imports have continued to increase while the great majority of the population is deprived of vital consumer goods and services.

Luxury imports such as whisky, cigarettes and cigars, jewelery, cosmetics, artificial flowers, automobiles or baby foods increased to 130 million dollars in 1985 and this figure is expected to be 190 million dollars in 1986.

According to a survey by the *Financial Times*, the Turkish companies operating in the Middle East and North Africa obtained contracts totaling 14 billion dollars up to the end of 1982. While the annual turnover of these firms was 5 billion dollars at that time, this figure fell to only 836 million dollars in 1985.

Another of Ozal's objectives has been to increase foreign capital flow by granting foreign investors extraordinary incentives and facilities, such as tax exemption. While the total flow of foreign capital from 1954 to 1980 was only 228.1 million dollars, in the last five years, from 1980 to October 1985, foreign investors have applied to the Turkish Government to invest 1,175 million dollars. However, of this promised foreign capital only a third (404 million dollars) was really invested in Turkey. Furthermore, a big part of this invested

ISLAMIC BANKS IN TURKEY

Turkey, whose commercial relations with islamic countries have increased tenfold over the past years, has recently authorized two Turkish-Arab islamic financial establishments to operate in the country. Al-Baraka and Faisal Finance, of which the principal shareholders ara Saudi Arabian businessmen.

"Different ways, different forms..." is the slogan of the advertisement campaign launched by Faisal Finance, the Turkish branch of the renowned Dar-al-Maal-Al-Islam, set up in 1981 and based in Geneva. Faisal Finance does not promise interest to its future investors since leading at interest is forbidden by Islam, but "a share in profits or losses".

On the opening day of the Istanbul branch, quite a few bearded investors wearing berets rushed the counters; young secretaries, covered with kerchieves in conformity with islamic rules, answered telephone calls asking for appointments with the bank officials.

This exceptionnal event in Turkish business circles was commented on by Artun Unsal in the Suisse daily *le Journal de Genève* of April 13-14, 1985, as follows:

"98 pc Muslim, Turkey has been proclaimed a secular state. But certain Kemalist circles (who stick to the principles of the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal) have recently become alarmed at the spectacular rush of financial sources coming from islamic regimes: Arab dignitaries can be seen very often in Istanbul where they come in order to buy or to have built residences to the shores of the Bosphorus.

"The presence of Arab investors in Turkish business circles is, in fact, not a new phenomenon. This could already be observed in Turkey at the time when the pro-islamic party MSP was influential in Turkish politics (prior to the 1980 coup). It seems that the formula of profit-sharing has already met with success. The Ozal Government has already succeeded in attracting the savings of Muslims by selling some big public properties such as the suspension bridge over the Bosphorus or the Keban Dam in Eastern Anatolia. In principle, the shareholders will never get an interest for their investment, but they will take their shares in the profits coming from these properties.

"For the Faisal Finance or Al-Baraka, the essential is to mobilise and channel the capital of the faithful to investments. For the Turkish Government, it is a matter of attracting foreign capital mainly coming from the Arab countries, and since Turkey is no longer a society based on fundamentalist principles, there will be no danger for the secular myths of the State. For a good Musulman, it is the source of additional income. So, everyone can find his own interest in this affair ..."

(*Info-Türk*, June 1985)

foreign capital is non-guaranteed trade arrears rather than a real hard currency investment.

Years	Capital promised	Capital invested
1980	96.0	53.0
1981	337.5	60.0
1982	167.0	55.0
1983	102.7	72.0
1984	271.4	103.0
1985 (10 M.)	200.6	61.0
	1,175.2	404.0

(in million dollars)

What is more, foreign investors have repatriated as profits about 230 million dollars within the first 4-year period.

According to information provided by the Foreign Capital Department of the State Planning Organization, Turkey needs at least $ 4 billion to complete her basic public investment projects. The 73 projects in question have a total cost of $ 12.8 billion and their foreign financing requirement is $ 6.2 billion. Of that amount, about $ 2 million has been secured so far.

Of the total requirement of $ 4 billion, 302.5 million is needed for agriculture, 363.9 million for mining, 370.7 million for industry, 2,347 million for energy and 654,9 million for transport.

So, the foreign capital inflow at its present level is very far from satisfying Turkey's needs.

Observing the recent decline in the foreign capital flow to Turkey, the Turkish Government conlcuded a new agreement with the USA on July 16, 1985, in Washington, covering various guarantee clauses for US businessmen wanting to invest in Turkey.

According to the agreement, US capital to be invested in Turkey will not be "nationalized" with the "exception for public interest," US business will not face additional paper work relating to investments and US banks will make money transfer at once and no additional tax will be imposed on this. Furthermore, the agreement also guarantees security for US businessmen in case of "disturbances".

COMPETITION BETWEEN BUSINESSMEN AND BROTHEL-KEEPERS

Each year Turkey's business tycoons compete with one another for the title of highest taxpayer. Nobody believes the tax paid is an accurate reflection of the Tycoon's real yearly gains, still it gives the tycoon satisfaction to appear at the top of the taxpayer list. Sometimes the competition involves the top names in Turkey's show business too.

But Turkey never had it so exciting as this year when top businessmen had to compete with Sümbül, the notorious brothel owner who says she is happy to contribute in this way to the country's prosperity. Sümbül, after paying the first installment of 93,7 million TL income tax for 1984, said she has lived up to the standards of some of Turkey's top businessmen, alluding to Sakip Sabanci, who is third on the list of highest taxpayers, with roughly 452 million TL paid this year.

Sabanci has been generous in his praise for Sümbül, who he said, should be a good example to some of Turkey's businessmen.

While the issue was being debated even in the National Assembly, the newspapers of May 14, 1985, published the tax data concerning this year. According to the official communiquée of the Tax Administration, the income tax to be paid by Sümbül rose in 1985 to 104.1 million TL, while another brothel boss, Matild Manukyan is declaring a 98.9 million TL tax.

The number of victims of prostitution had increased by 100 pc over the past ten years. According to extensive research, 238,000 women have been driven to choose prostitution as a way of life as a result of impoverishment in the lower social strata, 1,724 of these women practice this "profession" in brothels licenced by the State, about 25,000 in illegal brothels and the rest as "call girls".

(*Info Türk*, June 1985)

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of July 18, 1985, reported that businessmen of five other countries will also be granted similar guarantees in future.

Foreign debts trap

The principal reason for the drastic economic measures applied for six years was no doubt Turkey's increasing foreign debt. In order to guarantee the repayment of these debts, the Turkish people have been forced to make sacrifices. But the 6-year practice clearly shows that Turkey's foreign debts, instead of decreasing, climbed to 24.6 billion dollars in 1985, from 16.4 billion dollars in 1980. Increases of 5.5 billion dollars have occured during the last 2-year period of Ozal's Government.

According to the latest data, Turkey still holds 12th place among the most indebted countries.

Of the total foreign debt, 16.35 billion dollars are middle- and long-term debts, 1.05 billion dollars are debts to the IMF, 6.43 billion dollars and short-term debts, 3.26 billion dollars are commercial debts and 3.18 billion dollars are the savings of Turkish migrant workers living abroad.

Besides her economic foreign debts, Turkey also owes 3.5 billion dollars to the United States incurred by her purchasing military materials.

Premier Turgut Ozal disclosed on September 16, 1985, that Turkey does not plan to sign a new standby agreement with the IMF.

Turkey's first standby agreement with the IMF was signed in 1978 when the country was in a severe financial crisis, unable to service its foreign debts of around 15 billion dollars and to import necessary goods to keep its industry functioning. Turkey received 1.65 billion dollars in loans from the Fund in the 1978-82 period. Yearly standby agreements, providing 240 million dollars annually, were signed in 1983 and 1984. The latest agreement expired in April 1985.

Despite Ozal's declaration, the planning of the Turkish economy still depends mainly on the directives of the IMF. On September 5, 1985, an IMF delegation of five arrived at Ankara to review Turkey's economy and hold talks in various economic circles. During the talks, the major issue on the agenda was the imputs required for the IMF annual report on Turkey's economy. Although Turkey will not sign a new standby agreement with the IMF, the report to be drawn up by the 5-man mission will be the principal indicator for international money-lending institutions and banks to determine their credit policy towards Turkey.

The IMF Secretariat and its Turkish Desk were very satisfied with Turkey's performance between 1980 and 1984: "Turkey managed to improve its balance of payments deficit considerably; debt-servicing continued according to

schedule." In this regard, the IMF termed Turkey the only success in the whole the developping world. "As such, Turkey was the living proof of how an IMF-sponsored stability programme saved a country from near bankruptcy and converted it into a highly reliable one with a very good credit standing."

But this was only a part of the story. The improvement in the balance of payment problem also owed a great deal to a substantial cut in foreign currency payments at the cost of a decline in growth and industrialization and to comparative growth in exports resulting from the heavy pressure on domestic demand.

Viewed from that angle, the Turkish miracle stemmed from economic contraction and recession. Unemployment was up from an existing high of 16 pc to 20 pc. The hope that foreign capital investment would be the lifesaver has been still-born. The private sector is not of the caliber to fill the vacuum created by the public sector. The rise in interest rates and inflation was enough to paralyze the Turkish business community which has long been accustomed to easy means of cheap credits.

The IMF is also unhappy about the rather sloppy way in which economic decisions are taken. Like many observers, the Fund believes many important decisions are taken on the spot without due consideration for longer-term or larger-scale implication.

The Ozal government seems to have adopted the Korean model as suggested by the IMF, but the model is not fully appreciated, says a high-ranking Fund official. He notes in particular that although it is a liberal economy, the South Korean decision-making process is highly centralized and economic reforms there were initiated at the grass roots and in the banking system, in a manner reminiscent of a nationalization operation. As for Turkey, the banking sector seems to be totally out of control.

Moreover, the easy days for an indebted Turkey have already ended. According to a schedule announced in the Turkish press, Turkey is obliged to serve the following debt-payments in a 5-year period:

2,600 million $ in 1985
2,387 million $ in 1986
2,429 million $ in 1987
2,414 million $ in 1988
2,074 million $ in 1989

Whatever the text to be drawn up by the IMF mission maybe, it is now clear that the classical IMF approach will not be enough to solve Turkey's economic and financial problems.

Golden years for monopolies

The only beneficiary of the Chicago Boy's economic policies is a handful of monopolies and foreign banks which opened their branches in Turkey.

Already in 1982, according to a survey published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 8, the process of monopolization in the Turkish economy had reached alarming dimensions. Of 123 economic sectors, 18 were dominated by one firm, 27 by 2 firms, 14 by 3 firms, 15 by 4 firms, 9 by 5 firms, 16 by 6 firms, 4 by 7 firms and 5 by 8 firms. Only 15 sectors were still free from ligopolist control.

The Turkish monopols had also been engaged in a race to control the main private banks and credit institutions in Turkey.

The daily Günaydin of March 22, 1982, published the table below showing the distribution of banks by holdings:

Sabanci Holding: Akbank,
Koc Holding: Garanti Bank, Kocaeli Bank,
Cukurova Holding: Pamukbank, Yapi-Kredi Bank, International Industrial Development Bank,
Cavusoglu-Kozanoglu Holding: Hisarbank,
Zeytinoglu Family: Eskisehirbank,
Dogus Yatirim: Imar Bank,
Ozakat Holding: Egebank,
Has Holding: Istanbul Bank,
Acarer Holding: Middle East Economy Bank,
Hema Holding: Workers Credit Bank,
Mimaroglu Group: Teachers Bank,
Ercan Holding: Türk Ticaret Bank,
Yasar Holding: Tütünbank,
Taris: Milli Aydin Bank

Mr. Ismail Rüstu Aksal, the Chairman of the Is Bank, biggest private bank of Turkey, said that the year 1981 had been the year in which the laws, regulations and reorganization measures of the September, 12 regime had produced positive results. The 1982 fiscal year report of the Is Bank showed a 92.1 percent increase in the total amount of deposits and a 85 pc increase in the total of the assets.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 16, 1985, both the turnover and profits of the 500 biggest firms in Turkey had reached a mind-boggling peak in 1984. While 52 of the 500 firms belong to the public sector, the remaining 448 are private companies. As the inflation rate was at 52% in 1984, the total turnover of the 500 biggest firms increased by 73%. Their profits also increased by 107%.

British review *South*, in its November 1985 issue, published the list of the 50 biggest Turkish industrial firms:

Company	Sales/ turnover	Profit/ (loss)	Employees	Total/ Net assets
1 Koc Holding	2,928.00		28,448	
2 Tüpras-Turkiye Petrol Rafineriler	2,768.15	26.81	1,610	1,860.38
3 Hacl Omer Sabancl	2,335.00		26,000	
4 Turkiye Petrolleri AS	1,238.43	238.61	7,277	1,732.52
5 Tekel Genel Mudurilugu	1,226.00		64,706	
6 T. Ziral Donatim Kurumu	804.28	51.52	7,494	1,405.88
7 Profilo Holding AS	520.00	14.5	7,000	28.00
8 The Shell Company of Turkey Ltd. Sti	448.65	13.44	511	49.26
9 Turkiye Komur Isletmeleri Kurumu	424.41	114.71	65,654	1,138.60
10 Eregli Demir ve Celik Fab.	400.66	34.87	8,032	498.12(1983)
11 Turkiye Seker Fabrikalari	382.43	7.94	25,110	1,059.65
12 T Demir ve Celik Isletmeleri	334.32	(80.27)	32,599	
13 Petkim Petrokimya	292.00	11.78	6,892	914.17
14 Turkish Airlines	257.63	61.50	6,753	154.44
15 Mobil Oil TAS	235.71	6.43	411	63.62
16 Cay Isletmeleri Genel Mud.	229.84	19.65	17,722	174.79
17 Sezal Turkes Feyzl Akkaya Construction Co	215.30	23.00	3,635	249.46
18 Et ve Balik Kurumu Genel Mudurlugu	130.71	(6.51)	7,255	96.52
19 Turk Traktor ve Ziraat Markineleri AS	129.72	2.88	1,324	50.53
20 Azot Sanayi TAS	126.89	13.16	6,146	197.89
21 Arcelik AS	123.88	2.80	2,887	68.35
22 Sasa Sanayi Sentetik Elyaf San AS	114.23	3.92	2,663	105.21
23 Aksa Akrillik Kimya San SA	114.12	23.37	871	75.82
24 Otosan Otomobil San, AS	113.05	2.21	2,295	74.27
25 T.O.F. AS Turk Otomobil Fabrikalari AS	102.38	9.47	1,744	40.02
26 Oyak-Renault Otomobil Fab AS	112.72	13.74	2,031	56.20
27 Gubre Fabrikalari AS	93.74	6.27	1,085	63.75
28 Findik Tarim Satis Kooperatifleri Birligi	89.89	(29.95)	4,374	4.13
29 Bagfas Bandlirma Gubre Fabrikalari AS	89.88	9.27	443	50.47
30 Lassa Lastik San, ve Tic AS	89.59	5.62	1,140	95.26
31 Unilever-is Ticaret ve Sanayi Turk Ltd. Stl	87.44	13.79	1,086	41.62
32 Otomarsan Otobus ve Motorlu Araclar San	82.61	14.06	1,680	47.15
33 MAN Kamyon ve Otobus San AS	81.30	8.06	1,508	69.43
34 Igsas-Istanbul Gubre San AS	79.49	(0.33)	716	101.43
35 Metas Izmir Metalurji Fabrikasi TAS	78.12	1.33	1,071	50.56
36 Paktas Pamuk Tic, ve San AS	74.06	(0.56)	3,990	86.15
37 Nasas Aluminyum San ve Tic AS	72.06	2.24	943	66.40
38 Ipragaz AS	68.59	2.14	495	20.94
39 Seka Izmit Seluloz ve Kagit San Muessesesi	68.52	(18.95)	4,387	48.14
40 Konya Seker Fabrikasi AS	67.69	1.48	1,550	85.67
41 ETB Seydisehir Aluminyum Islet. Muessessesi	67.36	0.38	7,296	148.45
42 Cukurova Elektrik AS	67.24	6.95	798	55.66
43 Otoyol San AS	67.02	3.58	1,012	37.04
44 Gama Endustri AS	66.48	5.85	4,500	57.27
45 Alarko Sanayi ve Tic AS	66.18	5.78	1,824	83.52
46 Cukurova Celik Endustrisi	65.71	0.08	400	41.61
47 Bossa Tic ve San Isletmeleri	65.56	8.85	4,771	43.51
48 Chrysler Kamyon Imalatcilari	64.15	2.41	462	26.08
49 Kordsa Kord Bezi San ve Tic	63.70	11.00	677	61.98
50 Uniroyal Endustri	61.84	2.21	1,137	36.04
				(in million dollars)

The same review reports that 15 top Turkish industrial firms had places among the world's 500 biggest industrial companies in 1984. Another international review, *Business Week*, reports (on the basis of a survey carried out in 63 countries) that among 1,025 leading financial and industrial firms in the world were 9 Turkish financial and industrial firms.

Fabulous profits of banks

Mainly because of high interest rates and amendments in foreign exchange regulations, Turkish banks and also foreign banks operating in Turkey made tremendous profits in 1984.

All Turkish banks exceeded their planned targets and broke their former records. Even banks that previously suffered losses, have recovered and made substantial gains. According to data provided by banks, the gain realized by Turkish banks was approximately 173 percent; Is Bank's profit amounted to 125 percent and Akbank's 198 percent.

BANKS	1983 Profits (million lira)	1984 Profits (million lira)
Is Bankasi	10,300	23,500
Akbank	8,000	23,200
Halk Bankasi	2,000	10,000
Disbank	2,500	7,500
Türkbank	2,000	5,500
Uluslararasi Bank	3,100	5,200
Sekerbank	1,700	2,300
Yapi ve Kredi	80	1,200
Garanti Bankasi		702
Pamukbank	344	520
Iktisat Bankasi		491

(*The Turkish Daily News, 8.4.1985*)

1984 was a year of fabulous profits for the foreign banks operating in Turkey as well. The number of foreign banks allowed to have branches in Turkey has reached 18. The list of their profits in 1984 reads as follows:

1. American Express International Banking Corporation	TL 4,066 Million
2. Citybank N.A.	TL 3,497 Million
3. Bank Mellat	TL 3,098 Million
4. Arap Türk Bankasi A.S.	TL 2,352 Million
5. Banco di Roma	TL 1,395 Million
6. Habib Bank Limited	TL 1,258 Million
7. Osmanli Bankasi A.S.	TL 1,092 Million
8. Bank of Credit and Commerce International Limited	TL 713 Million
9. Türk Bankasi Limited	TL 427 Million
10. The First National Bank of Boston	TL 108 Million
11. Manufacturers Hannover Trust	TL 041 Million
12. Hollantse Bank Uni N.V.	TL 013 Million
13. The Chase Manhattan Bank N.A.	
14. The Bank of Oman	Established in 1985
15. Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait	Established in 1985
16. The Chemical Mitsui A.S.	Established in 1985
17. Standard Chartered Bank	Established in 1985
18. Saudi American Bank (SAMBA)	Established in 1985

(*The Turkish Daily News, 13.12.1985*)

In comparison with their invested capital, some of these banks made fabulous profits within one year. American Express Bank's annual profit was 4,066 million TL against its 5,149 million TL capital, and this return was 2,352 million TL against 240 million TL for the Arap-Türk Bank and 3,480 TL against 3,787 million TL for Citybank.

Big business not yet satisfied

Despite all the incentives granted by the Ozal Government, big business is not yet entirely satisfied.

Addressing a meeting in Giresun on September 29, 1984 Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges Chairman Mehmet Yazar, the key figure in Tukey's private enterprise, said the government had failed to overcome inflation through tight money policies. "Now the emphasis should be on increasing the supply situation and boosting production to counter inflation," he said.

He presented the following 13-point alternative measures:

- The value of the Turkish lira should be increased.
- Special concessions to exporters should be scrapped and funds worth 200 billion liras should be diverted to industries.
- A 10 percent decrease in all public spending (with the exception of investments) to narrow the budget deficit is needed.
- Special middle-term loans for industry with low interest rates should be given.
- 500 factories where production has been stopped should be reactivated.
- Bank debts of companies should be rescheduled and unpaid loans should not face interest payments for a given period.
- The financial requirements of industry should be met through the activation of a dynamic stock market.

- Interest rates on deposits should be decreased.
- State Economic Enterprises should be overhauled and each public industry should be carefully scrutinized.
- Special consumer loans should be provided to create temporary demand.
- Housing credits should be determined according to costs.
- The incentive system for industry should be re-evaluated.

Another top businessman, who asked not to be named, said his recent meetings with Premier Turgut Ozal show that the government has no intention of changing its policies, and that "despite all our warnings they (the government) are set on following a dangerous course."

"The time is up. We have shown all moderation and patience. We have given the Ozal administration ample time to fulfill its economic promises, now we will start criticising government policies," he said.

State enterprises for sale

On February 29, 1984, after a stormy 16-hour long all night session, Parliament adopted the controversial bill which will allow the government to sell state economic enterprises or installations to private bodies.

The bill, popularly known as the "Bosphorus Bridge Sale Bill", empowers the government to sell shares in state enterprises or income sharing certificates for revenues generated by state-owned installations.

Prime Minister Ozal said the funds earned from such sales could then be used to build new installations. "Sell a bridge and build another one," was his slogan.

Opposition deputies attacked the bill harshly, saying it gave sweeping powers to the government and one of them declared "Some day we may well see this parliament building sold if this bill passes."

"Free zones" in Turkey

On the directive of General Evren, with the purpose of encouraging foreign investments in Turkey, the Turkish Government announced that free zones would be set up in the region of Izmir in the West and in the regions of Antalya, Adana and Mersin in the South.

Impressed by the experience of some Far-East countries which he visited, General Evren declared that he would not give heed to critics drawing attention to the danger of creating free trade zones in the country, and he charged the government to prepare the project as soon as possible.

Business circles believe that Turkey has a lot to gain from free zones, provided that certain problems are solved. First, Turkey's chronic problem of inadequate infrastructure is a serious threat for the free zones chances of success. Improvement in communications, transportation, banking and insurance, among others, are of top priority in this regard.

Secondly the fact that the Turkish Lira is not a convertible currency may prove to be a real drawback. An inconvertible Turkish currency may leave the prospective free zones merely as exclusive areas limited to re-export functions.

In fact, the establishment of free trade zones in Turkey will serve to intensify exploitation and the progressive impoverishment of the working people of the country. The bulk of the capital to be invested in the "zones" will belong to transnational corporations which hold undivided sway in the management of the area. According to the International Labour Organization, there currently exist about 800 free trade zones while another 40 are in the process of being established. Roughly half of them are in operation in countries of South and South-east Asia. The transnational monopolies are attracted to these zones by the fact that the wages there are only one tenth of those in Western Europe, the duration of the workday is 50 percent greater, while spending on social needs is only one fourth of that in the developed countries. In these foreign enclaves there are normally no laws limiting the omnipotence of monopolies; trade unions and strikes are banned and there is no collective bargaining. Thus the expected "industrial oases" and "enclaves of industrial development" become zones of poverty (with lack of rights and rampant exploitation of the working people) and outposts of neo-colonialism.

SOCIAL SITUATION

OPPRESSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The main victim of the military repression has been the working class as well as other unprivileged classes and strata of the society. The purchasing power of the wage earners fell by 50 percent within five years. The combatant trade unions of workers have been banned and their leaders prosecuted. New legislation on trade unions and collective bargaining deprives workers of their social and trade union rights. The majority of Turkey's population has undergone an unprecedented impoverishment.

The main victims of the military repression have been the working class as well as other unprivileged classes and strata of the society. While the repressive measures resulted in the working class being deprived of its combattant trade union organizations and social rights, the application of drastic economic measures has led to a 50 percent fall in purchasing power and to a rise in unemployment from 15 percent to 20 percent in a 5-year period.

As is explained in preceding chapters, the *Progressive Trade Unions Confederation* (DISK) has been suspended and all its leaders have been brought before military tribunals under the threat of capital punishment or life sentences.

As for the pro-government TURK-IS, the *Turkish Trade Union Confederation*, it has been allowed to carry out some limited activities as a reward for its collaboration with the military regime. *Sadik Side*, the Secretary General of this Confederation, consented to take part in the military government and signed all anti-labour decrees despite violent protests from international trade union organizations.

The 1982 national convention of this confederation was held under the surveillance of the military, and all delegates, with few exceptions, expressed their gratitude and loyalty to the military junta. Nobody talked of the arrest of the DISK leaders and militants. Some delegates criticized the policy of freezing wages, but the arrows of criticism were directed at Vice-Premier Turgut Ozal. Nobody dared to attack the military or the international finance institutions which imposed the drastic measures.

The most striking event of the congress was the re-election of Secretary General Sadik Side, one of those who have been responsible for all governmental decisions taken against the interests of workers. This dual position of Sadik Side had provoked reactions in Turkey as well as abroad. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) suspended Türk-Is' affiliation for the duration of Side's stay in The ministerial post.

Disregarding all the protests, Side defied the international trade union movement and declared at the congress that he had no intention to leave either the ministerial post or the seat of the secretary general of Türk-Is. Under pressure from the military, all delegates were obliged to vote for Side's re-election.

As for the post of chairman... Ibrahim Denizcier was replaced by *Sevket Yilmaz*, who is known as one of the most reactionary members of Türk-Is' administrative board. Although he had declared before the congress that he could not take part in an administration together with Side, he changed his view the last day and accepted working beside a minister of the military government.

Following the congress, the first thing the new chairman did was to visit General Evren and present him with Türk-Is' gratitude and loyalty.

During the 1982 referendum on the new Constitution, the Türk-Is leadership gave full support to this anti-labour text after obtaining the keeping of a "check-off" system in the new legislation. Prior to the referendum, while CIA boss William Casey was making a 36-hour visit to Turkey and having secret negotiations with the Turkish authorities, Morris Palladino, the General Manager of AAFLI (a CIA-backed education trade union institute), also arrived in Turkey in order to convince the Türk-Is leadership to campaign in favour of the new Constitution. Right after these talks, it was announced that AAFLI had guaranteed 20 million TL to finance Türk-Is educational complex in Ankara.

Meanwhile the *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (ICFTU), to which the Türk-Is affiliated, and the *European Trade Union Confederation* (ETUC), to which the Türk-Is was candidate for membership, raised sharp criticisms against this Constitution.

After the adoption of the Constitution, General Kenan Evren, as the new "President of the Republic," made his first visits to the seats of Türk-Is and the Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions (TISK). During these visits, Evren urged both unions to work for industrial peace and emphasized: "There will be nothing like the strikes we observed in the pre-September 12 period."

Türk-Is' Chairman Sevket Yilmaz and his colleagues welcomed General Evren with great enthusiasm and presented him with a golden plate expressing their gratitude to the military junta.

The last bitter gift from the military junta to the working class was the new labour legislation. Just before leaving legislative power to the new elected National Assembly, the NSC adopted new laws on Trade Union and Collective Bargaining. In fact, the new legislation has



All workplaces under military surveillance. Signboard announces that work restarts on order of the NSC

been based on the claims put forth by employers before the 1980 military coup.

The Law on Trade Unions

According to the first article, trade unions are no longer considered professional organizations which protect economic, social and cultural interests, but organizations protecting economic and social interests *in the bounds of the labour relations*. This term "in the bounds of the labour relations" added to the text specifies that unions will lead their activities exclusively in this sphere. Hence, from the first article, the interlocutors of the unions are limited by their partners in labour relations (employers) and unions are deprived of their particularity of being social class organizations in general and professional organizations of colleagues in particular.

The article 3/4 of the law states precisely that "unions can no longer be founded only on the worshop level." In this case, workers of a given enterprise who wish to bargain for collective agreement with their employer will be bound either to join one of the existing unions or to found a new union which should be organized on the industry level and gather 10 per cent of the workers of the industry.

Unions will only be founded on the industry level and industries will be defined by the government. This implies that some unions would be supported by the government while others annihilated, for it will be sufficent to the government to do away with an industry in which unions would become "too restless".

According to article 5, only those who have worked for three years in a given industry can found an union. The convention of the new union should be held in the following six months and, to be eligible for the obligatory executive branches one should have worker

status for at least ten years. The re-election to these offices will no longer be possible for more than four successive conventions.

The law lays down the obligatory executive branches as following: the Executive Board, the Board of Supervision and the Board of Discipline. These boards with a certain number of members are set up separately with contradictory powers. In such a way that, between two conventions, the EB will no longer be responsible to the union convention but to the Board of Supervision. Thus, by its tripartite nature the union administration will be in a state of total confusion and powerlessness, with the decentralization of the power.

Article 28 makes a union's affiliation to an international organization depend on the exclusive authorization of the government. This is the system which was in force before 1960, and no union could obtain such authorization in that period.

Article 30 provides that: "The employer can annule the contract of the union representative providing that he or she points out the reason clearly." It means that, on the contrary to what is said, the security of the union representative is reduced to nothing, for the recourse to courts is nothing but a discussion on an accomplished fact.

Articles 37, 38 and 39 put drastic curbs on trade union activities: "Trade unions can no longer foster political objectives, cannot be in relation or collaboration with the activities of political parties, cannot in any case or on any matter act together, cannot support or be supported by any political party, cannot receive or give aids or donations from or to political parties, cannot act together with associations, foundations and public vocational institutions for political motives."

The commission of a union leader automatically comes to an end with his or her election to a political office as with his or her condemnation for infraction of articles 125, 141, 142, 144, 155, 163, 168, 171, 177, 313 or 499 of the Turkish Penal Code. (These articles mostly are related to opinion offences).

"Confederations, unions or sections cannot organize meetings or demonstrations out of their own subject matters or objectives." Let us remind you that these "objectives" are limited by the conclusion of the collective agreement...

"Trade unions cannot receive aid or donations from international organizations other than those to which they are affiliated or of which the Republic of Turkey is a member, except in the case of governmental authorization."

According to the law, union dues will be determinied by the union convention and cannot go beyond gross wages for 8 hours.

On the other hand, unions will have the right to help their members to found funds for unemployment, mariage or confinement and co-operatives. Unions can also invest in industry.

According to article 47: "The state has the power of administrative and financial control over unions and confederations." Unions and confederations shall submit to a control of their register and books by the Ministries of Labour and Finance once a year. Unions whose incomes originate from sources other than those provided for by law will be suspended from 3 to 6 months. Besides, the election of delegates to union conventions and of members of the obligatory executive branches will take place under the state judicial supervision.

Provisional articles 2 and 3 of the law provide that: "Any union which have not adopted their statutes and functioning according to the law in 8 months will be considered automatically dissolved".

This obviously takes aim primarily at the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation of Turkey (DISK) since its activities are "suspended" and it cannot modify its statute in good time. Consequently, it runs the risk of being considered dissolved by these provisional articles.

According to provisional article 5, the suspended unions whose leaders were indicted for trespass to the person of the state can only resume their activities with the acquittal of their leaders. These unions cannot collect dues and, their members will have the right to resign. At present, among the suspended unions, only DISK and the affiliated unions are in such a situation. As for the other suspended confederations HAK-IS (fundamentalist) and MISK (fascist) took up their activities again since up to now no legal proceedings have been instituted against its executive bodies till present. Obviously, this provisionary article aimed only at the total liquidation of DISK.

Collective bargaining and strike

The new law brings a set of restrictions on the right to strike.

Article 25 gives a definition of "the illegal strike": "The strike carried out without fulfilling the necessary conditions for the legal strike is an illegal one. Political strike, general strike, sympathy strike, occupation of the work place, slow down strike, fall in productivity and other acts of resistance are outlaw strikes.

"No strike can be carried out running counter to the indivisibility of the State's integrity with its territory and nation and the National Sovereignty."

Article 47 provides that:

"The rights to strike and lockout shall not be exercised in any way which contradicts principles of probity, which harms the society, or which destroys the National Patrimony."



SADIK SIDE
Yellow Unionist

According to the law, from now on strikes are banned in banks, coal-mining, petroleum, gas-works, coal-gas, roads, fire-brigades, carriage (land, maritime, air and railway), urban transportation. The number of workers concerned is more than 300,000.

Besides, the law provides a set of formalities to get over concerning the strike procedures and the decision to strike. Henceforth, the government will have the right to postpone any strike for 60 days.

The law equally provides for prison terms and fines for infringers of the prohibitions and restrictions on strike and lockout.

Unions shall be established on the industry level but, collective agreements can only be concluded on the enterprise or workshop level. Thus, unions will not have the right of industry-wide bargaining.

In order to carry out a collective agreement a union must fulfill the following conditions:

- gather at least 10 per cent of the workers in the industry;
- gather more than a half of the workers in the concerned enterprise;
- prove that it fulfills these two conditions and obtain an authorization certificate.

Article 9 provides that non-union workers can profit by the conditions of a collective agreement concluded by the existing union in their enterprise providing that they pay the union a "solidarity due".

On the other hand, according to article 11, a collective agreement concluded by a union gathering at least 10 per cent of the workers in an industry can be imposed on the whole industry by the government after it carries out "necessary modifications". Once the government has "modified" a collective agreement as it pleased and generalized it to the whole industry, it will be impossible to start new collective bargaining in this industry until the term of the imposed agreement expires, that is to say, for two years.

Despite TURK-IS' submission to all these anti-labour enactments of the Junta, the Executive Board of the ICFTU, following a heated discussion, decided on May 20, 1983, to restore this confederation's affiliation. TURK-IS Chairman Sevket Yilmaz told the committee that Side would never regain the General Secretary position in the confederation as long as he remained Chairman and also promised that he would support all efforts for the release of the jailed DISK leaders.

At TURK-IS' national congress held in 1984, Sadik Side was re-elected to the Secretary General position. As for Sevket Yilmaz himself, he was re-elected chairman, as well. After the election, Yilmaz and Side shook hands and hugged each other and declared they would work "hand-in-hand". This strongly contrasted to the statement Yilmaz made prior to the Con gress that he would not work with Side as his Secretary General.

After the Congress Yilmaz said that their display of friendship "was not a show" but "a sincere act." Side told reporters: "We were not against each other. The Chairman has been my friend for 20 years. There have been some people who wanted to break us apart but they were unsuccessful."

What was more astonishing in the face of

this sort of hyprocrisy was the tacit consent of the ICFTU to the Side's re-election.

Yet, the results of the election were very far from being a real victory for the Yilmaz-Side duo. While Yilmaz was receiving only 192 out of 349 votes, Side obtained 171 of 345 votes. It was the first time in the history of TURK-IS that two of its major leaders were elected with such a low percentage.

Considering the 50-percent fall in spending power over the past three years, this result was not a surprise. Besides, the enormous difference between the incomes of the wage-earners and those of the TURK-IS leaders was one of the reasons for the rank-and-file's reaction against the Yilmaz-Side administration. According to the right-wing daily *Tercüman* of December 27, 1983, the monthly salary of TURK-IS officials was more than 300,000 TL ($ 1,000), while the minimum salary was 10,000 TL ($ 33) and the average wage was 25,000 ($ 83).

Under these circumstances, the first legal strike since the 1980 military coup started on October 2, 1984, at the Desan-Yildirim Dockyards in Tuzla. But this move can hardly be regarded as really using the fundamental right of the working class of Turkey, because the number of workers employed was a mere 67 and only 21 of them participated in the strike. While a minority of the workers were "picketing" the dockyards, the majority carried on with their work under the "protection" of Martial Law forces.

More restrictions on Trade Union rights

Not satisfied with existing restrictions on trade union rights, Turkey's business circles forced the Government in 1984 to draft a new amendment to the labor code, so as to impose further restrictions on trade union activity.

According to the bills drafted by the Government: The Ministry of Labor is entitled to urge the Labor Court to ban any trade union assembly it considers unlawful.

"- Any trade union official accused by the Ministry of Labor of making expenditures not provided for in the labor code, can be sentenced to prison terms ranging from three months to one year. So, a trade union official can be imprisoned for sending flowers on the occasion of a ceremony or for giving a dinner in honor of a foreign trade union mission visiting Turkey.

"- To check if at least 10 percent of the employees in an economic sector are affiliated to a particular trade union - which is a condition for being entitled to engage in collective bargaining - the Labor Court shall take into consideration only the registers of the Labor Ministry. Registers certified by a notary will no longer be considered proof.

"- In the event of a vote resulting in rejection of a strike, the trade union will be obliged to conclude a collective agreement with the employer within 15 days. If the agreement cannot be signed within this period, the trade union concerned will lose its competence for bargaining and the workers will be denied any wage increase until the designation of another trade union for starting up collective bargaining.

"- The number of government representatives in the Supreme Arbitration Council will be increased. The Government will be represented by three members, whereas the workers and employers unions are - both of them - being representd by two mandates."

Thereupon, trade union officials declared that, should these amendments be adopted by Parliament, their unions will be turned into "mutual aid associations".

On the other hand, the Government issued, in 1985, a new decree to press employees of state economic enterprises to give up trade union membership. According to this new decree, any employee who gives up his affiliation and signs a special contract with the employer, is to benefit from a wage increase of 10 pc compared with unionized workforce.

In fact, even before these new amendments and decrees, workers had in practise already been deprived of the right to strike.

Turkish Press-Workers Union Chairman, Ali Ekber Güven described, in his statement of March 26, 1985, the right to strike as the workers' most important weapon to defend their economic and special rights. "But when we study the laws in Turkey, we see that there are clauses which aim to prevent workers from using their basic rights or which aim to make the right to strike less effective," he said.

The Chairman of the Health Workers Union, Mustafa Basoglu claimed that practice proved that it is urgent to reconsider the cur-



DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk arrested by the military

rent labor laws. The recent adjustments have totally ignored workers, and with the laws presently in force, there is no possibility for workers to strike.

Bayram Meral, The Chairman of the Highway Workers Union said that the labor code was a blow to workers' rights and free trade unionism. "Production should cease once a strike has been announced in a plant. But in Turkey, the practice is rather strange. You announce a strike but the employer is free to forward his stocks to the market or to hire another group of workers and to carry on with production. Who on earth could describe this situation as a true strike?"

According to the *Cumhuriyet* of January 18, 1985, 37 trade unions had been declared competent to engage in collective bargaining for a total of 1,594,577 employees in 27 major economic sectors. However, the total workforce in those 27 sectors is 2,590,978.

It was announced that in the course of 1985, the competent trade unions would be engaged in collective bargaining for 1,011,088 employees.

The daily Hürriyet of March 17 reported that a total of 530,000 employees in the sectors declared to be of strategic importance for the security and welfare of the country were officially deprived of the right to strike: 24,000 in the oil industry, 81,000 in the coal industry, 62,500 in banking, 69,000 in energy, 40,500 in education, 11,000 in road transport, 28,000 in railway transport, 14,000 in maritime transport, 21,000 in health services, 32,000 in national defence services and 124,500 in municipal works.

Moreover, the Government on March 14, 1985, issued a new decree depriving firemen and factory guards in the sectors where strikes are permitted, of the right to go an strike. Besides, the strikes of 800 workers in agriculture and 300 workers in timber-work which had already started, were banned by Govern-

ment decision. This practice discouraged all other strike attempts.

Considering that the number of salaried employees and workers in Turkey is about 5 million, the number of those who are to benefit from the wages fixed by collective agreement, amounts to 25 percent of them. They get averagely $ 90 per month. The rest will have to survive - themselves and their families - with a minimum wage of $ 43 per month.

Impoverishment of wage earners

Whatever repressive measures the government may take, it seems that resistance by the working class will grow greater because wage earners' living conditions are getting worse and worse due to the economic policies of the present government. Meanwhile TURK-IS leadership is still unable to riposte to this anti-labour stand. Since DISK is still suspended and its leaders are still being tried before military tribunals, wage earners are deprived of reliable leadership and are obliged to resort to some spontaneous actions.

Workers are discontented with the present situation because they have lost about a half of their purchasing power since the military coup of 1980. The following table shows very clearly the fall of real daily wages since 1979:

Years Real	Daily Wages
1979	111.2
1980	83.0
1981	77.4
1982	75.1
1983	74.9
1984	69.6
1985	64.9

According to a survey published in the *Turkish Daily News* on November 19, 1985, real wages decreased by 19.1 percent, within the last 2 years; that is, since the foundation of a civilian government.

Despite the fact that collective bargaining was again allowed at the beginning of 1984, new wage increases are still very far from covering the rise in prices. The relationship between the gross minimum monthly wage and the monthly per capita income has developed to the detriment of wage-earners:

Years	Minimum Wage (TL)	Per Capita Income (TL)	Proportion
1981	10,000	12,400	83.1%
1982	16,200	15,718	103.1%
1983	16,200	20,244	80.0%
1984	24,525	31,625	77.5%
1985	41,400	57,700	71.8%

While the income of wage earners has been decreasing sharply, profit's share in the industrial added value continuously climbs. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 16, 1985:

- profit's share in the added value rose from 15.2 % to 31.0 % in 1984, while wages' share lowered from 55.5% to 46.4%.
- the wages of industrial workers increased by only 35.7% in 1984, against 107% of the profit.
- the number of workers employed by the 500 biggest industrial firms fell by 5%, from 626,556 to 597,707.

Data given *the Turkish Daily News* of February 4, 1986, show also a sharp decline in the share wage earners and farmers have in national income and a correspondingly sharp increase in the share that business has:

Years	Farmers	Laborer	Business
1980	23.87%	26.66%	49.47%
1981	23.17%	24.68%	52.15%
1982	21.79%	24.56%	53.65%
1983	20.23%	24.84%	54.93%
1984	20.11%	21.48%	58.40%
1985	19.80%	19.50%	62.70%

The 1984 World Development Report prepared by the World Bank confirms that among the 43 countries examined, Turkey is seventh on the list with respect to the number of very poor people striving to get their daily bread just to stay alive. In contrast to this, Turkey is also seventh among the other countries whose rich population dominates in number over others in the society.

The World Bank report divided the population of Turkey into five slices of 20 percent each. According to this survey, businessmen and industrialists get the lion's share with 56,5 percent of national income.

The second group of people who may also be described as well-to-do are the parliamentarians, artisans and tradesmen, who get 19.5 percent of the national income.

The third group are the highly paid civil servants or specialists working for the private sector with a share of 12.5 percent.

The remaining two groups are the lowest paid. Workers and civil servants get 5 percent of the national income. Only 2 percent is left for the real poor who struggle each day for a loaf of bread.

The lop-sidedness of the national income distribution was displayed in May 1985, when General Evren visited the Uludag winter sports resort. He remarked that he was amazed to see that so many rich men live in Turkey. The same day newspapers reported that 14 people committed suicide within one week because they were reduced to a state of dire poverty.

According to another survey published by the daily *Hürriyet* of May 13, 1985, the gap between the incomes of the poorest 20 percent of the population and that of the wealthiest 20 percent is rapidly growing. This difference has already reached a ratio of 1 to 16, compared with 1 to 4 in Finland, 1 to 5 in Britain, 1 to 7 in Spain, 1 to 8 in South Korea, 1 to 9 in France and 1 to 10 in the USA.

As a result of the devaluation of the Turkish Lira, the hourly salary rate of Turkish workers which was equivalent to 1.5 DM in 1980, decreased to 0.90 DM in 1983, while wages in other countries were rising in their Deutsche Mark equivalence.

HOURLY WAGES IN DM

Country	1980	1983
Sweden	16.44	18.08
Belgium	14.98	16.48
Norway	17.25	19.25
FRG	14.14	15.27
USA	18.03	20.09
Switzerland	16.97	19.56
Holland	13.23	14.56
Canada	16.94	19.11
Denmark	17.60	19.20
France	10.94	12.18
Italy	9.24	11.85
Japan	12.90	14.13
Britain	12.12	13.16
TURKEY	1.50	0.90

Again according to a survey published by *Hürriyet* on March 14, 1985, even the most qualified workers in the industrial sector are still badly paid in Turkey in comparison with other countries. Given that a garage mechanic and a turner were paid 100 in Vienna in 1984, their colleagues in other European cities are paid comparatively as follow:

Cities	Garage Mechanic	Turner
Vienna	100	100
Düsseldorf	119	128
Zürich	207	192
Paris	96	93
London	96	74
Milan	74	51
Amsterdam	124	107
Stockholm	127	98
Copenhagen	152	115
Oslo	120	101
Athens	78	67
Istanbul	25	18

According to another survey published by the daily Cumhuriyet on January 20, 1986, the duration of work necessary to buy some basic consumer goods has increased considerably since the application on January 24, 1980, of drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF.

WORK TIME NECESSARY

Consumer Goods	in 1977	in 1984
1 kg. Bread	16 min.	33 min.
1 kg. Meat	230 min.	364 min.
1 kg. Margarin	56 min.	188 min.
12 Eggs	65 min.	89 min.
1 Lt. Gas oil	9 min.	39 min.
1 Lt. Milk	37 min.	82 min.

On the other hand, Ozal's economic policies have resulted in the rapid rise of unemployment in the country. The full unemployment ratio rose to 21.8 percent 1985, whereas it was 15.7 percent in 1980. It should be kept in mind that another 20 percent of the active population are underemployed, and their families live in miserable conditions.

As a result of the wage policies applied by the military regime and the Ozal Government, Turkey has been turned into a "paradise" for foreign investors from the point of view of labour wages. According to a study published in daily *Cumhuriyet*, the average daily wage in Turkey was $ 3.04, as against $ 11.36 in South Korea, $ 11,68 in Taiwan, $ 9.76 in Hong

Kong, $ 17.52 in Singapore, all countries which have a reputation for law wages.

During his visit to Turkey in February 1985, the Vice-president of the American Express Bank, George Carmany, expressed his satisfaction in the following terms: "Your wages, until a few years ago, were higher than those of other Asian countries. But now they have fallen under the level of them. Thanks to this evolution, your goods have become competitive on the world market." The Chairman of the British delegation of commerce, Michael Turner, had already voiced the same view: "The wages are so low in Turkey that the high inflation rate has no negative effect on foreign investments."

The weekly *Nokta* published a survey spotlighting Turkey's richest families in 1985. Of the country's 100 richest families, ten hold a fortune of over 200 billion TL (400 million dollars) each, namely Koc, Sabanci, Karamehmet, Yasar, Eczaclbasi, Dinckok, Yazici, Haznedaroglu, Kocak and Ercan families.

The daily *Hürriyet* of May 26, 1985, pointed out that, even if the declared income taxes are considered reliable, there is still a colossal gap between the net incomes of businessmen and wage-earners.

After tax deduction from their gross revenues, the annual net income of five top businessmen has been calculated as follows:

Mehmet Ali Yilmaz 534,4 million TL, Yüksel Titanoglu 506 million TL, Sarik Tara 400.4 million TL, Ali Osman Sönmez 354.6 million TL and Ali Riza Carmikli 310 million TL.

As for the wage-owners, their annual minimum net salary is only 199 thousand TL and can rise to 471 thousand TL for qualified workers. So, the annual income of a worker getting the minimum salary is 2,721 times less than the annual income of the record-holder in tax payment.

Workers' raising resistance

After a 5-year silence under pressure, the trade union movement of Turkey, with the active support and solidarity of the international trade union movement, has begun ro raise its voice against anti-labour measures and unsupportable living conditions by resorting to different ways of protest.

On February 22, 1986, about one thousand workers from all over Turkey poured into Izmir, for the first open air labor rally allowed by authorities since 1978.

The rally was organized by the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TURK-IS) to protest high inflation, low wages and restrictions on labor rights in Turkey's 1982 Constitution. Ironically, this confederation's leadership has also been responsible for all anti-labour measures adopted by the military regime.

Living conditions having worsened extremely, the grass-root of this confederation has carried out pressure on the union leadership to take a more active stand and to organize mass actions.

Prior to the rally, thousands of security forces were deployed around the Cumhuriyet Square. As police helicopters flew over the square, police searched most of the people coming to the rally area.

During the meeting, workers often rebuked TURK-IS leaders for their conciliatory position. The Turkish Daily News of February 24, 1986, commented on this reaction as follows: "Workers from Anatolia, from the provinces of Erzurum to Balikesir, from Sinop to Diyarbakir, had assembled at the rally ground to clearly and vocally protest the economic policies of the government. The Slogans prepared by Turk-Is were rather dry and came far from steering the crowd who had a rather social democrat leaning while a majority of the trade union chiefs addressing them were right-wingers. Thus the speeches did not make a great impact. The social-democrat president of the Harp-Is (War Industry Workers Union), Kenan Durukan, was the only trade union chief who really received a proper ovation. The workers who were not satisfied with the addresses started protesting against Sevket Yilmaz, Chairman of Turk-Is. The meaning of this was very clear: The leadership of Turk-Is is being dominated by right-wingers and, until the rally, the workers never had proper personal contact with their trade union chiefs, headed by Yilmaz. Their leaders were seen only on TV or in the newspapers. This time it was different. They had the chance to see their leaders in the flesh and hear what they had to say. When the addresses were far from satisfactory, the rally, which was intended as a protest

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PORTER COMMITS SUICIDE

In order to illustrate more clearly the impoverishment of working people in Turkey, we have reprinted below information which appeared in the Turkish Daily News of February 12, 1985.

"A porter committed suicide, in Kocaeli, after seeing his two children working here and there in an effort to increase their household income. Basri Meram, who worked in a private company at Tütünciflik as a porter earned 15 thousand liras (100 DM) monthly and paid eight thousand of this sum for rent. However, the remaining seven thousand was never enough to support his wife and two sons. Yesterday on seeing his two sons, one working for a grocer and the other selling bread, he first went to a nearby coffee house and started to weep, complaining that he could no longer care for his family. Basri Meram then returned to his job and after writing a final letter to his family, killed himself with rat poison."

According to an earlier issue of the same newspaper, the number of suicides for economic reasons showed an increase after 1980. The State Statistics Institute announced that the rate of suicide for these reasons rose to 14.5 pc of the total number of suicides in 1981 and 10 pc in 1983, while it was only 2.8 pc in 1980. *(Turkish Daily News*, 17.8.1984)

Regarding prostitution, Populist Party (HP) deputy Engin Aydin declared that the number of registered prostitutes rose to 233,000 in 1983, compared with a mere 2,000 in 1974. 87 pc of the prostitutes are children of poor families. (*Hürriyet*, 23.8. 1984)

The daily *Tercüman* of September 25, 1984, reported that 6,481 women had been taken in custody over the first six months of 1984 for prostituting themselves without legal authorization, compared with a mere 571 in 1981.

The number of divorces has also increased by 30.2 pc over the last 10-year period. While 11,547 couples got divorced before the courts in 1974, this number rose to 17,475 in 1983. (*Milliyet*, 28.9.1984)

The deterioration of living and housing conditions is reportedly the main cause for the divorces. Both the State Statistics Institute and the State Planning Organization announced that the annual housing deficit has reached 350-400,000 in Turkey. About 5 million persons live in houses worse than slums. Furthermore 40,000 families live in grottos and 120,000 families in huts. (*Info-Türk*, May 1985).

against the government, turned into a protest against the Turk-Is leadership.

"One very interesting point was that the workers who vocally protested against the trade union chiefs during, and especially after the rally, were unanimous in showing great support and affection for Aydin Güven Gürkan, the chairman of the main opposition social democrat party, SHP. The crowd clapped and cheered Gürkan for several minutes and did not allow him to leave the rally ground for quite some time."

After the rally, the police forces took 77 people into custody for having chanted slogans against the government's policies and the Türk-Is leadership.

Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, in response to the rally, said that the slogans chanted against him were unfair. "They declared me an enemy of the workers, whereas we all know that the engineers of these slogans are trade union lords," he said. Ozal also accused Gürkan of having violated the Political Parties Code by participating in a trade union rally.

Thereupon, SHP Chairman Gürkan, accusing the government of clamping down on the masses, said: "There is a serious tendency within this government toward putting fascist pressure on people. For quite some time I hesitated to use the word 'fascist'. I was under the impression that early use of this word would bring hazards rather than benefit. But I have now decided to use this word. It is unfortunate that the fascist tendencies in this government can no longer be hidden."

At the beginning of 1986, during the rise of worker's resistance, DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk's, defence before the military tribunal was a new blow to the anti-labour forces and raised the working class' will to struggle.

At the 258th and 259th sessions of the court on February 25 and 26, 1986, Bastürk's defence attracted widespread attention and got much press coverage in Turkey as well as all over the world. Observers from ETUC, ICFTU, WCL, WFTU and from many other international trade union organisations attended these sessions and had talks with DISK Executive Committee members and a number of other defendants.

The epilogue of Bastürk's defence is as follows:

"The accusation in this lawsuit is based on the hypothesis that DISK and its affiliated trade unions are illegal political organisations. All other events and documents in the indictments are evaluated according to this hypothesis. In other words, the accusation of DISK to

violate the Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code is not stated inductively after the investigation of what DISK has done, but on the contrary, DISK is considered as an illegal organisation in advance by prejudice and then what DISK has done and indeed in many cases, what DISK has NOT done is investigated and accused in order to prove that DISK was an illegal organisation. Thus the claims are made without replying on any evidence, the accusations are not proven by evidence, on the contrary, we trade unionists are forced to prove the falsity of those claims and accusations.

"In my examination, during the evaluation of the written evidence and in this defence word of mine, I have proven by the documents of DISK and official evidence that DISK and its affiliated trade unions have never had any intention, material or moral compulsion, illegality or illegal organisation elements that are necessary for the application of the Articles 141 or 146 or 142; and I stress that strongly once more. DISK and its members never aimed the domination or the abolition of any social classes. DISK, its affiliated trade unions and everybody who is tried in this lawsuit are all innocent.

"In my whole life as a worker and a trade unionist, I merely and only fought for democracy and freedom with the consciousness of my responsibility I bear for the society, the workers and all labourers. I struggled for a peaceful future, for love and friendship, for this PURPOSE I took my place in the struggle for independence, democracy and socialism.

"I am proud of being a member of the working class. I have a deep respect and confidence in the minds and hearts of the hands weaving the future, my brothers. I am very glad and content that I participated in the fight for democracy and freedom, through all my years, both in the Parliament and in the democratic meetings of the workers; I am very happy that I had my share in the last 25 years of the trade unionist struggle of Turkey. I have the honour of presiding both at Genel-Is and DISK.

"I also bear the great honour of being member of the boards of the PSI and ETUC, side by side with my esteemed friends, the European trade unionists who showed the best examples of international solidarity and never left us alone in the days we were subject to the most unlawful accusations.

"The iron and stone dungeons, the unlawful treatment and torture we experienced, all the things we suffered were not the first and not the last as well. The clash between the people who fight for the better, for the happiness and the ones who are the supporters of exploitation and oppression will continue further. But I am sure that one day, certainly and absolutely, our children will expect a better future, all the workers will smile the songs of freedom, fraternity and peace will be sung in my country and all over the world. And then the struggle of DISK and the things we suffered will be recalled and conceived once more and illuminate the future.

"DISK has functioned within the context of the 1961 Constitution, the principles of the ILO which were signed and accepted by the Turkish Republic and Codes numbered 274 and 275 as an independent and democratic confederation of trade unions; and will function in the same way.

"DISK has always struggled for the rights of labour, the bread and work of the labourers, the development of democracy and the freedoms, the realization of the basic human rights and freedoms, freedom of organising in trade unions, and the social rights, friendship and brotherhood, liberty and peace, preventing exploitation and oppression, the happiness of all labourers.

"DISK means the full application of the 1961 Constitution.

"DISK means the realization of basic human rights and freedom to carry on collective bargaining.

"DISK means the freedom of thought and freedom of living

"DISK means democracy and freedom

"DISK means legality and law abiding

"We did what we did for we believed in the democracy of Turkey and in order to strengthen this democracy

"The invariable law of history orders to support what is right and just

"DISK has always supported and struggled for everything just and right

"Our greatest eye-witnesses are the history and the social realities

"Time will acquit DISK and us

"Our share in the struggle for democracy and the freedom and our words of defence, the words of whom are seated in the rows of suspects in this Court, will leave profound traces in the making of the real democracy."

ARMED FORCES

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

One of the initial objectives of the junta was to turn Turkey into a military power in the region and to strengthen, for this purpose, the existing military-industrial complex. The United States has been the principal supporter of this boost with a view to having a militarily strong ally in the area and to opening new profitable markets to its armament monopolies. Parallel to the militarization of the Turkish society, all resources of the country have been allocated to the armament industries. The military's foundation OYAK turned into a giant finance holding.

The declared objective of the military junta, author of the coup d'état of 1980, was not only "establishing law and order", but also strengthening the military power of Turkey. This has also been the objective of the United States which earlier had lost, due to the islamic revolution in Iran, a very important strategic position in the Middle East. A Turkey to be politically stabilized and militarily strengthened was the only chance for the United States to maintain its control over the region.

Already in 1972 a special law had been adopted for an additional expenditure of 5 billion dollars for implementing the Army's reorganization and modernization program (REMO). After a 5-year rule, the aim of strengthening the military power of the country has already been achieved to a great extent. The army chiefs have reached "satisfactory and pleasing levels" by using all financial and material possibilities of the State and by exploiting a man-power deprived of the right to defend itself by the means of collective bargaining and strike actions.

Strengthening the military power of the country, in fact, was not only the affair of the army chiefs. Behind them were also NATO (particularly its two major partners, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany) and big business, looking for fabulous profits in the creation of a *military-industrial complex* in this under-developed country.

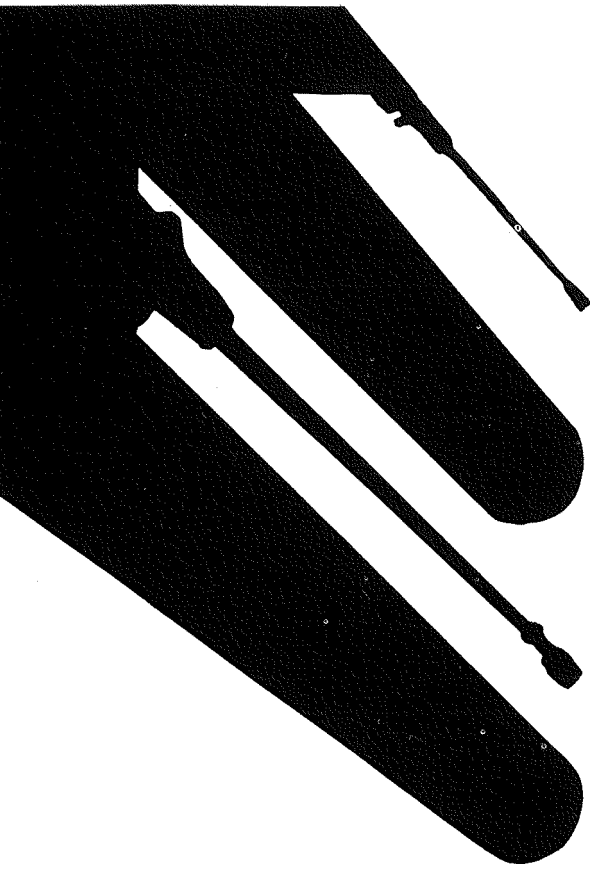
Prior to the military coup d'Etat, a study drawn up for the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives and issued on March 3, 1980, said: "In summary, Turkey and the United States still have important issues to resolve between them in the important area of defense cooperation. Turkey's value as a NATO ally and partner of the United States in helping stability and security in the eastern Mediteranean and Middle East has been accentuated by the recent upheaval in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. A successful resolution of these matters would permit Turkey to assume once again an effective role in protecting the vital security interests of NATO and the free world."

The daily Cumhuriyet of September 17, 1980, reported that "after the military takeover, the efforts for creating a *military-industrial complex* with the participation of public and private sectors have been intensified. This complex aims to produce military equipments and also to export high quality steel, integrated circuits and castings."

What was the status of Turkey's military forces before the coup d'état? Were these forces capable of defending the country? If not, what were the reasons? And one more critical question: In the case of rearmament of the Turkish Armed Forces, who would be the real beneficiary: Turkey or the United States and NATO?

We can find the answer to this question again in the US survey mentioned above: "The Turkish Armed Forces are equipped almost totally with US equipment, they were and still are heavily dependent upon access to US spare parts and supplies. Much of the Turkish military hardware is of World War II and Korean War vintage. Increasingly, older items in the Turkish inventory are becoming difficult to support because US spare parts for these items are, or will be, unavailable. US officials have estimated that nearly 50 percent of Turkey's military equipment is badly in need of repair and is difficult to operate, making Turkish combat effectiveness fairly low. Cannibalization of some major weapons systems to keep others operational has become widespread, especially in the Turkish Air Force. Maintenance difficulties have become severe and training of crews has suffered, leading to additional losses of equipment through accidents. Currently, the Turkish Armed Forces have been weakened to the point that they would find it difficult to fulfill their NATO responsibilities.

"A remedy for Turkey's military problems noted above have been outlined by former SACEUR, General Haig, by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General David C. Jones. Turkey, they have argued, needs spare parts sufficient to maintain and improve the readiness of military equipment currently in its inventory and requires a modernization program to enable the Turkish Armed Forces to fulfill their NATO missions. The modernization program would include improvements to existing communications equipment, anti-aircraft ordnance, antiarmor weaponry, field artillery, munitions and mechanization. It would include some replacements of obsolete aircraft and qualitative improvements to the rest of the Turkish Air Force and Navy. The program would also involve expanded training in the use of the more modern types of weapons systems that have been introduced into Turkey,



such as the UH-1H helicopter; RF-4 and F-4E aircrafts equipment; Asroc and Harpoon missiles.

"The costs of the United States of providing military assistance to Turkey in order to upgrade her military forces have not been detailed by American officials. Gen. David C. Jones has noted that a figure of 4,5 billion dollars over a 5-year period has been discussed as a possible amount involved. Such an amount would not provide Turkey with "large amounts of new equipment, the current generation," but would mainly improve the equipment Turkey has at present. Although General Jones did not wish to speculate on what specific Defense Department requests might be made of Turkey in future years, he acknowledged that 'obviously, Turkey is going to require some continuing assistance.' It seems apparent that if history is guide the United States will be requested to provide the largest share of that assistance." (*Info-Türk*, US Interests in Turkey, 1982, p.13)

The military-industrial complex in Turkey is composed mainly of four components:

1. Turkey's defense budget.
2. The military foundations for strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces.
3. Turkish big business including the Army Officers' finance holding company OYAK.
4. The US and other NATO countries' war industries.

First of all, since the military coup of 1980, the share of military expenditures within the Turkish national budget has sharply increased by climbing from 15% to 19.8% in 1986. In comparison with the 1985 Fiscal Year Budget, military expenditures increased by 51.8% to 1,300 billion TL. As for the military expenditures' share in the GNP, it was 11.68% in 1984. It should be remembered that in the national budget the sums allocated to national education and to health and social services are respectively 8.7% and 2.7%.

The second axe of the military-industrial complex is the three foundations for strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces. The military has been moving towards creation of a local war industry since the Cyprus crisis of 1974 which was followed by a 3-year US embargo on military sales to Turkey.

The assets of the three foundations amounted to 110 billion TL (200 million dollars) in 1985.

Turkish Air Forces

The leading one among them is the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force (THKGV). The assets of this foundation had already reached 2 billion TL by the end of 1980. It owns 34 percent of the shares of the Turkish Aeronautic Industries (TUSAS), founded for the task of modernising the Turkish Air Force and manufacturing war planes. The Turkish aeronautic industry cooperates with more than 170 local firms for the production of different pieces.

The THKGV itself is also contemplating the production of photographic film and paper to be used at reconnaissance activities of the Air Force.

The major step towards the realization of the Turkish aeronautic industries has been the foundation of the aircraft factory, on November 30, 1984, with the purpose of assembling

and co-manufacturing Turkey's first F-16 fighters.

"We will be overwhelmed in the near future when these planes start flying through our skies," a jubilant Evren told the guests at a special ceremony at Murted Air Base only a few kilometers outside the capital.

The initial accord had been signed on May 2, 1984, after US aviation company General Dynamics won the stiff competition against McDonnell Douglas and Northrop.

According to this initial accords, the Turco-American joint venture for the assembly and co-manufacture of the F-16 fighter is to be carried out by "TUSAS Aerospace Industries Incorporated". This new corporation was set up by the Turkish parent company, TUSAS (Turkish Aeronautic Industries) on the one hand, and on the other, by the General Dynamics. TUSAS has a 49 percent share in the new company. The Turkish Aviation Institute (THK) has a 0.1 percent share and the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Force (THKGV) 1.9 percent. The remaining 42 percent of the share go to General Dynamics and 7 percent to the engine supplier, another US company, General Electric.

Under another agreement signed in 1984, General Dynamics will meet through the offset arrangements 1.5 billion dollars of the 4.5 billion dollars estimated total cost of the aircraft project. Turkey is to provide one billion dollars from its own resources and the rest is to be met by US military grants and credits.

Turkey plans to buy eight F-16 aircraft to start with and then assemble and later co-produce 152 more planes over a period of 10 years at the Murted plant.

On November 9, 1984, Turkey and General Dynamics concluded a new accord for financing the project. Besides its direct participation with 1.5 billion dollars, General Dynamics promised to assure an offset deal including export of spare parts produced in Turkey as well as other Turkish products of 1.27 billion dollars.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 31, 1984, 1,500 qualified personnel will be employed in the aerospace industry plants. These plants however will produce only 5,000 out of 120 thousand parts of a F-16 plane; the rest will be imported from the United States and assembled in Turkey.

As for the engines of the aircraft, General Electric will furnish F-110 motors which will be assembled in another plant to be set up in Eskisehir.

For the electronic parts of the aircraft, another Turco-American company has already been founded in Turkey. 51 percent of the shares of this company, named Havelsan-Aydin, belong to the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Forces (THKGV), 38 percent to the US company Aydin Corporation and the rest to another Turkish company, TESTAS.

If there will be any unexpected obstacle, the aircraft factory will start to assemble first F-16 planes at the end of 1986. From January 1987 on, the Turkish aerospace industry will start to produce certain parts of the aircraft. And in January 1988, the first co-produced F-16 will fly over Turkey's skies.

Expecting the realisation of this project, the Turkish military have decided to replace the aging Korean War F-100 jet fighters of the Turkish Air Force by more advanced aircraft.



According to the daily *Milliyet* of August 22, Turkey plans to buy as soon as possible 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt, 15 Phantoms and five F-5 from the United States, 170 F-104 fighters from the Federal Republic of Germany. The Turkish Defence Minister, Mr Yavuztürk, announced that until the production of the F-16 in Turkey, the Turkish Air Force will be equiped with at least 100 Phantoms and 170 F-104.

On November 24, 1984, Pentagon announced that the United States decided to grant 12 F-5 jet fighters to Turkey despite objections from Greece.

The FRG promised to hand over to Turkey 75 F-104 aircraft until the end of 1984, 45 fighters in 1985 and 50 fighters in 1986. All these F-104 fighters are being replaced in the German Air Force by Tornado jet fighters, manufactured by a British, German and Italian Consortium.

BRIBERY CONCERNING F-16 PURCHASES

Allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 jet fighters purchases have gone around in connection with Ex-general Tahsin Sahinkaya, former member of the military junta and commander of the Turkish Air Force.

After a long period of bargaining, the Turkish government had decided on September 7, 1983, to select the F-16 Flying Falcon as the fighter it will co-manufacture with General Dynamics. The contract covers assembling and co-manufacturing 160 planes at an estimated cost of 4.2 billion dollars. The losers of the race were F-18 of McDonnell Douglas and F-20 Tigershark of Northrop.

On June 25, 1985, General Evren laid the foundation for the F-16 jet fighter engine plant in Eskisehir.

A few weeks later, the former vice-president of General Dynamics, Mr Takis Velotis, revealed in an interview with the Turkish *Milliyet* of July 11 that the company had given a bribe of TL 12.5 billion to some top officials in Turkey in order to get the deal but he did not give the names of the bribed persons.

However, the American magazine *Time*, on November 14, 1983, had already mentioned the name of General Sahinkaya as one of the bribed persons and qualified him as the "one of the ten richest army generals of the world."

Although opposition circles asked the State Council of Inspection as the highest authority in this field, to take up the matter, Provisional Article N. 15 of the Constitution drawn up by the military junta forbids any legal investigation or action against any decisions or measures whatsoever taken by the Council of National Security (the military junta).

Justice Minister Necat Eldem said that allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 issue may be investigated if Parliament decides to lift Provisional Article 15.

But Parliament, because of the pressure coming from General Evren, cannot act accordingly and the bribed General Tahsin Sahinkaya still keeps his title of "Member of the Presidential Council."

(*Info-Türk*, September 1985)

Canada too has announced that it would grant secondhand F-104 fighters to Turkey. 20 out of these fighters will be delivered after being repared at a cost of 6 million dollars; the rest, 34 other F-104 will be used by the Turkish Air Force as the spare parts for the repair of 20 fighters.

The initial agreement for the purchase of 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt has been suspended by Cairo on the Greek objection.

Great Britain proposed to Turkey, during the visit of Yavuztürk to London, the sale of 40 Tornado jet fighters, each costing 22 million dollars. But the proposal of British Defence Minister Michael Haseltine was later deadlocked by the veto of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson. British Prime Minister Thatcher also announced on December 13, 1984, that she does not believe Turkey is a suitable market for Tornado planes.

Another new project of the Turkish Air Force is the replacement of the aging World War II vintage C-47 transport planes with modern planes. Turkish officials announced that they also aim to secure a deal whereby Turkey will be able to co-manufacture the transport planes and their spare parts. Thereupon, transport aircraft manufacturers and officials from Canada, Spain and Italy have invaded the Turkish capital for this half a billion dollar plane deal. The Canadians have offered their DCH5-Buffalo or Gash-8 or Twin Atter planes, while the Italians their GG-222. The unit price of the 52 new transport planes to replace the C-47 varies between 5,5 to 12 million dollars. Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk said on September 12: "We are looking for a partner. Any of the planes of Spain, Italy and Canada is acceptable to us. But our condition is to set up a joint venture."

Turkey has concluded another accord with the US with the view of co-manufacturing UH-IH helicopters in Ankara under the licence of US Textron. 10 out of 27 helicopters will be delivered immediately by the United States, the rest will be assembled in Turkey.

The Turkish military also aims to reinforce the Turkish Armed Forces with the installation of new missiles. During the Spring 1984 meeting of the NATO Defence ministers, Turkish minister Yavuztürk called upon his colleagues to support the Turkish project of buying Harpoon missiles to be deployed in Turkey's Aegean region. Despite the fact that this demand was considered acceptable by NATO circles, the deal has been suspended due to the opposition of the Greek side which claims that the installation of these missiles of 90 kilometer-range in Turkish territory will upset the balance of forces in the region, because the French-made EXOCET missiles in the possession of

the Greek Army have only a 50-kilometer range.

Thereupon, Turkish Ministers have started a new bargaining with the British Minister Heseltine for the installation in Turkey of the British anti-air missiles RAPPIER. According to the daily *Milliyet* of August 22, 1984 Turkey has ordered 36 Rappier missiles to Great Britain.

Besides, Turkey also ordered from the United States Super Side Winder and Sparrow missiles. The United States announced also its intention to deliver to Turkey Maverick missiles which are used from air to land.

Another Turco-American joint venture project concerns co-production of land based anti-aircraft radars in Turkey: The U.S. company Westinghouse offered an immediate cash inflow of 2.5 million dollars and another 1.5 million dollars in equipment, parts and technical know-how. Westinghouse has also offered to modernize the radars currently in use in the Turkish Air Force's F-4 Phantom fighters. The Corporation is also the manufacturer of the radars for the F-16s which Turkey will co-manufacture in the future.

Land forces The first step towards the building up of a war industry to produce materials and equipment for the Land Forces has been the establishment of the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Land Forces (KKGV) which has registered a very rapid development after the military coup d'état of 1980. At the General Meeting of the Foundation, held in 1983 in Ankara, General Nurettin Ersin, Commander of the Land Forces and member of the 5-man military junta, said that the Foundation had made important improvements during 1982 and its assets reached 5,310 million TL (27 million dollars). Half of this amount was reportedly donated by Turkish workers abroad. Those donations have been collected at Turkish consulates and border check points either by exploiting nationalist sentiments of the Turkish workers or by forcing them to pay it. The KKGV owns investments in many enterprises and founded ASELSAN (Military Electronics Industry) to produce electronic pieces and wireless equipment, and later ASPILSAN to produce batteries for military equipment.

At present, the main objective of the Land Forces is to modernize 600 M-48 tanks with more powerful guns and better engines. Modernization of 170 M-48 tanks (transforming in diesel) was already realized at the end of 1983. The US Defence Department announced on August 4, 1984, that the Turkish Army plans to buy "conversion kits" to upgrade its more than 30-year old M-48 tanks at a cost of 129 million dollars. They will be re-equipped with 105-millimeter guns, replacing 90-millimeter weapons.

In addition to the modernization of these tanks, Turkey concluded an agreement in 1980 with the Federal Republic of Germany for the co-production of 77 Leopard tanks in Turkey. Profiting from a 600-million DM Special Military Assistance, this project also envisages the supply of other types of weapons, including 2500 Milan missiles.

These talks turned also to the co-production of a more advanced type of tanks, Leopard-2. But the realization of this project has been suspended by the FRG for financial reasons. But the press reports that the real reason for this suspension was rather the objection of Israel which considers the production of these tanks in Turkey as a threat to its security. The Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk said on September 12, 1984, that "This argument is not serious. If the Arabs can't buy the tanks produced in Turkey, they will buy them from Great Britain or from the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact there are claims that in some Arab countries there are also Israeli-made tanks." He expressed the hope that the talks with the FRG will be resumed in the near future.

Turkey has concluded another agreement with the United States for co-producing anti-tank missiles in Turkey. US General Defence Corporation participates in this joint venture with 30.8 million dollars. It is reported that the co-production of these FP-105 missiles will start at the end of 1985.

On the other hand, within the framework of NATO Projects, a tank palet factory was opened on November 9, 1984, in the province of Adapazari (Arifiye) in Turkey. The FRG granted Turkey 29.5 million DM for the financing of this project.

As for the Machinery and Chemical Industry Corporation of the Armed Forces (MKE),

its Cankiri plant will start from the spring of 1985 producing twin-barrel 20 mm anti-aircraft field guns with the corporation of the Swiss Oerlikon Company.

The Kirikkale plant of the MKE too has concluded an accord with the FRG for co-producing, from 1986 onwards, 105-mm cannons. The Leopard-I tanks will be equipped with this cannons.

Naval forces The Foundation for Strengthening the Navy is the parent company heading creation of naval industry. Thanks to the donations collected from Turkish immigrant workers abroad, this foundation first constructed two speed boats named "Gurbet-I" and "Gurbet-II" (Exile-I and Exile-II).

According to a survey of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, reported by the daily *Hürriyet* of August 23, 1984, Turkey is among 24 countries which are able to produce their own submarines.

The Golcuk dockyards of the Turkish Navy have been developed since the coup d'état to produce Dogan (Lurssen) class missiles armed gunboats, landing craft and even tankers.

In fact, one of the six submarines of the type 209 given by the FRG is being assembled at Golcuk dockyards. It is reported that Turkey will be able to assemble 8 or more submarines at the same dockyards. The Turkish Navy has bought from the FRG 4 "MEKO-200" escort boats. The first two will be delivered in 1986, the two others will be assembled at Turkish dockyards.

On the other hand, 13 LCT landing boats are being constructed in the dockyards of Taskizak with FRG collaboration. Three of these boats and one coast-guard boat have already been launched on July 27, 1984. A few weeks later, on September 9, the first tank landing boat, equipped with two 20-mm Oerlikon guns and 12.7-mm Vikers guns, were launched at the naval dockyards in Izmir.

It was recently announced that the Turkish Navy decided to build a new naval base in the zone of Aksaz in the region of Marmaris of the Aegean Coast. This new installation to be named "South Western Anatolian Naval Base" costs about 2,772 million Turkish Liras.

Turkey, a nuclear power? Turkey's neighbours are already observing with anxiety the level attained by the Turkish war industry, although this level is very far from the minimum standards of NATO. The Turkish military occupation of the northern part of Cyprus and the Turkish Army's penetration into the territory of Iraq in 1983 and 1984 have already been alarming to Greece and islamic countries of the Middle East; even for Israel.

On February 27, 1984, a Greek newpaper, *Idisis*, reported that Turkey was planning the construction of a giant military base in Corlu, 75 miles far from Bulgaria and 85 miles from Greece. The US sources claimed that this base, which costs about 16 million dollars, would be under NATO control. But both of these western neighbours of Turkey see this new base as a menace to their security.

Another Greek newpaper, *To Vima*, announced in its issue of May 13, 1984, that Turkey would have nuclear arms as well within a 10-year period. The origin of this alarm is the fact that Turkey is still bargaining with some countries for building her first nuclear power plant at Akkuyu in the province of Mersin. The three foreign companies which have given their letter of intent for this project were the U.S. based Westinghouse Company, the Canadian AECL and the West German Krafwerke Union. The Turkish Government announced that it will sign the contract with the one that accepts transfering the power plant to Turkey after having constructed it.

What are the real perspectives of the Turkish war industry? Can it attain the level of the war industries of other NATO countries? It has already been disclosed that European countries set up consortiums to manufacture new arms jointly. And there is a project that has been going on for years to standardize NATO arms. Can Turkey take part in this process?

Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk replied to these questions in an interview with the *Turkish Daily News* of September 13, 1984:

"Turkey has an established capacity in regard to the defence industry. We need to properly utilise this capacity. Today we have a good foundation even working only in single shifts. We can increase the shifts and boost our capacity. This could also help ease the unemployment problem. Turkey has to break away from the tradition of being a country that

always buys arms. We have the know-how and the necessary technology. We should not be regarded as underdeveloped in this field. The NATO defence ministers discuss the new generation of weapons for the 1990s. With the current pace of technological developments, the arms in use today become outdated very quickly. We want to have a part in the manufacture of new weapons systems and modernizing air forces. Turkey should be able to sell arms while also buying them."

OYAK: a new giant

There is no doubt that the lion's share of the war industry belongs to the finance holding company of the Army officers: OYAK.

As has been explained in detail at the beginning of this book, *the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund* had been founded in 1961, with the aim of supplying army officers and NCOs with cheap consumer goods, providing credits with low interest rates and constructing low-cost residences for Army officers. But over a 10-year period, this fund has turned into a giant finance holding company, distributing profits to Army officers and NCOs and has developed its collaboration with foreign capital in different fields of investment.

Only one of its joint ventures, OYAK-Renault which produces French-licenced cars, had place among the 30 biggest industrial firms of Turkey with an annual turnover of 112.72 million dollars.

According to the financial report presented to the 25th General Council meeting of OYAK, held on May 31, 1985, the foundation's profitability climbed to 130% in 1984, and all its military shareholders received a profit-share of 42.4% in the same year.

In 1985, OYAK and the three army foundations owned the following industrial and commercial firms:

1. Türk Otomotiv Endustrisi A.S. (automobile)
2. Motorlu Araclar Tic A.S. (automobile)
3. OYAK-Renault (automobile)
4. Motorlu Araclar A.S. (automobile)
5. Agir Döküm Sanayii A.S. (iron casting)
6. Good-Year A.S. (tire)
7. Çukurova Çimento A.S. (cement)
8. Mardin Çimento A.S. (cement)
9. Bolu Çimento A.S. (cement)
10. Ünye Çimento A.S. (cement)
11. Otomarsan (automobile)
12. Koytas
13. Sidas
14. OYAK-Kutuluas A.S.
15. OYAK-Kutuluas Insaat A.S.
16. OYAK-Kutuluas Pazarlama A.S. (marketing)
17. OYAK-Kutuluas Prefabrik A.S. (prefabricated houses)
18. Isbir
19. Aspilsan (military battery)
20. Mustas
21. Netas
22. Havelsan (military electric)
23. Hava Uzay Sanayii (aeronautic)
24. OYAK-Insaat A.S. (construction)
25. TUSAS (tourism)
26. Aselsan (military electric)
27. DITAS
28. Turgutlu Konservecilik (Canned food)
29. Eti Pazarlama ve Sanayi A.S. (marketing-industry)
30. Hektas
31. Petkim-Petro Kimya (petro-chemical)
32. Petlas
33. TESTAS Electronik A.S. (electronic)
34. OYAK Yatirim Holding (Investment holding)
35. OYAK Sigorta (Insurance)
36. Omsan Nakliyat A.S. (transport)
37. Tam Gida Sanayii A.S. (food)

OYAK and three army foundations also have joint ventures with the following local and foreign firms:

1. General Dynamics
2. General Electric
3. ITT
4. Philips Dodge
5. Northern Electric
6. Renault
7. Good Year
8. Mobil
9. International Harvester
10. Shell
11. General Motors
12. Koc Holding
13. Kutlutas A.S.
14. Sabanci Holding
15. Yasar Holding

16. Gama Holding
17. Çukurova Holding
18. Has Holding
19. Türkiye Sinai Kalkinma Bankasi
20. Is Bankasi
21. Vakiflar Bankasi
22. Ziraat Bankasi
23. Çimento Sanayii A.S.
24. DITAS
25. MKE
26. Elektronik Sanayii
27. Petkim
28. Etibank
29. PTT
30. Türkiye Petrolleri A.S.

War industry's new boost

Turkey's defence industries, already the largest in the Middle East, were given a further boost by the establishment of a government fund to finance investment in armament which replaces three foundations for strengthening land, naval and air forces.

Premier Ozal said on November 19, 1985, that it would have an annual income of 350 billion TL (600 million dollars). Its income will come from levies on cigarettes and alcoholic drinks, surcharges on the national lottery and other forms of gambling, a special 5% levy on petrol and other liquid fuel, donations, and from a straight allocations from the budget.

It will be administered by a "defence industry supreme coordination board", which will include the Prime Minister, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, other ministers and army commanders. It will handle the procurement and manufacture of weaponry for the Turkish Armed Forces and is specially authorised to encourage manufacturing investments, including joint ventures with local and foreign partners.

News of its creation has sparked off a scramble among large private industrial groups to find foreign partners for joint ventures in the arms industry.

Major Turkish finance holdings such as Koç, Alarko, Sabanci, Ercan, Tekfen, Profilo, etc., have started talks with foreign war industry giants such as Westinghouse, British Aerospace, Plessy, Alwis, British Royal Ordonance Group, General Electric, Dornier, Gec-Marconi, Marconi, AEG, Thyssen-Henschel, Kraus Maffei, Sankey, Panhart, FMC, INI, Mercedes, MAN, Cadillac Gaje, Ford Aerospace, Westland.

INVENTORY OF THE ARMAMENTS OF THE TURKISH ARMY

The Turkish Armed Forces today constitute the second of the most powerful armies of NATO. Their strength rises to 711,000 (of which 80,000 are permanent). In the case of military mobilisation, 833,000 reserve troops can be called to arms. For those conscripted, the duration of service is 18 months.

LAND FORCES

They are composed of 4 armies which have their headquarters in Istanbul, Malatya, Erzincan and Izmir.

- The First Army is responsible - on the operational plan - for Eastern Thrace and mainly composed of armoured unities and those of mobile operations.
- The Second Army is responsible for Central and Northern Anatolia, the Dardanelles and furnishes the Turkish forces in Cyprus with supplies.
- The Third Army controls the Eastern Anatolia and is integrated, like the First and Second Armies, in the operational command of NATO.
- The Fourth Army is responsible for the Aegean region. It was created in 1975 and is not incorporated into the operational command of NATO.

The four armies consist of 10 corps, 2 mechanized infantry divisions, 6 armoured brigades, 4 mechanized brigades, 14 infantry divisions and 11 infantry brigades, 1 brigade of paratroopers and 1 brigade of commandos. There are also 4 bataillons equipped with 54 "Honest John" sol-sol missiles and 48 independant unities (8 of Reconnaissance, 32 of artillery and 8 anti-air artillery).

The strength of the Land Forces goes to 470,000 (of which 50,000 are permanent). In the case of military mobilisation, 700,000 reserve troops can be called to arms.

The armament of the Land Forces in different sectors:

ARMOURED FORCES: 100M-26, 50 Leopard 1A3; 500 M-47; 3,000 M-48 MBT; 2,000 M-113; 1,200 Commando APC.

ARTILLERY: 95 guns M-116A1 of 75 mm; 140 M-101A1 of 105 mm; 150 M-59 and 400 M-11A1 of 155 mm; 116 M-115 of 203 mm; 400 M-7/M-108 of 105 mm; 210 M-46 of 155 mm; 48 M-100 of 203 mm. The artillery has

at its disposal also 1,750 guns of 60, 81 and 107 mm; howitzers of 120 mm; 18 "Honest John" sol-sol missiles and M-44 guns of 155 mm.

ANTI-TANK ARMS: 1,200 guns of 57 mm; 390 of 75 mm; 800 of 106 mm; also 85 Cobra missiles, SS-SS-11 missiles. TOW guided missiles. Besides, 2,500 Milan guided missiles have been ordered.

ANTI-AIR ARMS: 300 twins of 20 mm; 900 guns of 40 mm as well as M-51 guns and 75 mm and M-117/8 guns of 90 mm.

AIRCRAFTS OF THE ARMY: 18 U-17; 2 DHC-2; 6 Cessna-206; 3 Cessna 421; 15 Dornier-27; 9 Dornier-28; 20 Baron; 5 T-42; 40 Citabria 150S training planes; 156 Augusta-Bell 204/5 helicopters; 20 Bell 47G; 48 UH-ID and 30 TH-300G. Besides, 27 UH-1H helicopters have already been ordered.

AIR FORCES

Their strength is 53,000 men (of which 20,000 are permanent). 66,000 reserve troops can be called to arms in the case of mobilization.

The Air Force is composed of 4 commands (2 tactical, 1 administrative and 1 training).

13 SQUADRONS OF BOMBARDIER, of which 2 are equipped with 42 F-5A and 12 F-5b, 2 with 40 F-100c-DF, 6 with 82 F-4E and 8 RF-4E, and 3 squadrons with 50 F/TF-104G.

2 SQUADRONS OF CONTAINMENT, equipped with 30 F-104S.

1 RECONNAISSANCE SQUADRON, equipped with 20 RF-5A and F-5B.

6 TRANSPORT SQUADRONS: 2 equipped with 7 C-130 E and 20 C-160D, 3 squadrons equipped with 30 C-47A and one squadron with 3 "VIP", 2 Islander, 12 helicopters UH-1D/H and 5 UH-19D.

9 BASIC FLIGHTS SQUADRONS: They have at their disposal 40 T-33A, 2 C-47A and 2 UH-1H helicopters.

3 TRAINING SQUADRONS: Equipped with 24 T-34, 25 T-37, 60 T-38 and 30 T-41.

There are also SPECIAL MISSION SQUADRONS which have at their disposal 36 F-100/F and 20 F/TF-104 and another VIP fleet with 2-C47A.

AIR-AIR MISSILES: 750 Super Sidewinder AIM-9P3 as well as Sidewinder, Sparrow, Falcon and Shafrir missiles.

AIR-SOL MISSILES: AS-12, Bullpup and Maverick.

There are also 8 SOL-AIR squadrons equipped with 36 Nike-Hercules and 36 Nike Ajax.

NAVAL FORCES

The strength of the Navy is 46,000 men (of which 10,000 are permanent). 70,000 on reserve troops can be called to arms in the case of war.

There are 5 naval bases in Turkey: GÖlcük, Izmir, Istanbul, Eregli and Iskenderun.

SUBMARINES: 5 type 209, 10 ex-US Guppy, 1 Tang, 1 ex-US Balao.

DESTROYERS: 9 Gearing (2 leased, 5 with 1x8 ASROC), 4 Fletcher, 2 Sumer, 2 Carpenter and 2 frigates Berk (each carrying 1 helicopter).

PATROL BOATS: There are 13 patrol boats with missiles and 8 with torpedos. In detail: 4 type Dogan (Lurssen FPB-57) with 2x4 Harpoon SSM; 9 Kartal (T 141 Jaguar) with 4 Penguin-2 SSM; 7 boats with Jaguar torpedos and one with type Girne.

MINELAYERS: 1 Type Nusret and 9 coastal minelayers.

MINESWEEPERS: 12 type US Adjutant, 4 ex-Can MCB, 6 ex-Vegesack coastal, 4 ex-US Cape.

There are also 72 landing ships of different types, G6 auxilliary ships (of which 9 tankers) and 25 patrol boats.

Other ships have already been ordered: One submarine Type 209, 4 frigates Meko-200, 2 Lurssen carrying missiles, 13 landing ships as well as Harpoon missiles.

The fleet is also comprised of one anti-submarine unity, equipped with 18 S-2E aircraft and 7 AB-204B and AB-212 helicopters.

The Marines Brigade is a 5,000-man unity which is composed of a headquarter, 3 operation bataillons, an artillery batallion and a unity of support.

FORCES IN CYPRUS

To the list above it should be added a Corps comprising 2 infantry divisions (total strength: 17,000) which is charged with maintaining occupation regime in the nothern part of Cyprus. This corps has at its disposal 150 armoured tanks and vehicles (M-47/48 and M-113) as well as 212 guns of 105 and 155 mm. It has also Howitzers of 203 mm and anti-air guns of 40 mm.

(Sources: *Turkey Almanac 1983*, Ankara; IISS, *The Military Balance 1983-1984*, London, 1984. It must be underlined that the data given above do not include the last orders of arms which are explained in the preceding pages.

FOREIGN RELATIONS 1

GROWING U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE

Eliminating all obstacles thanks to the coup d'état, the United States have concluded new military and economic agreements with Ankara, and Turkey has become a key strategic site on the nuclear frontline. The country is deeply involved in the nuclear build-up and bristles with U.S. communication and spy stations. Turkey's enhanced role fits in well with NATO's new military strategies, which are focusing more and more on areas to the south of Europe and moving farther and farther away from NATO's traditional battlefields.

Just after the military coup d'état, on October 17, 1980, a communiqué issued after the high level Turco-USA talks in Ankara said: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of Turkish defence industry through mutual efforts and that the progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as multilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO alliance."

One of the immediate consequences of the military coup was the ratification, by the 5-man junta, of the Defence Cooperation Agreement between Turkey and the United States. This agreement which had been confronted with the opposition of the majority of the pre-coup Parliament laid down the basic principles of bilateral defence relations and assured continuing operation of the key US bases in Turkey.

Benefitting from the restored "stability" in Turkey, General Rogers, Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, visited Turkey twice and had talks with General Evren. The immediate result of these contacts was Greece's surprise return to the military wing of NATO.

The second step in the direction of developing Turco-American military cooperation was the establishment in December 1981 of a "Joint Defence Council" charged with defining the common military needs and finding solutions and also with deciding the US contribution to the Turkish war industry. On that occasion, US Defense Minister Caspar Weinberger, during his visit to Turkey on December 6, 1981, said: "The Turkish military government has fulfilled our highest expectations since assuming power. We particularly admire the way in which law and order have been restored in Turkey." That is to say, an admiration for mass arrests, tortures, life imprisonments, executions, press censorhip, suppression of the right to collective bargaining and strikes, etc...

During a press conference held in January 1982 by US State Secretary Haig following the NATO meeting, in Brussels, a British journalist suggested that there was a double standard in sharply criticizing the Polish regime while not criticizing military rule in Turkey and other pro-Western states.

On this question, Mr. Haig virtually exploded in anger at the British journalist and praised the Turkish generals. This double-faced defence of Turkish generals was reflected in the pro-junta Turkish press with a great appreciation and the Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Türkmen regretted that other allies of Turkey cannot take such a far seeing stand.

In a world-wide TV show on Poland produced by the United States on February 1, 1982, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ulusu was presented as the defender of freedoms despite the fact that his military-backed government carried on a brutal repression in his own country. Even the International Herald Tribune said: "It was neither entertainment nor intelligent propaganda. 'Poland be Poland' - a phrase whose actual emptiness expressed the political as well as moral vacuum at the center of the enterprise. The presence of the military dictator of Turkey, deploring the existence of a military dictatorship in Poland, notably contributed to this aspect of the affair."

At the General Assembly of the United Nations in February 1982, the Turkish delegation abstained from voting for the resolution condemning the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel. Foreign Minister Türkmen said that this abstention was due to a phrase in the resolution which accuses also the United States. On this vote, the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Kaddumi postponed his visit to Turkey.

US Secretary of State Haig, in another diplomatic offensive, confirmed his government's support to the Turkish military regime during his visit to Ankara on May 14, 1982. But the Gulf War and the Middle East appeared to have been the principal issue discussed at his talks with General Evren. It was emphasized at the end of the visit that all the discussions were held inside a NATO context, implying that Turkey did not deal bilaterally with the United States in this affair. But a few days later, the Ministerial Council of NATO, held on May 17-18 in Luxembourg, declared in its final communiqué that "Some members of the NATO can take certain measures for defending any region out of the NATO zone". This is a green light for bilateral cooperation between Turkey and the United States to station the *Rapid Deployment Force* in Anatolia.

The summit of NATO held on June 10, 1982, in Bonn, declared a "common interest in the security, stability and sovereign independence of the countries outside the NATO area" and readiness of the members of the alliance to "contribute either directly or indirectly" to

ensuring them. Having taken the US Rapid Deployment Force under its aegis, the NATO Summit has authorized Turkey to open Turkish territories to this force.

In order to accelerate the preparation for the stationing the RDF in Anatolia, General Rogers, Supreme Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, Admiral Crowe, Commander of Southern European Allied Forces visited Turkey in June and July 1982.

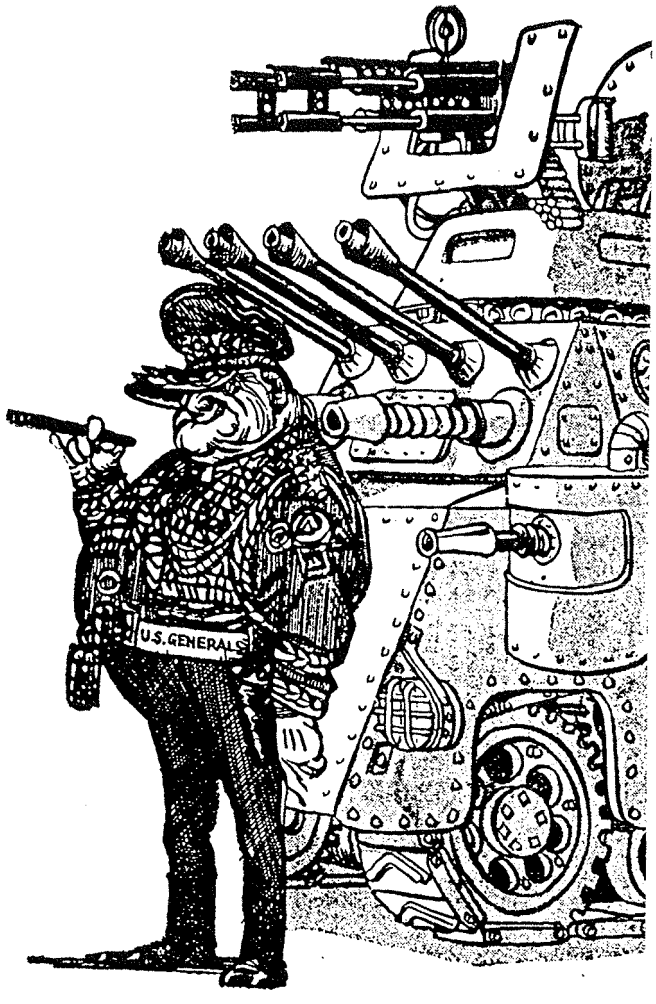
Within the spirit of "cooperation", the military junta has permitted the flights of U-2 spy planes and of AWACS from air bases in Turkey.

More than 250 Turkish and American businessmen met in Istanbul on October 3-6, 1982, to discuss in panels the prospects of boosting Turkish-American economic cooperation. "Turkey is capable of becoming the breadbasket of the Middle-East," Burke McCormack, an American banker, said in an interview. "Investors in a foreign country are primarily interested in the durability of the administration of that country." The President of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Ali Kocman announced that "Turkish businessmen offered the Americans numerous projects to develop jointly. American businessmen are considering using Turkey as an economic outpost to produce here and export to the Middle and Near East area."

On October 7, 1982, it is the first time that the *US Rapid Deployment Force* took part in the NATO manoeuvres code-named "Determination 82" carried out in Turkey and landed troops from the air in the area of Kesan of the Turkish Trace.

Just before the referendum on the new Constitution, CIA Chief William Casey made a 36-hour visit to Turkey and held talks with Turkish authorities. Responding to a question, Turkish Premier Ulusu declared that he could not reveal the subject discussed with the CIA chief.

On October 31, 1982, Turkey and the United States reached an agreement to improve and modernize the facilities of an undisclosed number of Turkish air bases for use by US Forces "in time of major crisis or war." Turkish Defense Minister also disclosed that cooperation in the military field was being contemplated with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Tunisia. A few days later, on November 4, 1982, Egyptian Foreign Minister Kemal Hasan Ali, during his visit to Ankara, announced that Egypt was ready for a strategic cooperation with Turkey.



On November 15, 1982, US Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe told the Turkish Press that there were plans for stockpiling military equipment at Turkish airfields which were to be modernized under the new Turco-American agreement.

What is most important, two big chiefs of the NATO Alliance, US President Reagan and West German Premier Helmut Kohl announced in a joint communiqué issued on November 17, 1982, in Washington that both countries would support the Turkish Government's efforts "to return to democracy".

The issue of Turkish support to the Rapid Deployment Force gained a new dimension with the signing of a new agreement between Turkey and the United States on November 29,

1982, in Brussels. This agreement stipulated building new airfields in Turkey and modernizing the existing ones, and gave the US the right of military storage on Turkish soil. In the meantime, it was announced in Washington that the US had set up a new military command in the Middle East for defending US interest in the Gulf Area and Indian Ocean.

On April 17, 1984, the Turkish daily *Hürriyet* reported that, for making them suitable to NATO standards, the military airfields in Gaziantep and Dalaman were being built in Erzurum. When these works were completed, the most sophisticated aircraft of the NATO Alliance would be able to land in and take off from these airfields. All these works are estimated at 16 million dollars.

Another facility provided by the Turkish side is that the maintenance and repair of AWACS planes flying over Turkey are carried out by the Turkish maintenance workshops at the Yesilkoy Airport in Istanbul. These workshops are charged also with the maintenance of other military planes in NATO's service such as C-5, C-141 and A-4. (*Hürriyet*, October 25, 1984).

In return of all these facilities, the United States first increased its "aid" to Turkey up to 547 million dollars in 1981, 703 million dollars in 1982.

Has it been sufficient for covering Turkey's military expenditures?

First of all, one should be reminded that an underdeveloped country such as Turkey is obliged, due to her engagements in the NATO Alliance, to spend 11.68 percent of her Gross National Product, while this percentage was 4.54 percent for Greece, 3.57 percent for Portugal, 1.64 percent for the Great Britain, 1.20 percent for the United States and 0.79 for the FRG.

According to a report from the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which appeared in the press on May 16, 1984, the total military spending of Turkey for 1982 was 3.4 billion dollars.

Turkey assigned 19.8 percent of he State budget to military expenditures in 1983, while this percentage was only 10.4 for education services and 3 percent for health services.

But neither the Turkish military nor the United States considers this sacrifice sufficient for the armament of Turkey.

A Middle-East specialist in the United States estimated in his survey published by the *Orbis Magazine* that the Turkish Army needed at least 18 billion dollars over a 13-year period for reaching NATO's minimum armament standards (*Hürriyet*, December 24, 1983).

Although the United States had raised the sum of military "aid" to Turkey after the military coup d'état, it was very far from reaching the needs of modernization and rearmament of the Turkish Army. In order to persuade the United States to give a higher contribution to the military expenditures of Turkey, Sükrü Elekdag, the Turkish ambassador to Washington, illustrated the strategic importance at the Conference of Turkish and American Businessmen held on September 15, 1984 in Istanbul, as follows:

"- Turkey is the only NATO country which shares a 1200-mile frontier with the Soviet Union (300 miles in the East and 900 miles at the Black Sea).

"- The Turkish Straits are the only means to control the passage of the Soviet Navy from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea.

"- Turkey constitutes the only barrier between the Communist world and the Arab Peninsula. She is in a position of preventing a Soviet penetration to the Eastern Mediterranean.

"- Turkey defends 33 percent of the frontiers between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

"- The US Forces in Turkey take advantage of using data gathering stations in this country.

"- Turkey assures good relations of Arab countries with United States and plays the role of shield protecting the State of Israel.

"- The Turkish Army, with its available force of 820,000 men, is the second most powerful NATO army behind the US Army. The force of the Turkish Army is superior to the total of the armed forces of Greece, Gr. Britain, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Canada." (*Cumhuriyet,* September 16, 1984).

However, Turco-American relations do not always develop evenly. For example, while U.S. presidential elections were drawing near in 1984, the relations started to take a turn for the worse as a result of some Congress resolutions. Although the 1980 Coup was encouraged and supported enthusiastically by Washington, and Turkey had distinguished herself over the past four years as the USA's most

TURKISH WORKERS BEATEN UP BY US MILITARY POLICE

On March 13, at the end of the day, workers of the US air base at Incirlik, a city located in south Turkey, were preparing as usual to leave the base to go home. At the exit, they were stopped by 35 helmeted US MP, led by a squadron commander, who started searching the workers. But these, along with their union representatives (for HARP-IS trade union), refused to this body search which was not in conformity with current laws. Then, the MP commander ordered his men on the spot to use force.

The MP, flanked by police dogs, charged into the workers. As a result, six of them were injured, two of whom had to be transferred to a hospital.

Thereupon, the martial law command in this region immediately imposed a total blackout on this incident and justified the violent action of the US MP. On the other hand, neither the local martial law command nor the Prefect of the district consented to receive a National Assembly member speaking for the workers.

The US air base at Incirlik had become famous at the time when a US-2 spy-plane took off from there and shortly after was shot down, as it was flying over the Soviet Union. Furthermore, this base is also being used to threaten Middle East countries. (*Info-Türk*, May 1985)

reliable ally in the Middle East, critical remarks made by US legislators regarding Ankara's human rights policies and the Cyprus issue aroused, for a certain time, growing anger in Ankara against the United States.

The major blow to Turco-American relations was a US House of Representatives resolution designating April 24th, 1985, as "national day of remembrance of man's inhumanity to man," in connection with the massacre of Armenians.

On September 10, 1984, the US House passed by voice vote the aforesaid resolution, which was followed by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee decision calling for Armenian claims to be considered in the conduct of US foreign policy and referring to parts of Turkey as Armenian homeland for the past 2,500 years.

Despite the fact that more than one million Armenians had been massacred or deported in the late 19th and 20th century by the Ottoman Empire's rules, the successive governments of the new Republic of Turkey have persisted in denying categorically this fact.

Following the Congress resolution, Turkish Premier Ozal warned the United States that "friendly" bilateral relations could suffer damage "difficult or sometimes impossible to repair".

Ozal's statement appeared to have been prompted by the uproar in Turkish press and parliament over the US Resolutions. "We submit to world opinion that these resolutions lend support to international terrorism, aimed also at US citizens, including in particular the criminal acts of ASALA and other similar terrorist organizations."

On the contrary, the supporters of the Resolutions claimed that it was international indifference to the Massacre of Armenians that gave way to growing violence by young Armenians and that the Congress resolutions were likely to stem this escalation.

Another move which angered Ankara was a cut in US "aid" to Turkey. The Appropriations Committee of the US House of Representatives, while approving a 17.8-billion dollar foreign aid bill for 1985, called for a cut of 215 million dollars worth of "assistance" to Turkey. The Reagan Administration had proposed a 755-million dollar "military aid" package to Turkey. The House panel approved 540 million dollars for Turkey and the amount cut from the Turkish assistance was appropriated to the economic aid extended to the Philippines.

Earlier, a provision in the Senate authorization bill would hold up 215 million dollars aid until the Turkish Cypriots handed over the city of Varosha to the Greek Cypriots. As for the House Appropriations Committee, it included in its decision a statement saying Congress hopes Turkey will be able to use its influence with the Turkish community on Cyprus in moving toward a settlement in finding a solution to the problems that have divided the island for 10 years.

Thereupon, the Populist Party (HP) demanded an extraordinary session of the Turkish Parliament immediately to discuss the subject. A motion tabled by this party said the decisions of the US Congress cannot be just swept aside with a mere condemnation by the Turkish Foreign Ministry and recommended that "this decision, which has deeply hurt the Turkish nation, should get a due reply."

However, Necmettin Karaduman, the Speaker of the National Assembly disclosed on

September 14 that there would be no extraordinary session in Parliament to discuss the US Congress decision.

In fact, in spite of the uproar in the Turkish press and political parties, General-President Evren and his Prime Minister Turgut Ozal prefered to follow a "wait and see" policy. In their view, the US Congress Resolutions were merely maneuvres of some politicians who were seeking support of Armenian and Greek lobbies for the coming US elections. The Government's spokesmen stated their confidence in Reagan's policy and claimed that after the elections all these initiatives "out of narrow and short-term political considerations" would be brushed aside.

This moderate response of Turkey's rulers became the subject of varying comments in the Turkish press.

One of Turkey's most influential daily newpapers, *Günayding*, claimed on September 19, without daring to allude to General Evren, that Ozal's "wait and see" policy resulted from fear:

"Ozal does not wish to make himself a target for the USA," the newspaper said. "Therefore, he acts cleverly. He knows well enough that whoever got into a scramble with the US lost in the end. Rumors that blackmail by the chairman of the Democrat Party was what underlay the May 27, 1960, incident, sent former prime minister Adnan Menderes to the gallows in 1961 for crimes against the State. When the USA in the late 1950's refused to give him the 350 million dollars he had requested, Menderes said, "If you don't give it to me, I'll get it from the Soviets'. The extension of Sümerbank plants and the setting up of Cayirova Glass Industries were two of the things achieved, thanks to progress he made during that period. Menderes said that he might even visit the Soviet Union. Ozal is careful and cautious, he wants to get out of this matter in good time without harming our higher interests. That is the reason for his cool-headedness."

It is rather ironic that on the day this article was published, a highpowered Soviet foreign trade delegation flew out of Turkey after signing a trade agreement to increase annual trade volume from 300 to 600 million dollars in a year. Foreign Trade Undersecretary Ekrem Pakdemirli said that natural gas would be purchased from the Soviet Union for a period of 25 years starting in 1987.

According to the 1985 Trade Protocol, Turkey would export hazel nuts, citrus fruits, beans, malt, tobacco, olive oil, textile products, ground barite, chemical materials and various industrial products to the USSR. Conversly, Turkey was to import from the USSR machinery and equipment, crude oil, electrical energy, steel rods, timber and cellulose.

It should also be pointed out that this agreement enlarging the export of Turkish textile products to the Soviet Union was concluded just after a US restriction on Turkish textile exports.

As explained in preceding chapters, both the military coup of General Evren and the monetarist policies of Turgut Ozal have not only been welcomed and supported but also inspired by the US. Over the past five years, it is the United States that have been the main supporter of the military regime. Both Evren and Ozal are very well aware of the fact that without US support their anti-democratic and anti-popular policies could never have been enforced and applied and that they would have been doomed to total isolation in the international arena.

In this respect, the military regime has already paid the price of this US support by concluding a lot of both military and commercial bilateral agreements with the United States. The reopening of the US military bases, modernization of Turkish air fields so as to enable their possible use by the US Rapid Deployment Forces, permission given to US spy planes and AWACS radar planes to fly over Turkey, US participation in Turkey's war industry, purchasing of 160 F-16 aircraft from General Dynamics at an overall cost of 4,200 million $ and a 300 million $ order for a new electronic telephone system from ITT are the main items of the enlarged collaboration program with the US.

As for Turco-Soviet economic and commercial relations, the US have no objection to their extension as far as Turkey complies with the restrictions imposed by COCOM (Coordination Committee for the Multilateral Control of Strategical Exports). As seen in the case of US pressure on the Belgian export of boring and milling machines to the Soviet Union, many restrictions likewise, have already been imposed by COCOM on Turkish export of strategic items and materials to socialist coun-



TURKEY ON THE NUCLEAR FRONTLINE

Since the fall of the Shah of Iran knocked out Trackman 2, the sharpest US eye on Soviet missile and satellite launches, Turkey has become a key strategic site for the US and NATO to monitor the USSR.

The only NATO member other than Norway to share a border with the USSR, Turkey controls a chokepoint coveted by the USSR - the Dardanelles strait that provides the entrance to the Mediterranean. And the world's largest known oil reserves lie just beyond its borders.

Like other Third World countries, Turkey finds it difficult to resist pressure for further involvement in superpower politics, even if it risks turning the place into "a nuclear cemetery," as a Radio Moscow commentator once put it. Not only is Turkey dependent on the industrialised capitalist countries for markets, it gets a strong handshake from the US by way of military aid, which has risen from US$203-million in 1980 to US$755-million in 1985.

Because of its strategic location, Turkey is deeply involved in the nuclear build-up. There are more than 60 military installations controlled mainly by the US and employing more than 5,000 people, where around 500 US nuclear warheads are stored. At present these are Honest John missiles with a 64 km range, which the US is planning to replace with medium-range Pershing Lance-2 missiles. It is also considering giving Turkey 72 new F-16 fighters equipped with nuclear missiles.

While the missiles and bases are the most dramatic signs of Turkey's ties to nuclear strategy, the country bristles with communications and spy stations. The largest of these, the US combat and missile base at Incirlik on the southern border with Syria, also doubles as a main communications and command facility linked to nuclear weapons, according to the listing of US facilities in Turkey in *Nuclear Battlefields*.

Further east, at Prinçlik, where a surveillance squadron is based, detection and tracking radars probe missile tests in the Soviet Union and satellite activity is monitored.

Interception-eavesdropping stations began to mushroom in Turkey in the late 1950s, mainly around the northern coasts and north eastern Anatolia. In 1963-64, the first long-range radar station for monitoring Soviet missile bases and Syrian military activities was installed in Diyarbakir.

These activities continued to flourish until 1975 when, after the US arms embargo on Turkey over the invasion of Cyprus, Turkey demanded to share the intelligence collected from US bases in Cyprus and established some control over US and NATO activities. But observers believe the reassertion of Turkey's role is more rhetorical than real.

The US lifted the embargo in 1978, preparing the ground for a closer relationship.

The envelopment of Turkey in US global and regional designs proceeded at a dizzy pace. After the Rapid Deployment Force was established in 1980, Turkey signed a secret defence agreement with the US. Reports that it allowed the use of Turkish bases by the RDF were confirmed by the launch of the ill-fated Iran hostage rescue from the base in Incirlik. The 1981 establishment of a mutual defence pact with the US meant Turkey became the first NATO country to enter into a bilateral agreement within what is essentially a multilateral military pact. A year later, discussions started on yet another deal under which US bases in Erzurum and Batman will be modernised, a new base will be built in Mus and 10 military airports will be enlarged and modernised. Turkey will also increase access to aircraft carriers of the Sixth Fleet.

Turkey's enhanced role fits in well with NATO's new military strategies which, according to Arkin and Fieldhouse, "are focusing more and more on areas to the south of Europe - North Africa, the Middle East and beyond - moving farther and farther away from NATO's traditional battlefields." (*South*, March 1986).

tries, and all Turkish governments have obediently accepted these restrictions.

For all these reasons, it would be very naive to claim that the said tension in Turco-American relations results in a radical change in Turkish foreign policy.

In fact, after President Reagan's reelection, Premier Ozal made a very "satisfactory" visit to the United States in April 1985.

This first official visit of a Turkish Premier after a 13-year interval, was an occasion for President Reagan to express his admiration for his guest: "*You are*, he said, *a loyal friend and an important ally*." The chief of the White House also promised Ozal to assign to him for the next fiscal year $ 939 million in aid and credits: $ 785 million for the military and $ 150 million for Turkey's economic needs; an amount which was higher than the aid decided by the US Congress for all African countries suffering from hunger.

Ozal had hoped for at least $ 1.2 billion in order to modernise the Turkish Armed Forces. The promised aid, according to the Belgian daily *Le Soir* of April 6, was rather small in comparison with US aid to Israel and Egypt, particularly if one takes into consideration the strategical importance of a country which was labelled by State Secretary Schultz as a "*natural barrier against Soviet expansionism*" guarding a third of the borders of NATO countries bordering on Warsaw Pact countries.

However, Congress opposed any change in the parity (7 for Greece and 10 for Turkey) in distributing US military aid to these two "*hostile*" allies.

Nevertheless, the same newpaper reported that, in view of the Greek threat to close down the US military facilities on Greek territory in December 1985, at the expiry of the contract signed in 1983, in the event of Papandreou winning the anticipated general election (which was expected to be held in June 1985), the Reagan administration might not hesitate for a long time between Turkey and Greece.

According to the Turkish press, Ozal gave President Reagan his guarantee that, in the event of Greece persisting in its intentions, Turkey would be ready to welcome the US military installations and the maintenance facilities of the US Sixth Fleet. In return, the US President promised Ozal to counter the US Congress' tendency to protectionism for preventing an increase in Turkish exports to the United States.

After this visit, the military presence of the United States and NATO gained impetus. The following press excerpts give a better idea on this escalation:

The German review *Stern* announced in its July 1985 issue that a British spy plane, "Black Bird SR-71," had been fueled on a military air base in Diyarbakir, Turkey, for its reconnaissance flight over Soviet aircraft carries and naval arsenals at the Black Sea.

In September 1985, a military report submitted to the US Congress revealed the following facilities given by Turkey to the United States:

- All underground and surface nuclear experimental explosions of the Soviet Union are listened to by the US installations in Turkey.
- 25 percent of intelligence on the Soviet regions where missiles have been installed are controlled via Turkey.
- Listening to SS-18 and SS-19 missiles can be carried out only by the US installations in Turkey.
- 20 percent of the fuel provision of the US 6th Fleet is made in the Turkish ports.
- US military persence in the Mus and Batman bases constitute an obstacle against any Soviet intervention to the Middle East and the Gulf Area.

On February 1, 1986, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that Turkey's strategic importance has grown since the construction of new pipelines which start from Iraq and run to the Mediterranean Sea by passing through Turkey's south-eastern territories. These new pipelines have also decreased the strategic importance of the Iranian Gulf. While 41 percent of the oil exported to Western countries were being sent from the Gulf, ten years ago, today this has fallen to 15 percent. The newpaper also described these new pipelines as "the major supply line of NATO."

On February 5, 1986, the daily *Cumhuriyet* reported that NATO aircrafts used the Konya Air Base in Turkey for their training flights. Among them were US planes taking off from the 6th Fleet.

On February 24, 1986, Turkey and the United States signed a bilateral agreement obliging Ankara to keep secret all information concerning Turco-American military coopera-

tion and the high technology transferred to Turkey by the USA.

On the other hand, an American analyst, William M. Arkin, claimed, in his article which appeared in the "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists," that the United States already placed its nuclear forces in Turkey on a stand-by alert status, similar to that of landbased missiles and B-52 bombers at home.

As evidence, the Institute for Policy Studies researcher cited an October 1983 "Munitions Bulletin" published by the Headquarters of US Air Forces in Europe.

The publication said the US nuclear weapons mission in Turkey "is in an agressive growth stage" and that its four munitions support squadrons "are actively pursuing resumption of alert."

The article said the United States stores "some 500 warheads in Turkey, and as many as 300 of them are bombs for aircraft."

"US nuclear bombs are stored at four Turkish airbases - Eskisehir, Mürted, Incirlik and Balikesir - for use by four Turkish Air Force units. Resumption of "alerte" in Turkey means that aircraft there are loaded with nuclear bombs in peacetime and are ready to strike targets in the Soviet Union."

Arkin added that operations at the only US combat airbase in the country, at Incirlik, "have increased significantly since the signing of a 1980 Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement... allowing an increase in the number of aircraft assigned to Incirlik from 18 to 36."

At the end of 1985, the Turkish Government, with the purpose of obtaining more military aid and increasing the volume of Turkish exports to the United States, asked for a revision of the Defence and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) with the United States. This 5-year agreement was scheduled to expire on December 18, 1985.

During the negociations, the United States pressured Turkey to provide more emergency facilities for its Armed Forces, including the Rapid Deployment Force, and to grant permission to set up a Voice of America relay station in Turkey.

In return, the Turkish side, reminding that Turkey's trade deficit with the United States reached 700 million dollars in 1985, asked for the lifting of obstacles put before Turkish textile export by the United States and for a considerable increase in U.S. "aid" to Turkey, which totaled 868 million dollars in 1985, including 714 million for defence.

An "Air Defence Master Plan" was a brought up in the talks. This plan includes the modernization of 8 *cast* Anatolian airports and the establishment of two brand-new ports in Eastern Anatolia. The Plan also includes the purchase of 200 Rapier missiles and the gigantic F-16 fighter plane deal. Turkey will reportedly deploy most of the 50 Rapiers it would buy at the Incirlik, Pirinçlik and Çigli Turco-American joint defence facilities.

In the coming years, the US military presence in Turkey is expected to grow stronger and more aggressive.

US DEMOCRATIC FORCES' ACTIONS AGAINST THE TURKISH REGIME

Although the U.S. administration has unreservelly been supporting the Turkish regime, many US Congressmen, newspapers and democratic organizations have raised their voice against the violation of human rights in Turkey.

In January 1983, the U.S. Congress' Committee on Security and Cooperation, using the findings of its mission to Turkey, arrived at the following conclusion in its report:

"There is no doubt that human rights are violated in Turkey. According to the conviction of the mission having visited Turkey, the actual internal crisis is not on a level justifying the bitter attitudes of the martial law authorities. The political situation in Turkey is so complicated that it can not be overcome by simple solutions or usual remedies. Serious corrections must be made, from the point of view of human rights. In order for Turkey to become the main axis of NATO and a really efficient and stable ally, she must return to the entire democratic order."

On April 14 of the same year, Congress' Sub-Committee held a meeting on the violation of human rights in Turkey. With a view to acknowledging the European position on this question, the spokesman of the European Parliament was invited to this meeting. The German socialist deputy Fellermaier took the floor and exposed the European institutions' observations on the anti-democratic practices of the Turkish regime.

Because of the human rights record, the military nd economic aid for Turkey proposed by the Reagan administration has each year been the subject of lively discussion in the U.S. Congress and has undergone considerable reductions.

In October 1985, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and 30 members of the U.S. House of Representatives sent a letter to General Evren, asking him to intervene in favour of political prisoners.

HELSINKI WATCH ON TURKEY

On November 3, 1983, the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, founded in 1979 to monitor domestic and international compliance with the

human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords, issued a report on "Human Rights in Turkey's Transition to Democracy".

The report was based on information gathered by Roland Algrant and Jeri Laber during a fact-finding visit to Turkey in late September 1983.

Criticizing the U.S. administration's support for the Turkish regime, the report said:

"The destruction of the centers of independent thoughts and action lays the groundwork for totalitarianism in Turkey, rather than for a 'transition to democracy'. (...) In any case, authoritarianism can not be considered 'benevolent' when it is based on the sufferings of thousands, tucked out of sight in military prisons. (...)

"Turkey is the third largest recipient of United States military and economic aid. Despite the fact that the European Economic Community, in response to Turkey's human rights abuses, has withheld an aid program of 625 million dollars from Turkey since 1981,despite the provisions in our own Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting economic and military aid from the U.S. government to gross human rights offenders, the Reagan administration continues to increase its financial support to Turkey. (...) U.S. defense of Turkey has not only been a source of discord between the United States and its West European allies, it has also damaged the credibility of U.S. human rights policies elsewhere. This was especially evident at the Helsinki review talks in Madrid when the United States strongly condemned the imposition of martial law in Poland, only to be reminded by the Eastern bloc countries and certain neutral and nonaligned nations about the situation in Turkey. The widely-distributed February 1982 USIA television program 'Let Poland be Poland' was ridiculed in Europe, and even among some of the very people whose cause it was intended to serve, because the Turkish Prime Minister appeared on the screen condemning martial law in Poland. (...)

"The Turkish citizens we met (in Turkey) were reluctant to have contact with U.S. Embassy personnel. Some were firmly convinced that 'the U.S. Embassy is in league with the Turkish secret police,' and claimed that 'the U.S. Ambassador is almost a member of the junta'. Several people reported that the U.S. Embassy, just before the arrest of the Turkish Peace Association members, had gratuitously released USIA bulletins describing the World Peace Council as a front for the Soviet Communist Party and that identical wording had subsequently appeared in the indictment of the Turkish Peace Association."

SCANDAL AT THE US EMBASSY IN ANKARA

In view of continued censorship and persecution of journalists and writers in Turkey, the PEN Club which groups authors from several contries, sent a fact-finding mission to Turkey between March 17-21, 1985.

The famous American dramatic author Arthur Miller and British Harold Pinter declared after their visit that Turkey was the only country of the western world where one can risk being prosecuted for his opinions and is obliged to wait for many years to be brought before a tribunal after he is detained. They established a parallel with the trial of the Salem sorcerers in 1692, that Miller described in one of his pieces, which was also a reflection on Mac Chartyism.

The Turkish Government, furious at this visit, banned all reference to the PEN Club mission.

Afterwards, Arthur Miller, in an article which he wrote for the U.S. review *The Nation* of May 1985, disclosed a scandalous occurrence which took place during a dinner given in his honor by the U.S. Ambassador in Ankara. According to this article, Harold Pinter was engaged in a fervent discussion at the table with a right-wing journalist, Mrs Nazlı Ilıcak, on human rights violations in Turkey.

"The Ambassador was trying to engage his neighbour in conversation, when Pinter, with open rage, shouted across the table at Ilıcak, 'That is an insult and was meant as an insult and I throw it back in your face!' As I learned later, she had told Pinter that although the Turks would have to remain and face the realities of their country, he could go home and put it all into a profitable play.

"The Ambassador quickly tapped his crystal water glass with a silver spoon and brought silence. 'I wish to welcome Mr Miller as our honored guest,' he said. (...) I understood that it was up to me to respond to the toast... I began quietly thanking the Ambassador for the dinner and the welcome, at which he looked relieved. I went on:

'We do know concretely what we have seen, and what we have seen has no tangency with any democratic system in Western Europe or the United States.

"I wrote *The Crucible* about people who were jailed and executed not for their actions but for what they were alleged to be thinking. So it is here; you have hundreds in jail for their alleged thoughts. We are told that Turkey is moving closer and closer to democracy, and what is now is a military dictatorship with certain merciless and brutal features... The American part here ought to be the holding up of democratic norms, if only as a goal, instead of justifying their destruction as the only defense against chaos.

"As I continued, I thought I saw the eyes of the Ambassador glaze with astonishment and horror.

"I had hardly sat down when once again I heard the awesome baritone of Harold Pinter. Near the entry hall, Pinter was just turning away from the Ambassador, who, half his size, was shouting something and walking abruptly toward an astonished guest. Pinter came directly to me and said proudly, 'I have insulted your Ambassador and have been asked to go.'

"On the way out, Pinter explained that the Ambassador had remarked that there can always be a lot of opinions about anything, and he had replied, 'Not if you have got an electric wired hooked to your genitals.''

FOREIGN RELATIONS 2

CYPRUS' DIVISION OFFICIALISED

The island of two nations had already been divided in two since the Turkish military occupation in 1974. Within the framework of the Turkish military's expansionism, the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" in 1983 officialised this division. Under Denktash's rule, the economic and social situation of northern Cyprus is getting worse and worse in comparison with the southern part. The creation of the TRNC serves also the U.S. interests in the region.

After the military coup, one of the main manoeuvres of the junta causing to deterioration of good neighbour relations in the area was the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" in 1983.

After denouncing the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution calling for the withdrawal from Cyprus of all occupation forces, the Ankara regime accelerated the colonization of the northern part of the island and prompted Rauf Denktash, an old collaborator of British colonialism and "godfather" of the Turkish Cypriot community, to declare that the independence of this "State" would soon be proclaimed unilaterally.

The fact is that the proclamation of the Republic was not delayed. Although the Turkish Junta claimed that it had not been informed of the Turkish Cypriot leaders' intentions and that it had not been in a position to prevent the proclamation of the Republic, such assertions cannot conceal some well-established facts.

First of all, the northern part of the island had been under occupation by the Turkish Armed Forces since 1974. Although there was no declared martial law regime, all security and intelligence activities were controlled and carried out by the Turkish commanders who were the real rulers of the so-called "Turkish Federated State".

Secondly, after adopting the Turkish Lira in May 1983, the Denktash administration had been staging lots of rallies, meetings and conferences in order to make acceptable the idea of the proclamation of the Republic. These rallies had hit the headlines on the front-pages of all Turkish newspapers, all of them under the junta's censorship.

Thirdly, the proclamation of the Republic was to coincide with the enactment of the decree on the establishment of *free zones* in Turkey, just opposite the northern coast of the island. A free zone and harbor had already been established in 1977 in the port city of Magosa (Famagusta) within the borders of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". In late October 1983, the Denktash administration had issued "The Free Port and Zone" Law which was to offer new advantages to foreign companies. These parallel steps pointed to the fact that the northern sector of Cyprus was and is still being viewed by Turkey's rulers as part of a free zone area, economically dependent on Turkey. As matter of fact, this was a disguised annexation of northern Cyprus to Turkey.

In the wake of the proclamation of the "Republic", Denktash proceeded to the complete alignment of both his economy and monetary and banking system with that of Turkey, in spite of her being "in the red" herself. Whereas the Greek "South" has achieved an impressive economic recovery over the past ten years with a 5 pc growth rate, inflation not exceeding 6 pc, a 20 pc increase in investments, nearly full employment with a jobless rate of 3 pc and social consensus strong enough to enable a relative austerity program being announced without causing disturbances, - the sight is quite different on the northern side of the "Green Line", turned meanwhile into a state frontier. As a matter of fact, there is an almost painful contrast between the busy activity on the one side and utter stagnation in the other sector. Cost of living increased by 103 pc in one year and inflation reached 59 pc over the last months of 1984. Investments are getting extremely scarce, and resources from agriculture and tourism remain stagnant. Serious supply shortages are quite often reported in the local press.

Even the Turkish press under the military censorship very often publish data exposing the miserable economic situation in the Denktash's State.

According to the data of 1982, published by the daily *Cumhuriyet*, the population of the TRNC was 153,000. Although the number of those in the age group 15-65 was about 100,000, only 58,000 of them were employed, the rest being unemployed. The distribution of the working population in the different sectors was as follows: 21,000 in agriculture, 5,000 in manufacture, 4,000 in trade, 4,000 in transport, 1,250 in tourism and 13,000 in public services.

In comparison with the Greek sector of the island, the TRNC is in a complete poverty. As the annual GNP of the Greek sector is about 2,000 million dollars, the GNP of the TRNC rests at a level of 200 million dollars, that is to say a tenth of that of the Greek community. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of 24.10.1984, the GNP per capita has already fallen under 1,500 dollars while this figure has been rising from 4,000 to 5,000 dollars on the Greek side.

As for the national budget of the TRNC, it totalled 16,000 million TL in 1983, 11,800 of

which are allocated to the payment of the salaries of State personnel. A reporter for the daily *Cumhuriyet* noticed squandering in the daily life of the State officials. The "President of the Republic", the Premier Minister, ten ministers and the President of the Constitutional Court have been given Mercedes cars (1983 model). The main occupation of these officials' is to attend receptions or dinners given very often on State account.

Despite the tension between the two sectors of the island, the TRNC still depends on the Greek side for water and other vital materials. For example, the city of Famagusta in the Turkish sector receives all its water supply from the South. The electricity, LPG, medicines and some chemical products are still being furnished by the Greek side.

A prominent Turkish journalist, Yalçin Dogan, analysing the data given in the new 5-year development plan of the Turkish sector of Cyprus, put forward some undeniable facts:



"Can Cyprus survive economically without foreign assistance? A second development plan covering the period of 1984-1988 drawn up in 1983 pointed out that the 7 pc growth rate foreseen for the preceeding 5-year period failed to be attained and the rate of growth for this period remained at the level of 2.5 pc.

"What is more, this limited growth could be realized thanks only to auxilary sectors such as commerce, transport or estate incomes while the basic sectors such as agriculture, industries or construction were in a state of total stagnation. In the course of the last 10-year period, these sectors have been subject to considerable decline.

"While the GNP was $ 2,000 in 1974, it hardly reached $ 1,200 today.

"One of the objectives of the new plan is to get necessary power through undersea cables from Turkey. Turkey which has to import its own electricity from other countries will have to transfer a certain proportion of this energy to Cyprus.

"The main source of the State budget of the TRNC is from Turkey alone. While 47 pc of the revenue is obtained from local sources 28.7 pc is expected from foreign aid and 24.5 pc from foreign credits. A Turkey which cannot cover its own budgetary deficit will have difficulty in financing the TRNC's budget in deficit." (*Cumhuriyet*, November 22, 1983).

This anxiety is shared not only by observers, but confirmed also by the elected representatives of the Turkish Cypriot people.

Since the declaration of independance, 9 political parties have been founded in the Turkish sector. Five of these parties are represented in the National Assembly of the TRNC.

Among the five parties, TKP and CTP had always been against the declaration of a Republic in the Turkish sector. But at the time of the *fait accompli* made by Denktash, these two parties were put under pressure by the Turkish occupation forces and obliged to support the declaration of the Republic.

Interviewed by a Turkish journalist on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, the leaders of three political parties did not seem optimistic about the situation in the TRNC (*Milliyet*, 21.7.1984):

Ismail Bozkurt (Chairman of TKP): "Although security of life has been assured, the economic situation has not shown the same progress. The resources of billions of Turkish Liras have not been used for the welfare of the community. The national income has fallen sharply. The objective of the creation of a bizonal federation has not been realized. Our people have been impoverished. If a political solution cannot be found, we fear that the TRNC will be annexed by Turkey. The Turkish Army may remain in the island until a sound solution is found, but we complain of the fact that Ankara interferes very often in our internal affairs."

Ozker Ozgür (Chairman of CTP): "After the military operation we waited for the creation of a federation. The unity of Cyprus should have been realized and this island should have been a bridge of peace between Turkey and Greece. The delay of the solution is against the interests of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The gap between two communities is getting wider. If this situation does not change, the Turkish Cypriots will be more dependent

on Turkey. A TRNC whose budget is assured by the Republic of Turkey to the tune of 70 pc cannot survive as an independent state. Our community is for lasting peace. We are not against giving concessions on Varosha. We are for the presence of the Turkish Army until a solution is found. But internal security affairs should not be given to the hands of the Turkish Army. Denktash wishes to give this army some duties which are incompatible with the Constitution of TRNC."

Raif Denktash (SDP): "The past ten years following the declaration of independence are lost years. I believe that we should proceed immediately with the creation of a federation. Otherwise a speedy development can never be realized."

Raif Denktash is in fact the son of the "President" of the TRNC Rauf Denktash, but for some time he adopted a critical position against some decisions and practices of his father's administration. Particularly, his participation in a New-Year ball organized in the Greek section of Nicosia by Greek leaders gave rise to polemics in the Cypriot and Turkish press. Embracing the President of Cyprus Kypriyanou, Denktash Jr. said: "It is high time for the reunification for all Cypriots. It is a fact that, as Turks and Greeks, we have acted very badly towards one another. Henceforth we should reunite. It is fact that I fought against you in 1974. But I do not wish to fight anymore. I wish you all a happy new year during which I can educate my children as Cypriots and I can live as a Cypriot."

Under pressure from the population, the Denktash administration was obliged to have talks with the Greek side on January 21, 1985. This first Cypriot intercommunal summit meeting aimed at reuniting Cyprus on a federal basis had raised great hopes in world opinion. But it did not delay in failing.

"Deceived Hope For Cyprus", "Breakdown In UN Talks", according to the French dailies *Le Monde* and *Le Matin* of January 22. On the other hand, using its usual jargon, the Turkish daily *Milliyet* headlined "Greeks Once More Picking A Quarrel With Us!" Another Turkish daily *Hürriyet*, took a defiant stance: "Starting afresh!"

Failure of these talks came as a shock. The summit held on the basis of the UN Secretary General's preliminary settlement document of a federal State on Cyprus, laying down the basic principles, came to an end without any agreement being concluded between Denktash and Kyprianou.

Prior to talks, one might have thought that substantial progress had been achieved towards establishing a federal State. Favored by certain moves (especially Reagan's pressure on Turkey), indirect talks had taken place over the whole autumn of 1984, during which the Turkish Cypriot side claimed that it was willing to make major concessions. As a result, the "Government" headed by Denktash had given up demanding that the presidency of the reunited Republic be assumed in turn by one of his associates; in addition, he had accepted ceding back 7 of the 38 pc of the territory occupied by the Turkish Army ever since the 1974 military invasion.

But, as it turned out, one key problem had not been settled: that of the international "guaranties" regarded as necessary by the Turkish minority (making up only 18 pc of the approximately 650,000 inhabitants of the island). In their view, these guaranties could only be satisfactory if Ankara was included in it. While he was ready to make concessions with regard to Turkey's military presence, Denktash is not prepared, however, to budge an inch regarding the diplomatic guarantee: had Turkey's guaranty not explicitly been laid down in the 1960 Constitution, in the same way as Greece's and Britain's?

In Kyprianou's view, conversely, it was time to curb these obstacles inherited from the troubled period which led up to independence. In order to avoid unpleasant surprises afterwards, Kyprianou kept on contending that the draft proposed by the UN Secretary-General was merely a basis for further talks. As for Denktash, he insisted all the time during the four-day summit that the draft agreement be signed as it was and that joint expert committees be charged with the task of settling all issues left unresolved.

After the collapse of the UN talks, Mr Perez de Cuellar did not explain how he intended to resolve this basic disagreement between the two sides. During a short statement, he let his irritation show about rumors that he was partially responsible for the failure of the New York Summit, by not telling each side exactly the same thing with a view to bringing about a "miraculous" reconciliation:



Presentation of the Turkish Army's Cyprus Operation by the Turkish press

he did not care to be viewed as a "scapegoat," he said.

According to *Le Monde* of January 22, the Cypriots will still have to come eventually to an arrangement. The Greeks must understand that it is their responsibility to make the major concessions - since they are in a strong position. As for the Turks, they must agree to stop looking continually towards Ankara: the complete international failure of their separatist 'Republic' proclaimed in 1983, should prompt them to do so."

For, as far as the Turkish Cypriot leaders are concerned, an independent policy seems almost impossible for the simple reason that the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is an artificial state set up as a part of the Turkish military's expansionist plans.

Of major importance is the stand taken by Ankara following the breakdown of the New York talks. Without even waiting for Denktash's statement, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to all Turkish diplomatic missions the following directives:

"After the failure of the summit meeting, the draft agreement submitted by the U.N. Secretary-General is no longer valid. The Turkish side has withdrawn all concessions it made prior to the summit. For it is Kyprianou who did not keep the word he had given and he bears the responsibility for this failure."

This stance, which came unexpected to political observers, gave rise to some reactions, even in the Turkish press. For example, diplomatic correspondent M. Ali Birand criticized these directives as follows:

"We weren't long in making the first mistake in the Cyprus issue:

"1. First of all, are the directives not likely to raise further doubts in world opinion about the real author of the Turkish decisions with regard to Cyprus?

"2. Following these directives, will third countries not be inclined to lump together the Turkish side and the Greek side which, for its part, wants to get rid of this draft agreement?

"3. In the event that tomorrow the same draft is submitted to us with some modifications, what are we going to do? If, in line with Greek demands, these modifications require the withdrawal of foreign troops, lifting the trilateral guaranties, dividing up the land, etc, are we not going to be forced to make even bigger concessions?" (*Milliyet*, 26.1.1985)

Moreover, it should be remembered that the failure of all attempts to find a solution to the Cyprus issue cannot exclusively be ascribed to either side's intrasigence. As Greece and Turkey belong to the North-Atlantic Alliance, this issue should also be examined within the context of NATO.

Although President Reagan seemed to back the U.N. Secretary-General's recent efforts, Pentagon had been seeking for years to use both NATO members, as well as Cyprus, as a springboard for possible military action in the Persian Gulf area and in the Arabic peninsula.

Even though the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" does not belong to NATO, it is - from a geopolitical viewpoint - favorably located opposite the critical Near East area.

Near the locality of Geçitkale, north-east from Nicosia, the Turkish Armed Forces are building a huge military airport equipped with all auxiliary facilities (preparations which are being kept half-secret, are going on for a rather long time).

This is all the more noteworthy since, after the 1974 invasion, the occupation forces had already built an airport at Ercan, north from Nicosia, which fully covers their military needs.

According to the West-German weekly *Die Zeit* of October 25, 1983, the day the air-support base at Gecitkale (Lefkonikos) is ready, it will belong to the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". Despite their official indignation following the proclamation of the "Republic", the U.S. may then embark on negotiations to secure utilization rights. But, first, Washington should, of course, recognize the new state. Consequently, the foundation of the "TRNC" could be interpreted as the proclamation of independence of an air base surrounded by the land it needs. This would offer yet another advantage. Three support bases are located in the Greek sector of Cyprus and practically belong to NATO, the British bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia, and the U.S. radar station located in the Troodos mountains. The Greek Cypriots are constantly using these support bases as a trump card, by threatening off and on to close them down. However, the day Gecitkale starts operating, this asset will no longer be of any use.

On the other hand, the Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* published in its November 22, 1983, issue, an article from the *New York Times* in which the United States and the Republic of Cyprus were reported to have signed an agreement in August 1982, whereby US military aircraft were allowed to use the airport facilities at Larnaka for US intervention in the event of a possible confrontation in Lebanon. However, the Greek Cypriot Government, the article further said, was thinking of withdrawing these facilities. Consequently, the US was examining how they would react should this threat materialize. Apparently, this article may very well have been meant to clear the ground at propaganda level- before announcing the building of the new US base in the occupied sector of the island.

According to *Die Zeit*, "It is known that for three years Pentagon has been trying to persuade Turkey to allow it to use her territory, even in situations like the invasion of Lebanon in 1958. So far this has been systematically refused by Turkey, seeing that such a move is likely to put her in a very awkward position with respect to the Arab countries, which in turn, would undermine Turkish plans of economic penetration into Asia, which presently constitute one of the basic lines of Turkey's development strategy. Consequently, building a US base in the occupied sector of Cyprus may very well be a solution to that sort of problem from the moment that this base would actually imply a concession from Ankara, while - on a formal level - it would be the business of an independent state, and Turkey herself would not be committed in her relations with Arab countries."

As reported by the Italian daily *La Repubblica* of January 17, 1985, ground installations work at Lefkonikos airport has cost $ 450 million.

So the complete failure of all efforts to reunite both communities cannot only be ascribed to the Turkish military's expansionist ambitions and to both sides' intransigent leaders, but, first and foremost, to the instigations, provocations and manipulations by US circles who never hesitate to set one people against another with the view of defending and preserving their own political, economic and military interests.

The "State" headed by Denktash is probably not a legitimate child of the United States. However, as the West-German weekly *Die Zeit* put it, nothing prevents it being the Pentagon's illegitimate one.

FOREIGN RELATIONS 3

DOUBLE-FACED DEALING WITH THE THIRD WORLD

Although Turkey has been at the USA's side against the Third World since the Second World War, the Turkish military made a spectacular ouverture towards oil-producing islamic countries, under pressure of the country's deteriorating economic situation. The trade with the Third World countries has quadrupled since 1978. Premier Ozal, with a view to increasing trade, launched a diplomatic offence all over the place. Yet, the dependence on the United States obstructs further progress.

Since the military coup, the Turkish administration has made a spectacular ouverture towards Third World countries, under pressure of the country's deteriorating economic situation.

It is worth noting that Turkey's economic relations with Islamic countries date back to some years before the oil shock of 1973. Until 1980, however, oil imports played an undeniable role in the increase of Turkey's trade volume with islamic countries. This situation started to change in 1980; in particular, exports to Islamic countries began to catch up with those to European Community countries. Apart from this, Turkish contracting firms and businessmen undertaking projects in Islamic countries have provided Turkey with new and important sources of exchange and employment.

And yet, developing economic relations with Islamic countries proved more difficult than expected because of Turkey's pro-American position in the international arena.

After the Second World War, especially during the 1950-1970 period, Turkish governments had systematically supported US policies against the interests of Third World countries.

The first indication of this stance, contradicting the traditional neutrality policy of the first Republican governments, was observed in 1951, in the Egyptian-British conflict. At that time Egypt wanted to terminate the treaty concluded with the United Kingdom in 1936, which provided the latter with a base at Suez. The United Kingdom was seeking the agreement of the Egyptian government on a formula which would enable its forces to remain in Suez, perhaps at a reduced level, under a joint command to be open to all the countries of the region. This idea was approved by the Ottawa ministerial meeting of NATO where Turkey's membership had been approved anywhere this idea was also accepted by Turkey. The Egyptian government not only rejected the idea but also denounced the treaty. There is no doubt that this event cast a shadow on Turkey's image in Arab circles.

The more Turkey got involved in NATO's military and political structure, the more her credibility weakened in the Third World.

In October 1958, after the visit of a French governmental delegation, Turkey announced her support of France against the Maghreb nationalists.

The year 1955 was a turning point in Turkey's relations with Arab countries. At Washington's instigation, the Baghdad Pact Treaty was first signed between Turkey and Iraq on February 24, 1955. During the same year, the United Kingdom, Pakistan and Iran joined the pact. The aim was to promote a "defense cooperation in order to deter the Soviet threat." However, other islamic countries, especially progressive regimes in the Arab World were eager to have a better relationship with the Soviet Union. The late President Nasser regarded this initiative as a scheme against his policies. He labelled it an "imperialist" machine which would enable Western powers to further their aims with regard to the region.

As a result of this negative stance of the new revolutionary regimes in the Middle East, Turkish Premier Menderes, who visited Syria with the aim of convincing the rulers of this country to take part in the new pact, was booed on the streets of Damascus.

The heaviest blow to Turkey's prestige in the Third World was entailed by the Turkish delegation's pro-American stance at the Bandung Conference held in April 1955. While the conference, composed of the representatives of all Third World countries, was taking an anti-imperialist and neutral stand, Turkey found herself, along with Iraq, Iran, Libya, Lebanon and Pakistan, in a pro-American minority.

The Turkish stance vis-a-vis the 1956 Suez crisis, which started with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal as a reaction against the US decision to withold the financing of the Aswan Dam project and led to a war between Egypt and Israel and to the intervention of France and the United Kingdom, was further proof that Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East was part of the Western power's imperialist policy.

During the Syrian and Lebanese crises in 1957 and 1958, Turkey maintained her pro-American stance. In the Syrian crisis, Turkey and the United States on the one hand, and Syria and the Soviet Union on the other, came face-to-face. Syria accused Turkey of making troop concentrations and war preparations along their common border.

After the Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, when the United States landed its marines on the shores of Lebanon, and the United King-



dom sent its troops to Jordan, Turkey allowed the United States to land 5,000 soldiers on Incirlik Air Base in the south, to be used in "an emergency".

All these events coincided with the implementation of the Eisenhower Doctrine whereby the United States appeared on the Middle East scene to take up the roles of the United Kingdom and France on behalf of the "Free World". For this reason, the pro-American position of the Turkish Government in these crises increased the suspicions in Arab circles about the future role of the "joint defense installations" in Turkey.

The conclusion of the Regional Cooperation for Development Treaty between the members of the Baghdad Pact (after the Iraqi withdrawal following the Revolution, it was renamed CENTO), in January 1957, was another cause of deteriorating Turco-Arab relations. It is in this process of deterioration that Turkey voted at the United Nations, in 1958, against Algerian independence and that the seat of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) was transferred to Ankara in August 1958.

After the 1960 military coup, Turkish policy towards the Third World has undergone some changes. One of the main reason for this was the fact that as a result of the country's total dependence on US policy, Turkey had found herself isolated in the international arena.

Thanks to the adoption of a more liberal Constitution, the press and some organizations could voice their opposition to this pro-American policy. Besides, the country's economic policy took a new course. Planning was introduced.

Nevertheless, the review of foreign policy matters came much later than in all other fields. Therefore, as far as foreign policy was concerned, the first half of the 1960's can be described as a transition period.

The outbreak of the clash over Cyprus and the ensuing events precipitated this process of review as regards foreign policy with the following results:

1) Due to her past foreign policy, Turkey was being pushed into diplomatic isolation as was reflected in the UN voting on the Cyprus question in 1965. In fact, during this voting, even the NATO countries took an "impartial" position between Turkey and Greece whereas Makarios, who was known to be an influential figure in the non-aligned group, managed to get the support of a great majority within this group.

2) It became evident that the Cyprus question could hardly be settled in a manner satisfactory to Turkey against the opposition of the USSR, from whom Makarios was enjoying

full support. Consequently, the Soviet attitude had to be softened.

3) Although it was perhaps too early to talk about "detente", the cold war was losing ground. In fact, following the Cuban crisis, the two superpowers accepted the necessity of avoiding a nuclear disaster and instead opted for peaceful competition. Under such a political climate, a period of dialogue started between socialist and Western countries to sound out their mutual intentions and to increase possibilities of economic cooperation. It was only natural that Turkey took part in this endeavor as well.

4) During the Cyprus crisis of 1964, when the Turkish Government set out to use the Turkish Army for a military intervention, US President Johnson sent a letter to Premier Inönü reminding him that, according to bilateral agreements, Turkey was not allowed to use military equipment provided by the United States without US consent. This letter reminded Turkish public opinion that even a close ally could not always be relied upon. It would have been wrong to believe that this ally would always act as Turkey wished him to do.

Under these circumstances, Turkey felt, it was necessary as a foreign policy aim, to diversify her ties without changing the main orientation of her foreign policy and started to promote good relations with socialist as well as Third World countries.

At the outbreak of the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab countries, an improvement in Arab relations was already in the making. During the war and thereafter, Turkey displayed solidarity with the Arab countries, and gave assurances that she would not allow the defense installations under the Turco-US joint control to be used against Arab countries.

In the following years, trade and contacts between Turkey and Arab countries developed and reciprocal visits took place at all levels. During the October war of 1973, Turkey again gave full diplomatic support to the Arab countries and provided them with certain aid. She also offered Syria the port facilities on the southern coast of Turkey where equipment sent for Syria from third countries was unloaded for onward transportation.

A further step was Turkey's participation in the Organization of Islamic Conference, founded after the burning of the Al Aqsa mosque in 1969. Turkey took part in all the meetings held at both a summit or Foreign Ministers' level. Despite the religious undertones of some of its objectives, Turkey which, as a secular Republic, had stayed out of all meetings on religious grounds, decided to join this movement since she believed that it would also contribute to expand her cooperation with islamic countries at a bilateral level.

After 1973, rising import prices following the energy crisis, and inflationary domestic politicies led to foreign exchange shortages being experienced starting with 1975. Thus a somewhat conservative attitude towards external borrowing changed in 1975 and, because of the immediate need to solve the newly emerging foreign exchange shortages, Turkey then entered an unprecedented borrowing process, seeking short-term credits on one hand, and attempting to have the repayment of previous short-term credit rescheduled, on the other.

This catastrophic situation compelled the Turkish governments to seek new markets in Arab countries. Until 1981, Turkey only sold what western countries required, so her attempts at diversifying exports were of course, in vain. In 1981, thanks to the opening onto islamic countries, the ratio of Turkey's exports to these countries rose to 24.1 percent of her total export (compared with 16.3 percent in 1980).

Turkish exporters claim that they have penetrated these markets through competition with major western companies. According to some views, the boost in exports was achieved owing to the Iran-Iraq war and it will sag once the war comes to an end. But both the Turkish government and exporters console themselves with the hope that these two countries will have to embark on extensive rebuilding of infrastructure after the war and will also have to increase their consumer goods imports.

As for the other Islamic countries, the Islamic Summit held in Casablanca, Morocco, early in 1984, gave great hopes to the rulers of Turkey. At this meeting, General Evren was elected vice-president for the session and, later, as chairman of the Permanent Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Islamic Conference Organization. General Evren's visit to Saudi Arabia in February 1984 and a series of islamic meetings held in Turkey have raised fresh hopes.

In fact, there has been a spectacular expansion of exports to four oilproducing countries

- Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Libya - which have absorbed more than half of the increase in Turkish exports over the past seven years. As a result, their share in total exports has more than quadrupled from 7 percent in 1978 to 40 percent in 1984.

A variety of products has been exported to these countries. Thus, for example, over the seven years prior to 1984, about three-fifths of the increase in exports to Saudi Arabia was accounted for by livestock and meat. In the case of Iran, well over two-fifths of the increase was accounted for by textiles, iron and steel; another fifth by barley, meat and sugar; and the remainder by other manufactured products.

As regards sales to Iraq, cement made up roughly one-fifth of the increase, agricultural and livestock products about one-fifth and manufactures the remainder.

In addition to these four main Islamic partners, exports to other countries in the Islamic World, particularly Kuwait and Egypt, have also picked up, though less dramatically. Thus the share of the traditional European Community markets declined from 43 percent in 1980 to 39 percent in 1984.

According to press reports, Turkish contractors have realised a turnover twofold higher than the total amount of investments in Turkey. The number of contracts got by Turkish contractors has reached 290, totaling $ 14,863 million. Turkish contracts in Libya are worth $ 8,657 million. They are followed by Saudi Arabia with $ 4,567 million. Contracts in other Islamic countries are divided up as follows: $ 1,031 million in Iraq, $ 171 million in Iran, $ 108 million in Jordan, $ 100 million in Yemen, $ 39 million in the United Arab Emirates, $ 37 million in Algeria, $ 20 million in Senegal, $ 17 million in Kuwait and $ 16 million in Egypt.

However, Turkey's foreign contracts are reportedly going through a sluggish period due to the falling oil revenues of the Middle Eastern and North African countries. According to industry sources, besides the falling oil revenues, the Iran-Iraq war has also shaken the financial power of oil-rich countries, forcing them to channel money earmarked for development projects into defense.

In order to guarantee the continuation of economic relations with Third World countries, Premier Ozal made an unexpected gesture during his visit to Algeria on February 6, 1985.

"As a nation which has led the same kind of struggle, we should back similar independence causes. Our nation stands by the Algerian people. It is unfortunate that the then government (at the time of the UN voting for Algerian independence) did not act in accordance with our people's wishes. Today we admit that this was an error, and admitting an error is a virtue."

These words of Turkish Prime Minister Ozal during his visit to Algiers gave rise to many speculations in the Turkish press as well as abroad. While some editorial writers regarded this "apology" as a gesture likely to develop Turkey's relations with the Third World, others claimed that it was disgraceful of a prime minister. The latter added that, despite this "apology" Algeria had given a cool reception to the Turkish delegation.

Ozal emphasized, however, right after he got back from this journey, that this was in no way merely a formal apology. "I did not apologize for what was done in the past. We merely acknowledged it was a gross mistake and set the record straight by recognizing this," he said.

After saying that his visit had now set the scene for better and more active relations between both countries, Ozal added: "I hope this has now been cleared up. As a matter of fact, the Algerian Premier Abdulhamid Brahimi hugged and kissed me so warmly during our farewell at the airport that I felt he was trying to make it clear that Alegria had actually given us a very good reception."

It is a fact that during the visit, photos of premier Ozal and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid were hung side by side all over Algiers. According to an Algerian diplomat who denied the claim of a cool reception, "the visit, compared with the recent trip of German Democratic Republic leader Erich Honnecker, was much more lively and the welcome given to Ozal much warmer."

Despite the very favorable climate portray by the officials, observers say there is still a long way to go before the two sides establish economic cooperation based on a strong footing. Ozal expressed his desire that the current volume of trade between the two countries be increased to a more substantial amount, around $ 500 million. "Turkey will purchase 800,000 tons of oil from Algeria in 1985 and

this amount will rise to one million tons in 1986. Details of other projects will be discussed at the forthcoming Joint Economic Committee meetings," Ozal concluded. But according to press reports, the Turkish side could not obtain the guarantee of payment in cash for Turkish exports and contracting business to be undertaken by Turkish contractors in Algeria. The Algerians, who have seen their oil revenues drop, are seeking to pay for their imports and contracting business on credit terms over several years, rather than in cash payments upon delivery. They have also said they will handle their housing contracts themselves and invite foreign tenders only for other projects.

The expansion of economic relations with Islamic countries has really been a relief for the military regime. However, the question arises whether it can rely indefinitely on exports to and contracts in these countries.

It depends to a large extent on Turkey's foreign policy.

Despite all the changes in the diplomatic relations with these countries and despite Ozal's apology in Algeria, Turkey's foreign policy is still dependent on that of the United States and NATO. A double-faced stand which is not well appreciated by the Third World countries.



Ankara's ouverture towards the Islamic world in the Turkish press. Ozal: "We have opened the Iranian Gulf's gate. Things look better for us from now on." Another title: "Bridge extended over the Iranian Gulf."

FOREIGN RELATIONS 4

"COEXISTENCE" WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Although the Turkish Government has taken part in all anti-Soviet campaigns orchestrated by the Reagan administration, Ankara's relations with socialist countries have considerably improved in the last five years. As Turkish rulers were declared "persona non grata" in Western Europe, General Evren and his ministers were very often welcomed by socialist countries and concluded new economic and commercial agreements with them. Yet, Ankara refuses all proposals from neighbour countries to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-arms-free zone and gives the USA new military facilities to be used against the Soviet Union.

While Turkey's dependence on the USA has been getting stronger and stronger since the military coup of 1980, the Turkish military rulers have also been very attentive to their relations with socialist countries.

As is seen in the chapter on Turco-American relations, the Turkish Government has taken part in all anti-soviet campaigns orchestrated by the Reagan administration, but this engagement has not prevented the military from improving economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and its allies.

What is more, while General Evren and his prime minister have been declared "persona non grata" by most Western capitals except Washington, they have been invited by all socialist countries within the framework of "*coexistence pacifique*". In 1982, General Evren paid a series of visits to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China and Romania.

During Evren's visit to Bulgaria between February 25 and 28, 1982, an agreement was reached to resolve the problems of immigrant families whose members had been left stranded in either country during the official migration period. The two sides also agreed to develop bilateral economic, commercial and cultural relations and to tackle the problem of border smuggling between the two countries. These relations were further developed by Jivkov's visit to Turkey later on.

However, a Bulgarian initiative establish a nuclear arms free zone in the Balkans has been refused by the Ankara regime. Recently, relations between the two countries have been deteriorating, following the changing of the Turkish names of Bulgaria's moslem citizens into Bulgarian names. Bulgaria justified this practice by declaring that those affected were originally people of Bulgarian origin but they had been forced to convert to Islam during the Ottoma yoke. The Turkish authorities, insisting that they are people of Turkish origin, accuse the Bulgarian government of disrespecting the fundamental rights of the Turkish minority in that country.

In a statement published on January 16, 1986, the Turkish Foreign Ministry reiterated charges that the Bulgarian Government had forced ethnic Turks to change their Moslem names. The Turkish side also criticized the results of a Bulgarian national census because the Turkish minority, earlier estimated at 900,000, was left unmentioned.

Amnesty International stated that more than 250 Moslem Bulgarians of Turkish origin had been imprisoned for resisting the "forced assimilation program" and about a hundred were shot dead.

A statement issued by the Bulgarian news agency BTA on February 27, 1986, said the alleged slanders were being used by the Ankara Government "in an attempt to run world opinion against Bulgaria."

"The allegations are absolutely unbelievable: There are allegedly repression and persecution of minorities in this country. About 6,000 foreign journalists visit Bulgaria every year, not to mention the 6 million foreign tourists who travel in all parts of the country every year. How did it happen that no one noticed anything that could back the Turkish fabrications?"

On October 3, 1985, the European Council's Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution calling on the Bulgarian Government "to put an immediate end to this repressive policy, and to restore their rightful names to all members of the Turkish minority who have been obliged to change them by threat or by force; to put an end to the violation of the rights of members of the ethnic and Moslem minorities in Bulgaria in social, cultural and religious matters; to allow the members of these minorities to enjoy fully the rights stipulated in international agreements and in the Bulgarian Constitution."

During the vote on the Resolution, the Greek delegation abstained. Lady Fleming, the spokesman for the Greek representatives, said that despite its strong stance on human rights, Greece believed that Turkey was using the plight of minority groups for its own political and expansionist purposes.

However, the debates at the Parliamentary Assembly on this question gave rise to criticisms of the national repression in Turkey. Below are a few excerpts from the speeches of some European deputies:

Vial-Massat (France): "If it is true, as underlined by this proposition, that the right to enjoy their own culture, to exercise their own religion, to speak their own language, to maintain their traditions and morals and to safeguard their national and cultural unity should be a reality in all countries as well as in Bulga-

ria, that right should be more necessary for a country which is member of the Council of Europe. And the Kurdish people, that is to say 10 million citizens of Turkey, should benefit from the same rights of ethnic minorities as they are defined by our Assembly. That it is very far from being the case. For me, this draft amendment is a maneuvre of diversion. I am reminded of a famous French proverb: Those who wish to sweep others' homes should first of all sweep the front of their houses."

Gianotti (Italy): "After the draft amendment of Mr Inan on the Turks of Bulgaria, I intend to present a new amendment in order that the Kurdish minority of Turkey should no longer be deprived of its cultural and religious rights and that it should no more be victim of the violence and man-huntings banned by international agreements and the Turkish Constitution."

Neumann (FRG): "If it is legitimate to examine the violation of human rights of which the islamic minorities of Bulgaria are victims, it seems reasonable, as underlined by Gianotti, to evoke the situation of the Kurdish minority in Turkey as we are debating the situation in this country. I wonder if the Turkish Government treats its own minority in the way it wants the Bulgarian Government to respect?"

Welcomed "warmly" by the Chinese leaders on December 13, 1982, General Evren concluded a cultural, economic and commercial agreement with China.

Turco-Soviet relations were given an impetus with a 2-day visit to Turkey by Soviet Premier Tikhonov in December 1984. This was the first Soviet visit in 10 years. Previously Mr Kosyghin had gone to Ankara in 1975, followed by Mr Ecevit's visit to Moscow in 1978.

The French daily *Le Monde* of December 28, 1984, commented that this visit was believed to have improved the rather cool relations prevailing between the two countries since the military coup. "These relations had been adversely affected by the renewed tensions in East-West relations in the aftermath of the Soviet troop's entry into Afghanistan. Moreover, the Turkish leaders considered that the Soviet Union had played a certain role in the upsurge of terrorism and separatist activities prior to the military intervention," said the paper.

On December 26, 1984, both countries signed two major economic accords as well as a protocol on cultural exchanges. According to the trade agreement which covers the 1986-1990 period, the Soviet Union was to supply Turkey with natural gas from 1987 onwards. Since the deliveries were payable in kind, the Soviet market would be opened to Turkish products.

As a result, trade volume between both countries would be increased to $6 billion by 1990, compared with $320 million in 1983.

Mr Tikhonov was received by General Evren, to whom he extended an invitation for a visit to Moscow from Soviet Chief of State. "Despite differences in their economic and social system", both countries have "lasting common interests" which "cannot be influenced by changes arising out of temporary situations," he said.

During the official talks, the Soviet leader deliberately refrained from alluding to the Turco-Greek dispute on the Aegean, which points to Moscow's wish to have a "balanced relationship" with both countries. As regards the Cyprus issue, the Soviets made it clear that they were backing the UN Secretary General's efforts in order to relaunch talks between both communities. On the Turkish side it was noted that Moscow no longer attached priority importance to an international conference on Cyprus.

On the other hand, the USSR signified that it remains opposed to any act of international terrorism, like "those which are aimed at violating Turkey's territorial integrity".

Mustafa Süzer, president of the Foreigh Trade Association, stated on April 8, 1986, that as a result of natural gas deliveries from the Soviet Union, Turkey would have a giant market for its many products, and trade would flourish rapidly.

According to the data given by the Commercial Councillor of the USSR, Alexandre Kourmenko, Soviet investments in Turkey have reached around $1 billion since 1960. He summarized the relations between the two countries as follows:

- The Soviet Union will supply by pipeline natural gas equalling 1.7 billion cubic meters to Turkey after 1987. The quantity to be transported will be increased gradually, to 4 billion cubic meters in 1992. The length of the natural gas pipeline from the Bulgarian border to Ankara is 800 km.

- Iron-steel production will be increased to 4 million tons in Iskenderun Iron-Steel Factory (ISDEMIR) built with the participation of Soviet Union.

- Soviet Union exported 40,000 tons iron ingot to Turkey in 1985.

- Turkey imports 100,000 tons of diesel oil from the USSR.

- Soviet Union imports special quality steel from Turkey.

- Negotiations continue for prefabricated houses in Turkey.

The Soviet Union has announced also its intention to open a bank in Turkey under the name of "*Moscow-Istanbul Bank.*"

Further development in the relations between the two countries depends, in short term, on the result of the Turco-USA talks concerning the renewal of the DCA on the one hand, and on the other, on the new perspectives to be proposed by the new Soviet leader Gorbatchev.

In the long term, improvement of Turkey's relations with the neighbouring socialist countries depend on a radical change in Turkish politics which may emerge after the 1988 elections.

FOREIGN RELATIONS 5

TROUBLED RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE

Turkey is a full member of the Council of Europe and an associate member of the European Economic Community. The military coup of 1980 led to the Turkish delegation's exclusion from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and to the freezing of EEC-Turkish relations. However, retreating before Ankara's blackmail and manoeuvres, European governments have reintegrated the regime's representatives in the Parliamentary Assembly, withdrawn their complaint against the violation of human rights and honoured the Turkish minister with the chairmanship of the Council of Europe. As for the EEC, it has decided to resume its relations with Turkey as soon as possible.

The military coup of 1980 and the subsequent human rights' violation in Turkey have been for years one of the burning questions on the agendas of Western European institutions. They were attentive to Turkey while many other countries were suffering from the same kind of regimes, because she was a founder member of the 21-nation Council of Europe and an associate member of the European Economic Community. What is more, Turkey was also one of the first signatories of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the Helsinki Final Act.

After the collapse of three dictatorships, in Greece, Portugal and Spain, the Western Europe, in the late seventies, was the only community in which all countries, without any exception, were enjoying parliamentary democracy.

At that time, Turkey, despite many deficiencies in the field of fundamental rights and freedoms, was considered as a future member of the European Communities and Turco-European institutions developed their common works by taking into account this eventual adhesion.

The Turkish application for associate membership was made at the same time and in a similar way to Greece. The Associate Membership Agreement was signed in Ankara on September 12, 1963, taking effect from December 1964. The then coalition government's arguments for Associate Membership (and eventually for full membership) centred around Turkey's political involvement with western Europe, and her increasing export trade with the Six.

The Ankara Treaty of 1963, which was almost identical to the Athens Treaty, laid down a three-phase plan for Turkey's full membership of the EEC. The first phase was to last five to ten years, followed by a transitional phase of twelve years. The last phase of final harmonization has no specified duration. Its provisions were based on the gradual development of a customs union between the EEC and Turkey. Tariff reductions and the abolition of trade restrictions were to determine the terms. Furthermore the movement of private capital from EEC members to Turkey would be encouraged side by side with the freedom of movement of workers between Turkey and the EEC, twelve years after the ratification of the Ankara Treaty.

During the first period of repression between 1971-1973, Turco-European relations were strained but not frozen because the National Assembly was not dissolved.

After the return to a relative democracy in 1973, the governments of Ecevit and Demirel have taken steps with a view to applying for full membership to the EEC.

The military coup of 1980 and the dissolution of the National Assembly and political parties have been a shock to European parliamentary institutions.

As it was already explained in the preceding chapters, first official reaction against the coup came from international trade union centers such as the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) the the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). All of them asked for the exclusion of Turkey from the Council of Europe and for the suspension of the EEC-Turkey relations.

While the governmental bodies of Western Europe were reluctantly expressing their preoccupations, the parliamentary bodies, under the pressure of trade union and human rights organizations, adopted a more critical stand towards the new Turkish regime.

The legislative branch of the European Communities, the European Parliament adopted the following resolution at its session of September 17, 1980:

"The European Parliament,

"Concerned at the military take-over in Turkey,

"Urgently requests that steps be taken immediately towards guaranteeing for the Turkish people the enjoyment of political and trade union freedoms, within a democratic institutional framework;

"Stresses the importance of ensuring in the medium term the physical safety of those persons who have been detained, who include the Turkish Members of the EEC-Turkey Joint Committee, operating within the framework of Turkey's Association with the Community;

"Considers that the prolongation of non-democratic measures would place Turkey in flagrant violation of several explicit undertakings which it has entered into in treaties (Council of Europe and European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamen-

tal Freedoms; Association with the EEC under the Ankara Agreement);

"Reaffirms that the respect for internationally recognized human rights, as laid down in the European Convention, is an essential condition for dialogue with a European state associated with the EEC;

"Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation to report to the competent committees of the European Parliament at the earliest possible opportunity on the situation in Turkey, its implication for the association agreement and the steps being taken to re-establish democracy;

"Calls for a full debate on the matter to take place not later than November 1980;

"Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission, and the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation."

Two weeks later, on October 1, 1980, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted another solution demanding that the military junta reestablish rapidly a democratic system and reminding that, if this demand is not answered in a positive manner, the process of excluding Turkey from the Council of Europe would be started.

The fact that the military junta took no heed to the demands of the European institutions gave rise to more severe criticisms at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe at its January 1981 session. After discussed the Rapporteur Steiner's report, the Assembly adopted on January 29 the following resolution:

"The Assembly, having considered the report of its Political Affairs Committee, drawn up following a fact-finding visit to Turkey carried out from 5 to 8 January 1981 by two of its members;

"Considering that democratic principles are not at present applied and that human rights are not respected in Turkey as appears from information concerning:

"i. arrests and imprisonment, so far without trial, of thousands of persons;

"ii. several cases of torture although the Prime Minister declared on December 6, 1980, his firm intention to inquire into allegations of torture and, if need be, to prosecute the guilty officials;

"iii. de facto censorship of press and literary activities;



"iv. other violations of the Human Rights Convention including ill-treatment;

"Concerned by the recourse to execution of death sentences contrary to previous practice even though in conformity with the law;

"Considering that the absence of concrete progress towards the restoration of democracy would be incompatible with Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe;

"Expressing the wish that the investigations being carried out into the cases of the two members of the Assembly at present in detention be completed rapidly in order to make personal contacts possible,

"Instructs its Political Affairs Committee to follow internal developments in Turkey closely;

"Instructs the Secretary General to seek with the Turkish authorities information in every case of alleged torture or ill-treatment of prisoners brought to his attention by members of the Parliamentary Assembly;

"Decides to examine the situation in the light of paragraphs 1 to 12 above, at the first part of its 33rd ordinary session in May 1981."

During the debates, European parliamentarians expressed their anxiety for the violation of human rights in Turkey as follows:

Claude Dejardin (Belgian Deputy and member of the Belgian Committee for Defense of Human Rights in Turkey): "The numbers published at the beginning of this month by the press, totally controlled by those in power, show that since September 12th, 1980, 32,537 people have been arrested, of whom 1,135 are extreme-rightists, 4,509 are extreme-leftists and 883 are militants of separatist organizations which claim the cultural identity of the Kurdish people. The number of other detainees who cannot be classified as extremists is over 26,000.

"It is a fact that the Turkey of Generals is not in conformity with the requirements of articles 1 and 3 of the *Statuts* and that the dispositions of the European Convention on Human Rights are no more respected in this country. It is a fascist government and has no right to keep its seat among us..."

At the debates, Norwegian deputy *Liv Aasen* also accused the Turkish regime as follows:

"It is quite evident that Turkey is no longer a democracy and that she no longer fulfils the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe. Pluralist parliamentary democracy and its fundamental values are set out in the European Convention on Human Rights and are a necessary requirement of membership of the CE. We all know that if we had strictly applied these requirements, Turkey would already have been suspended from the Council of Europe.

"We know that the situation before September 12 was terrible, with increasing terrorism, but we can never agree with terrorism being fought by state terrorism. We cannot tolerate police forces or military forces applying torture and this kind of so-called official terrorism. This is clearly stated in Article 3 of the Convention on Human Rights.

"So what are the plans of the National Security Council with regards to going back to democracy? General Evren said in a speech on January 7 that a new constituent assembly would prepare a new constitution. The new constituent assembly will be appointed by the National Security Council. The whole plan is an insult to the politicians, and the result will in no way be democracy."

"During the May session we have to review the situation, and we have to be convinced at that time that dictatorship will be replaced by democracy. We have to express our solidarity as democrats with those who are oppressed, and we have to demand that freedom of political activity, of trade unions and of the press be restored in Turkey. If generals in Turkey continue to govern that country, the consequence must be that Turkey will have to leave the Council of Europe."

On April 11, 1981, the European Parliament adopted a new resolution supporting the Turkish people's struggle to re-establish democratic institutions and with horror condemned executions, torture and imprisonment of innocent democrats.

The resolution reads:

"The European Parliament,

"- Considering that no steps have been taken since the institution of the military regime to restore democracy in Turkey, despite all the assurances to that effect that the military authorities have given the European countries and EEC institutions,

"- Considering that in spite of the objectives announced by the regime, political violence continues with the support of the latter,

"- Considering that it desolves as well to Turkey as to membres of the European Com-

munity, as parties to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, to guarantee the respect of those provisions, not only on their own territory but also inside the zone covered by the Convention,

"- Considering that the common statement made by the institutions of the European Community in which they assert that the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms is an obligation for the activities of the Community in itself,

"- Worried by detailed reports stating that numerous violations were done to Human Rights and fundamental freedoms irrevelant to the emergency statement, reports that are not yet denied,

"- Considering that the announced intentions to restore democracy will lose their credibility if actual measures to that effect are not taken in the time to come;

"1. supports the *strive* of the people of Turkey with a view to restoring democratic institutions, the parliament, political parties and trade-unions,

"2. blames the extended interruption of the democratic institutions of Turkey,

"3. blames with abhorrence the death-sentences and torture as well as the imprisonment of innocent democrats,

"4. requests the Commission, the Council and the member states to take up their responsibilities in pursuance of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, namely by:

"a. requesting the Turkish Government to present, without delay, a list of the measures allowing the exercise of the democratic freedoms and including accurate terms to be applied,

"b. notifying the Turkish Government that the association between Turkey and the European Community would be immediately suspended if return to the institutions and to democratic practice has not been made within two months,

"5. demands that freedoms and democratic rights (free trade-unions, political meeting and organisation, etc...) for the workers and the students inside the Community are guaranteed and defended,

"6. instructs the President to transmit the present resolution to the Commission, to the Council and to parliaments and governments of the members states."

In addition to this, the European Parliament adopted also the following motion of urgence:

"The extension of the political situation in Turkey, the extension of imprisonment, torture and execution of political prisoners as well as the military regime's refusal to bring back, in a short time, a parliamentary system in Turkey, compel the Community to take urgent measures."

NEW PROTEST ACTIONS BY TRADE UNION CENTERS

Meantime, the international trade union organization raised once more their voice against the aggravating situation in Turkey. The ETUC and the WCL decided to send a mission each to Turkey to study the real situation there and to talk with the arrested leaders of DISK. The Turkish military government stated that these missions could go to Turkey, but would not be allowed to see the prisoners.

The Turkish government's attitude led Mr. Mathias Hinterscheid, Secretary General of the ETUC to hold a press conference on February 5, 1981, in Brussels. He said:

"In June 1980, the Executive Committee of the ETUC welcomed Turkey's rapprochement with Western Europe and was consequently anxious that the major trade union organizations in that country should join the ETUC as soon as possible.

"In early September 1980, the ETUC put forward the idea of sending a delegation of high-ranking officials to Turkey with the view to collaborating with DISK and TURK-IS (the Turkish trade union organizations which have applied to the ETUC for affiliation) on efforts to seek efficient means of strengthening democracy and the respect of fundamental freedoms in that country and to investigate ways and means of counteracting the deterioration in the social and political situation, which is going from bad to worse.

"In mid September, the ETUC emphatically condemned the coup d'état, abolition of the fundamental freedoms and basic rights of the workers of Turkey, and demanded that the

Council of Europe and the Council of Ministers of the EC take all the necessary measures to make those in power in Turkey restore democracy and freedom. This action has been to no avail, and the ETUC has since been receiving more and more information on abusive arrests, inhuman treatment and torture.

"In order to obtain further information on the situation and to make the ETUC position and opinion known to those in power in Turkey and make it clear to them that the European trade unions would not accept economic, social or political collaboration with a dictatorial and authoritarian regime, the ETUC renewed its decision to send a delegation to Turkey.

"The Turkish Government did not even consider the letter which the ETUC sent explaining the purpose and mission of the trade union delegation worthy of acknowledgement, let alone an official reply in writing. It was only after urgent appeal that the ETUC received an answer by telephone explaining, *i.a.*, that under Turkish law the delegation would not be allowed to meet the members of DISK who are in prison.

"The ETUC regards this refusal to allow the delegation to contact the DISK trade unionists in prison as an admission that the information received on the inhuman treatment of prisoners and their limited means of defense is absolutely true.

"In view of this situation, the ETUC has decided to cancel its mission.

"But this cancellation must not be interpreted to mean that we are abandoning our Turkish colleagues or that we have become resigned to the facts.

"The ETUC considers that every means must be employed to condemn and combat the military dictatorship. At its session of February 12th and 13th, the Executive Committee will seek other ways and means of exerting as much pressure as possible to have democracy and freedom restored immediately and to the full in Turkey."

In fact, the executive committee of the ETUC, at its session on February 12th and 13th, decided to recommend that the Council of Europe expel the Turkish regime from membership in this organization, and that the European Communities suspend all relations between the EEC and Turkey because of the anti-democratic practices of the military junta in power.

On the other hand, Jan Kulakowski, the Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), made the following statement at his press conference February 11, 1981, in Brussels:

"The WCL has concern for the real defense of workers' and peoples' rights all over the world. The WCL backs the struggles of the workers and their trade unions whose right to strike and to bargain collectively has been abolished, whose autonomous organizations have been prohibited.

"This is the reason that we wrote to the Prime Minister of Turkey and informed him of our decision to send a delegation to Turkey to find out the real situation and to talk to the officers of our friendly organization DISK even if they were in prison.

"The First Councillor of the Turkish Embassy in Belgium, Mr. Orhan Kulin, in response to our letter addressed to the Prime Minister and to our telex of January 21, informed us by telephone that his Government had authorized him to declare that there was nothing against the WCL delegation visiting Turkey. We were not satisfied with this reply and wrote to the Prime Minister of Turkey a second time, insisting that we should be given the opportunity to visit the DISK officiers in prison. To this day we have not received any reply to our letter and for that reason we cancel our visit to Turkey.

"The military leaders came forward to put an end to anarchy and terror and to save democracy. It is true that before the coup of September 12, there was wide-spread terrorism in Turkey. However, DISK and its affiliated unions had nothing to do with terrorism whatsoever. On the contrary, terrorism also included trade union leaders and workers among its targets. DISK and its affiliated unions were not against democracy. On the contrary, they were among the leading defenders of democracy.

"After paying a heavy debt from terrorism and repression and judicially threatened with suspension since 1980 for having exercised the right to strike, this is how DISK pays for its determination to defend the workers, the democratic rights and the trust which the labour world was more and more putting in it.

"So we can arrive at the conclusion that we have witnessed a planned destabilization of the

TURKISH RULERS' REACTIONS AGAINST EUROPE

Reflecting a hardened stance toward West European critics, Turkey's Premier Ulusu says the ruling military government will neither accelerate its promised restoration fo democracy nor disclose a timetable for a new constitution and elections.

Western critics, mainly in Europe but also to some extent in the United States, say the regime is stalling on the restoration of democracy by continuing to ban political and union activities and that torture, while less common now, is still bieng practiced.

Mr Ulusu said their attacks on the regime reflected "a systematic campaign being conducted by elements who are extensions of the terrorist organizations that were operating in Turkey," before the coup. He praised the Reagan administration for its "understanding" of the nation's internal situation while bluntly attacking critics in Western Europe.

Turkish officials and Western diplomats interviewed in Ankara noted that the most outspoken critics have included West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, commissioners of the European Economic Community, deputies in the European Parliament, as well as socialist and trade union leaders throughout northern Europe.

(*International Herald Tribune,* November 25, 1981)

The Turkish prime minister, Mr Bülent Ulusu, announced on December 7 that his government would break off all relations with the European countries if they withdrew their support from Turkey... "Nobody wants to work with someone who will not cooperate... If Turkey is treatened with exclusion from the Council of Europe, the Turkish Government will move first and withdraw," he said.

(*The United Press,* July 7, 1982)

The Speaker of the Consultative Assembly, Prof. Sadi Irmak has returned from the Federal Republic of Germany and said: "When I was abroad, I heard some cracking voices about Turkey. It should not be forgotten that the real architect of Europe is Turks. Those who created the Renaissance are Turks. It is the Turks who emancipated the philosophy from the obscurity of the Middle Ages. You, the Europeans, whom you exclude from the European community?"

(*Milliyet,* December 12, 1982)

State in Turkey so that a more repressive as well as a more dictatorial policy could be justified and established.

"It is for that reason that the fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the terrorists attached to it were let loose. Individual-terrorists, adventurist groups (calling themselves "leftists") responded to them in the same way.

"The adverse effect of this planned terrorism affected the masses. Then the coup d'état followed.

"It is true that terrorism is not present in Turkey as it was before. But neither is democracy.

"- The Constitution of Turkey and human rights are suspended.

"- The Parliament is abolished.

"- Activities of all political parties are suspended.

"- The genuine and representative trade union confederation (DISK) and its affiliated unions are suspended.

"- The right to strike and bargain collectively is completely banned.

"- There is wide-spread torture and repression.

"- The press and other public media are censured.

"- Trade union leaders, militants and workers are under arrest."

"Now the international financial organizations and the multinationals are free to act as they wish. Wages can be frozen in accordance with the demands of the International Monetary Fund. Unemployment can increase as investments decrease. Inflation can also increase as a result of the high production costs due to the devaluation of the Turkish Lira.

"Demands arising from political purposes connected with strategical interests can be met much more easily now.

"The prospects for the future are also very dim.

"The military junta declared that towards the end of the year 'a Constituent assembly' would be declared. In fact, this will not be an assembly but just a mechanism serving as a committee voting on certain legislative bills, subject to the approval of the National Security Council. In case the Council does not approve a bill voted on by the so called Constituent Assembly, it will have the power to amend it and to enact the final bill.

"This means nothing more than making a joke of democracy.

"It does not look like the Government is ready to make a serious study on the allegations that human rights are not respected in Turkey and that there is wide-spread torture. For about four months the officers and militants and members of DISK were kept in military prisons and were not allowed to contact even their lawyers. Now that they recently have been taken before the courts, we learn of the torture they underwent. This means that the statements taken from them under such adverse conditions do not and cannot carry any weight.

"The main wish of the WCL is to have Turkey return to genuine democracy. We believe that Turkey must remain a member of the Council of Europe and that conditions could worsen if Turkey were out of the Council of Europe. However, Turkey cannot stay in the Council of Europe under the present conditions.

"It is the duty of the international trade union movement, before all others, to see to it that democracy is re-established in Turkey as early as possible."

As for the ICFTU, a delegation headed by Secretary General Otto Kersten which visited Turkey on April 6-10, 1981, presented the Executive Board with a detailed rapport which concluded that Turkey's military rulers might have achieved their immediate aim of ending violence in the streets, but they had done so at the cost of a wholly unacceptable suppression of human and trade union rights.

"Collective bargaining is no longer possible in Turkey," Kersten pointed out. "Wages are fixed by a Supreme Arbitration Council on which workers are in any case inadequately represented. In fact, through its decisions, wages are lagging behind inflation in 1981 — even though inflation is decreasing. But it is not only collective bargaining that has been suspended. Legally constituted unions, including the DISK federation and its affiliates, have been suspended and the judicial authorities have sent in so-called curators to run their affairs. Virtually all DISK leaders are in prison awaiting trial on vague, generalised accusations. No specific charges have been made against them. Relatives and defence lawyers are permitted to visit prisoners only once a fortnight, and then under disgraceful conditions that make it impossible for the lawyers to prepare a proper case. There are about sixty prisoners in each visiting room and they are separated from the visitors by two barbed wire fences across which they have to shout in order to make themselves understood.

"Some union officials have been dismissed by the 'curators', and all imprisoned officials have had their pay stopped. Thus, their families are left destitute, but any attempt at solidarity relief within the country is blocked by the authorities on the grounds that it constitutes support for illegal organisations. The ICFTU will therefore be looking for ways to bring relief to these families.

"In the ICFTU's view," Kersten stressed, "there is no valid reason for suspending trade unions, including DISK and its affiliates. This measure, together with the imprisonment of trade unionists, is a grave violation of trade union rights." The mission recommends that the ICFTU should lodge with the ILO an official complaint against the Turkish authorities.

"In discussion with the President of TÜRK-IS, the mission once again emphasised the apprehension expressed by the ICFTU Executive Board about 'the holding of Office, in a government installed by the military, by a serving official of TÜRK-IS.' The mission found a general realisation that urgent action is needed on this matter, in order to dispel any suspicion that TÜRK-IS might be amenable to the dictates of an undemocratic government."

On May 12-13, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers sent another mission to Turkey. Queen's Counsel and British Parliamentarian Davidson and lawyer Pierre Vandernoot summarized their findings at a press conference as follows:

"If it seems beyond all question that the authorities restored public order, it is important to call attention to the following serious facts: martial law increased the time-limit for administrative arrest preliminary to any lawful inculpation to 90 days (previously it was 48 hours...), during which prisoners cannot see either their family or their counsel; opinion suits are intended for the leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade-Unions (DISK) and its activities are forbidden; a procedure aiming at its prohibition is sued at law; counsels and families cannot see prisoners under decent conditions; torture seems to be common..."

The International Association of the

Democratic Lawyers, giving attention to exercice of democracy in Turkey, asked the authorities to re-establish the "de juris" State, to apply their promises for a quick return of democracy, to respect wholly human rights, including full trade-union freedom and abolition of torture as a method of interrogation.

TURKISH DELEGATION EXCLUDED FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Considering the aggravation of the situation in Turkey, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided on May 14, 1981, to exclude the Turkish delegation, as long as a democratic regime is not re-established in Ankara.

After a 2-day discussion, the "21" Assembly has adopted two "guiding lines proposition", to be submitted to the Council of Ministers for consideration.

The first of these propositions expresses the anxiety of the Assembly faced with the situation in Turkey, and its wish that "actual decisions will take place to re-establish democratic institutions in that country."

The second considers it "unusual" to prorogate the mandate of the Turkish delegation, bearing in mind the rules of the Assembly.

The representatives of the left-wing (socialist and communists) of the "21" Assembly wished for the eviction of Turkey from the European Council.

After the vote, Ankara's regime remained represented only in the Committee of the ministers of foreign affairs.

At the same time, the ICFTU decided on July 2, 1981, to suspend the membership of the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TÜRK-IS) of which the Secretary General, Sadik Side was at the same time the minister of Social Security in the military government.

On October 5, 1981, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the following resolution on the situation in Turkey:

"The Assembly,

FORGERY OF THE JUNTA'S AMBASSADOR

Desirous of getting information about the fate of Mr Saim Akbulut who was arrested together with the other trade union leaders of the DISK on November 8, 1980, the European Parliament member Mrs Raymonde Dury had written to the Turkish Ambassador.

The Ambassador Mr Faik Melek has answered Mrs Dury's letter with coarse falsifications: "I hasten to inform you that no worker or trade unionist has been prosecuted or arrested owing to his trade union activities since September 12, 1980. Likewise, no trade union has been suspended by reason of its legal trade union activities. So, the trade unions' confederation Türk-Is which embodies the majority of the workers carries on its trade unions activites provided by law. The activity of the trade unions' confederation DISK has been suspended because of the serious accusations brought against it as the participation to the terrorist or anarchist actions, acting in collusion with illegal organizations and providing moral and material support for them. The former leaders of the DISK are tried by a free and independant law court according to the Turkish legislation..."

In a letter directed to the persons concerned, Mrs Dury says: "His answer at least makes me perplexed and I submit it to your reflection."

In order to help the reflection of the European democrats we call once again their attention to ICFTU press release dated January 10, 1983:

"VULGAR DISTORTIONS: The views of the General Secretary of the ICFTU Mr John Vanderveken (who had betaken himself to Turkey from December 14 to December 19 in order to realize on the spot the evolution of the situation in this country) about the DISK trial were coarsely distorted by the Turkish Government's information bulletin NEWSPOT which is distributed among the diplomats and other foreign representatives in Ankara. In its English edition the Newspot made Vanderveken say that the trial has been led in an absolutely just manner.' He has never made such a declaration. On the contrary, he said the reporters that the mission could not find the least proof that the defendants had committed any act of violence. One can rather imagine that they are tried for their opinions. Vanderveken laid stress on the fact that the ICFTU would continue to help the victims of such trials. In fact, when he met the Turkish Prime Minister, Vanderveken initiated steps for the discharge of those who are actually brought up for trial for their opinions.

(*Info-Türk*, January 1983)

"Having regard to its previous pronouncements on the situation in Turkey, particularly its Recommendation 904 (1980) and its Orders Nos. 395 and 397 (1981);

"Re-emphasising the incompatibility of the present situation in Turkey with the provisions of the Council of Europe's Statute;

"Intending to take up a position on the question of Turkey's membership of the Council of Europe at the third part of its 33rd Session, in the light of developments in that country, particularly with regard to actual progress made towards the re-establishment of democratic institutions and the observance of the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"Taking note of Act No. 2485, providing for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly in line with the assurances given by the head of the Turkish State, while suspending its judgement until this new institution has started its work;

"Concerned at the continuing allegations of torture and ill-treatment, while welcoming the reduction in the duration of provisional detention,

"Reiterates to the Turkish Government its urgent appeal:

"- to make every effort to ensure that the process of re-establishing democratic institutions is completed as soon as possible, fully respecting the people's freely expressed will;

"- to put a stop to all torture or ill-treatment;

"- to take practical steps to ensure the progressive restoration of rights or freedoms curtailed or suspended under Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"- not to exclude persons who were members or representatives of political parties prior to September 11, 1980, from being candidates in future parliamentary elections."

FREEZING OF THE EEC'S FINANCIAL AID TO TURKEY

On November 5, 1981, the European Parliament approved by 218 votes to 53, with 9 abstentions, a roll call vote Amendment which seeked a temporary freeze on the 4th EEC-Turkey protocol.

Under the pressure from democratic institutions, the EEC Commission decided to delay the application of the 4th Financial Protocol between Turkey and EEC until the situation is clarified by the Turkish authorities and to freeze 600 million ECUs of financial aid to Turkey.

On these decisions, with a view to convincing the Council of Europe of their "good will", the Turkish military warmly welcomed a European mission between January 7 and 14, 1982. But the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, after having observed the continuation of the violation of human rights, adopted on January 28, 1982, the following resolution recommending implementation of a Council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges:

"The Assembly

" 1. Having considered the report of its Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of its Legal Affairs Committee, which particularly take account of the fact-finding visit carried out by an Assembly delegation from January 7 to 14, 1982:

" 2. Recalling the position it adopted previously on the situation in Turkey, namely Recommendation 904 (1980), Resolution 757 (1981) and Orders Nos. 392 (1980), 395 (1981) and 398 (1981):

" 3. Having taken note of the statements of the Turkish Head of State on December 31, 1981, indicating a timetable according to which a draft constitution will be submitted to referendum in the autumn of 1982 and legislative elections will take place in 1983 or at the latest in spring 1984;

" 4. Considering that the present situation in Turkey is still incompatible with the Council of Europe's Statute, but that Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe gives over the restoration of democratic institutions and the respect of human rights in that country;

" 5. Stressing its links of friendship with the Turkish people and reiterating its faith, confirmed by the fact-finding delegation to Turkey, in the people's attachment to Europe in general and to the ideals of the Council of Europe in particular, recognising at the same time the importance of the role of this people as

a cultural bridge between Europe and the Middle East;

" 6. Recalling that the terms of Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights provide that Contracting Parties can derogate from the provisions of the convention only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with its other obligations under international law";

" 7. Recalling with a view to making use of all available means for verifying allegations of torture, its Order No. 395 (1981), by which it instructed the Secretary General 'to seek with the Turkish authorities information in every case of alleged torture or ill-treatment of prisoners brought to his attention by members of the Parliamentary Assembly';

" 8. Noting in this context that the Head of State informed the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on January 8 that any allegation of torture can be brought by any individual to the attention of the Minister of Justice for investigation;

" 9. Expressing satisfaction that terrorism has diminished in Turkey, but noting that this has not yet been accompanied by a corresponding restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms limited or suspended in conformity with Article 15 aforementioned;

"10. Condemning the recent decision of the National Security Council to dissolve the political parties and to confiscate their property;

"11. Concerned by reports according to which torture and ill-treatment are still practised, but noting that the Turkish authorities have reaffirmed their intention to investigate all allegations and punish officials found to be guilty of torturing prisoners;

"12. Considering that a Consultative Assembly has been set up to draw up a draft constitution, while deploring the fact that political organisations are excluded from participating in the work of this Assembly;

"13. Concerned about the undemocratic aspects of some recent legislation, such as the law on the universities, which might prejudice the democratic quality of the draft constitution;

"14. Considering finally that the Council of Europe cannot, at the risk of losing its credibility as a human rights institution, postpone again the taking of a firm stand against the current situation in Turkey;

"15. Condemns the human rights violations which have taken place in Turkey, inter alia the abolition of political parties and trade union organisations, detention for offences relating to the holding of opinions, torture and ill-treatment inflicted on political prisoners, and the holding of trials without the rights of defence of the accused being guaranteed;

"16. Asks the Turkish Government to free political prisoners, to allow democratic and trade union organisations to reconstitute free from interference, to ensure the protection and equality of treatment of the country's religious minorities, and to re-establish democratic institutions;

"17. Draws the attention of the governments of members states of the Council of Europe to the Convention which permits any contracting state to seize the Commission of Human Rights of any infringement of the provisions of the Convention;

"18. Expresses the opinion that the procedure envisaged under Article 24 of the Convention ought to be utilised in the case of Turkey, in order to verify the extent to which the allegations of torture and other violations of human rights in Turkey are founded;

"19. Urges the Turkish Government:

"a. to ensure that the draft constitution which is to be submitted to the approval by the Turkish people, as well as the future laws on political parties and on the electoral system are fully in conformity with Turkey's obligations under the Council of Europe Statute and the European Convention on Human Rights;

"b. to see to it that adequate provision is made for free public discussion before the draft constitution is submitted as planned to a referendum by a secret ballot in autumn 1982;

"c. to respect fully all provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights from which no derogation is admitted, with special emphasis on the elimination of the practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, and pursue vigorously its investigation of all reports in this connection;

"d. to give a delegation of the International Red Cross the possibility of undertaking an objective investigation of the conditions in prisons in Turkey, particularly in connection with allegations of torture;

"e. to guarantee the right of every individual to a fair trial before fully independent courts

as well as humane living conditions in prison establishments, and to release all prisoners unduly detained;

"f. to abolish all laws which unduly limit the right to free expression, the activities of political parties and trade unions and to guarantee these rights explicitly;

"g. to recognise the Turkish population's right to information by establishing genuine freedom of the press;

"h. to ensure that all the conditions of democracy are complied with to enable, in the not too distant future the new democratically elected Turkish parliamentarians to take their places again in parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe."

SUSPENSION OF THE EEC-TURKEY ASSOCIATION

Meantime, the European Parliament, at its session of January 22, 1982, decided not to renew the mandate of its members in the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Turkey-EEC Association. It also adopted the following resolution by 56 votes against 53 and 9 abstentions:

"*The European Parliament,*

"- deeply disturbed by the news that the death sentence has been requested for 52 leaders of the DISK trade union in Turkey.

"- having regard to the thousands of arrests on the grounds of dissension, the dissolution of the political parties and trade union organizations, the executions and the torture of political prisoners,

"- whereas after the *coup d'état* of 12 September 1980 the Turkish military régime has shown no serious desire to restore civil and democratic freedom,

"- having regard, therefore, to the lack of credibility of the repeated claims by the régime in power in Turkey that it intended gradually to restore democracy,

"1. Reaffirms its strong condemnation of the military *coup d'état* in Turkey;

"2. Condemns the present violence and in particular the mock trial now under way in Istanbul of representatives of the democratic forces;

"3. Calls for the immediate release of the political detainees, the re-establishment, in full freedom, of the democratic and trade union organizations and the restoration of the Turkish democratic institutions;

"4. Reiterates its request to the Commission and the Council to suspend the Community's financial aid to Turkey until such time as respect for human and civil rights and democratic liberties is once again assured in Turkey;

"5. Requests its President and the President of the Council to take action to help the 52 trade union leaders whose life is in danger and to seek their release;

"6. Requests the Foreign Ministers meeting in Political Cooperation to condemn the violations of human rights in Turkey;

"7. Decides not to renew the mandate of its members on the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association until such time as the Turkish Grand National Assembly has been freely elected in a secret ballot by direct universal suffrage and has taken office;

"8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission and the Governments of the Member States."

TURKISH REGIME BEFORE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

The European pressure on the Turkish military regime was brought to a climax on July 1, 1982, when five European governments, following the resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council Europe, filed a complaint against Turkey to the European Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg.

The governments of Denmark, France, Norway, Holland and Sweden accused the Turkish regime of having violated the following dispositions of the European Convention of which Turkey is also one of the signatories:

- Article 3 (Prohibition of torture and inhuman or degrading punishments or treatments)
- Article 5 (Individual's right to freedom and security)
- Article 6 (Right to a fair trial before an independent and impartial tribunal)
- Article 9 (Freedom of opinion, conscience and religion)

- Article 10 (Freedom of expression)
- Article 11 (Freedom of meeting and association).

To the astonishment of observers, a few days later, as a result of right-wing parliamentarians' manoeuvres, the European Parliament adopted, on July 8, 1982, a resolution contradicting its former stand. Although it expressed anxieties about the restriction of human rights in Turkey, 105 parliamentarians voted for the resolution based on right-wing German deputy Von Hassel's report which does not condemn anti-democratic practices, while 100 voted against and 9 abstained.

The Resolution reads:

"The European Parliament,

"believes that Turkey, in this extremely critical period of history, should receive understanding from its western partners, particularly the Member States of the Community;

"asks the governments of the Member States to consider what can be done to attract investment to Turkey, following the return to democracy,

"calls on the Commission to recommend that the Council adopt the Fourth EEC-Turkey Financial Protocol as soon as the various stages of the return to democracy have been finally completed."

During the debates on the report, socialist and communist deputies proposed many amendments for condemning the Turkish regime, but could not obtain the necessary majority.

CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS DISAPPROVED BY EUROPE

On the other hand, prior to the referendum on the new Constitution, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted, on October 6, 1982, the following resolution which expressed its disapproval for the way of preparation and voting of the new constitution:

"The Assembly,

"Noting also that five member states of the Council of Europe have introduced applications before the European Commission of Human Rights which must verify whether the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights are respected by the Turkish Government and the derogations foreseen under its Article 15 are correctly applied;

"Considering that the National Security Council began on 1 October 1982, the examination of the Constitution as adopted by the Consultative Assembly on 24 September 1982;

"Aware that the National Security Council is in a position to make modifications to this Constitution before it is submitted to a referendum on 7 November 1982;

"Recalling that for the membership of Turkey in the Council of Europe it is of the utmost importance that the new Constitution fulfils the requirements of parliamentary democracy and human rights in the sense of the Council of Europe's Statute;

"Considering that, in view of the present situation, it would be of great importance for the organs of the Council of Europe to be informed of the conclusions reached by the European Commission of Human Rights as soon as possible, and that the states concerned should make every effort to contribute to accelerating the procedure;

"Deeply concerned by the allegations of torture and ill-treatment which are still being made.

"Also concerned by the limitations placed on citizens' freedom of expression by Decree No. 70, while considering that the lifting of the curfew and the repeal of Decree No. 52 could assist progress towards the normalisation of public life,

"Expresses the earnest hope that the Turkish authorities will:

"a. respect the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and do everything to eradicate the practice of torture and to pursue its enquiries into all allegations on this subject;

"b. ensure that the draft Constitution to be submitted to referendum is in full conformity with the Statute of the Council of Europe, and particularly that it ensures pluralism of political parties and trade unions, the protection and equality of treatment for the country's religious minorities, the rule of law and the separation of powers, and that it incorporates the safeguard of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights;

"c. take the appropriate measures to ensure that the referendum takes place in accordance with the rules of democracy, and that it is preceded by a campaign in which all individuals or groups of individuals are free to express themselves freely on the draft Constitution and to seek to influence the choice of their fellow citizens;

"d. take the necessary steps, in conformity with Assembly Recommendation 951, on voting rights for nationals of Council of Europe member States, in order to enable the large Turkish community of nearly two million people living and working abroad to participate in the vote for the referendum."

Three days after the referendum on the constitution, the foreign ministers of the 21 adopted a waiting attitude at their meeting in Strasbourg, avoiding any decisive position on the Turkish question.

Nevertheless, the European parliamentarians' reaction against the new constitution was not so comprehensive as that of governmental circles. At the end of a 2-day debate, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted on January 28, 1983, with the vote of a great majority, a resolution which "takes seriously into consideration" the eventuality of Turkey's exclusion from the ministerial committee of the organization as well. The resolution adopted by 97 votes to 15 and 5 abstentions asked also the Turkish Government to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is also again represented in the parliamentary body of the Council of Europe. (For the full text of the Resolution and the remarks of European parliamentarians on the Constitution, see the *Chapter 1982-83* in the preceding pages).

The European Parliament too debated the new constitution at its session of March 8, 1983, but intense discussion on two different motions, one from the left and the other from the right, resulted in the withdrawal of both two, without adopting any resolution.

The way of holding the first legislative elections too gave rise to criticisms in European institutions.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe declared in a resolution adopted on September 30, 1983, that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey on November 6 could not be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner, and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe."

As for the European Parliament, on October 13, 1983, it this time condemned the Turkish military regime, insisting that Turkey should respect human rights and rejecting in advance the results of the upcoming elections which straight off were called a "farce" by certain MPs.

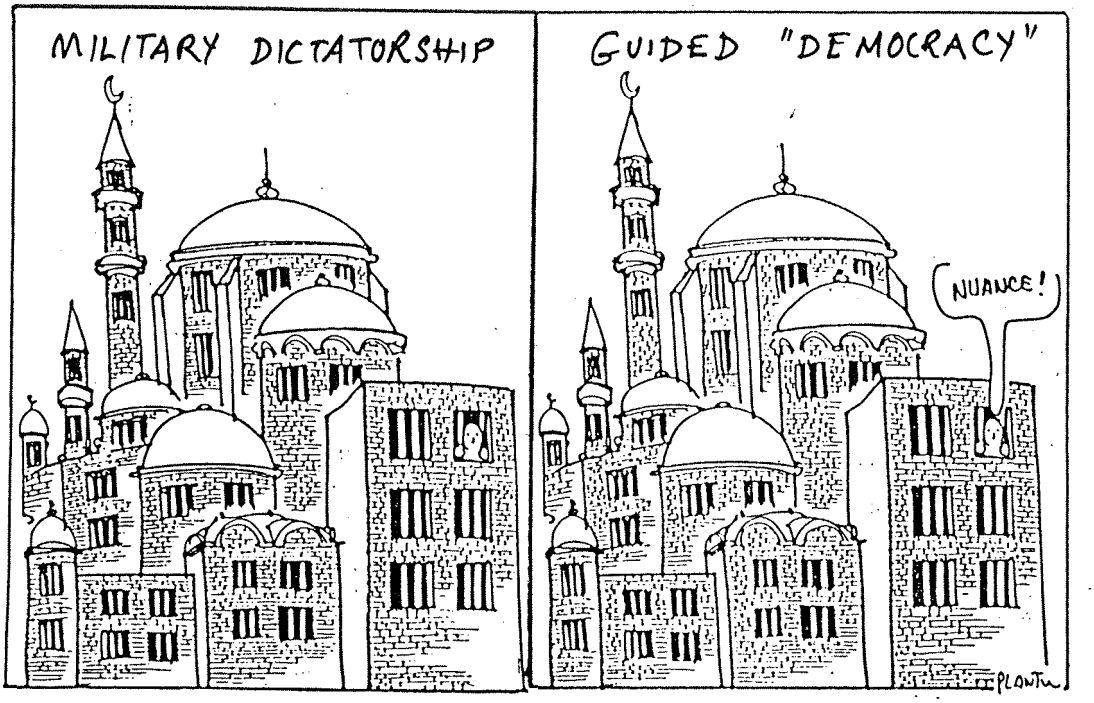
TURKISH "FAIT ACCOMPLI" AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Again to the astonishment of observers, despite the fact that the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe had condemned the National Assembly to be elected in Turkey, deputies chosen during this election came to Strasbourg and set down on the benches of the Parliamentary Assembly on January 30, 1984, without invitation, and better they took part in the vote throughout the session.

Ankara indeed succeeded in making a real bid for power thanks to the complicity of the European Right which seized and took advantage of every occasion in order to prevent the scheduled debate on Turkey from taking place. The delegation from Ankara, consisting of 12 representatives and 12 substitutes, made use of the rules permitting a delegation whose eligibility is being disputed, to sit pending a decision by the Assembly. As for the European deputies of the right or the "moderate" left, under the pretext of a partial strike of the interpreters started on February 2, they decided to adjourn until May the debates on Turkey and on the Cyprus question.

According to *Le Monde*, the 35th ordinary session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly was concluded prematurely, amidst a confusion rarely noticed in the 21-state assembly.

These developments in Turkish-European relations that resulted in the failure of the democratic European deputies' initiative at the Council of Europe, had begun just after the



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Turkish elections with a challenge of General-President Evren claiming that by holding elections Turkey had allegedly proven that democracy had been restored, and charging the new-elected deputies with the task of going to Strasbourg to represent Turkey in the C.E.

Mr. Ozal, the head of the new Ankara government adopted the tone of General Evren, threatening to sever totally Ankara's relations with the Council of Europe.

On January 8, Premier Ozal told reporters, "If the Parliamentary Assembly's attitude continues and if, as a result, we cannot be represented at the parliamentary wing of the Council, then we shall not continue to be present at the Committee of Ministers." Subsequent to this challenge, the National Assembly selected 12 parliamentarians to represent Turkey in the Council of Europe. The latter immediately started their "shuttle diplomacy" in 15 European capitals.

Ozal's decision to send a parliamentary delegation to Strasbourg embarrassed the Council of Europe and Karl Ahrens, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly, flew to Ankara in an attempt to dissuate the Turkish authorities from their "determination", but failed in his efforts to convince the Turkish government of waiting until the next plenary session in May, instead of forcing a possible confrontation now.

On January 30, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe held one of the most crucial sessions since its creation. Despite the fact that the same assembly had passed a few months ago a resolution not to accept the Turkish parliamentarians proceeding from the November 6th elections, 12 representatives of the new-elected Turkish Assembly and their 12 substitutes were present in the grand hall of the European palace.

A protest against their presence came from the Socialist Group. As debate opened over the credentials of the Turkish delegates, Danish socialist MP, Mr. Lasse Budtz, intervened on behalf of his group, the largest in the 170-member assembly. "The most important question is this: Is the parliament in Turkey freely elected?" he said. "It is not. Only three of the 15 parties who wished to participate could do so." Mr Budtz said that although some progress was being made towards democracy in Turkey, the Socialist Group had decided unanimously to oppose any validation of the

Turkish delegates' credentials. "Human rights are deeply violated in the state of Turkey," he said, "the trade unions are not free, the press is not free, the universities are not free. The jails are full of political prisoners and we see the lack of an amnesty.".

But those who were determined to oust the Turksih deputies on the first day, in the opening session, felt defeated when Parliamentary Assembly President Karl Ahrens, a German socialist, announced that he is referring the issue of the credentials of the Turkish parliamentarians to the Statute Committee.

The pro-governmental Turkish press reported this first obstruction as follows: "The tough and rough approach of the Socialist group was expected even before the sessions started and observers anticipated that the moderate Socialist members would not go along with them.

"At last common sense prevailed and those who realized Turkey, which is the south-eastern bastion of Europe, should not be sacrificed and those who had some feeling of responsibility moved to moderate the anti-Turkish move."

The principal figure of the "moderating operation" was Karl Ahrens who had recently visited Turkey prior to the Assembly meeting. For the first time in the history of the Council, the Assembly broke off a session to await the decision of the Statute Committee. The Committee which was convened immediately, helped the Turkish regime by referring the issue to a joint meeting of the Political and Legal Affairs Committees.

The motion to refer the issue to the joint committee was approved of by the Assembly by 116 votes to 7 and the first round clearly went to the Turkish regime.

In the evening session of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee, two opposite views clashed bitterly. At the end Austrian deputy Ludwig Steiner's report criticizing Ankara was watered down and 35 members of the joint committee voted for a conciliating solution on the Turkish representation in the Assembly, while 15 voted against and 8 abstained.

Again, according to the Turkish press, the Committee, adopting this attitude, killed two birds with one stone. The rapporteurs of both committees were charged with the task of drawing up a new joint report to enable Turkey to keep her place at the Assembly while also satisfying the opposition by saying that the credentials of the Turkish deputies will be taken up in the Council's May session.

But the heated debate on a compromise text ended unresolved. The Socialist Group and the Conservatives held firmly to their opposing views on Turkey with some splits among the Socialist ranks. Some members in the Turkish delegation reportedly wanted to walk out when the Steiner-Adler joint report attempted to alter the status of the Turkish parliamentary delegation to "observers". The Socialists tried to insert motions into the resolution urging Turkey to lift martial law and announce an amnesty, and making this conditional for Turkish participation in the Parliamentary Assembly's May session.

At this point the Turkish deputies started also to quarrel fiercely one with another because of their different views. The fact that the deputies of the MDP had distinguished themselves by their diplomatic experience, prompted their jealous colleagues of the two other parties, ANAP and HP, to insist on an early return to Ankara. Thereupon there was a flurry of diplomatic communications between Ankara and Strasbourg as the Turkish delegation had separate telephone talks with Premier Turgut Ozal and Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu. The latter suggested to the Turkish delegation that a walkout would only serve those who want to push Turkey out of the Council.

Meanwhile, US diplomatic circles started exerting heavy pressures on the European governments for preventing a resolution against the Turkish regime. The *Wall Street Journal* of February 1 said: "Turks have had a pretty rough time, what with three years of military rule to stamp out Soviet-sponsored terrorism. They just had an election and the generals have gone back to the barracks. But instead of extending a well-done neighbor welcome, the 21-member Council of Europe attempted to refuse to seat a Turkish delegation."

While the discussions on Turkey were going on in the European Palace, taking no heed of the opposition in the Council against the presence of the Turkish deputies, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly Karl Ahrens gave a reception party in honor of the Turkish delegation, with the Turkish Ambassador to the Council of Europe taking part.

On February 3, the Parliamentary Assembly sessions plunged into confusion and the

debate on Turkey and Cyprus turned into a comedy of errors after the European parliamentarians had a bitter discussion on which question to debate first.

Earlier the plenary session had decided to defer the debate on Cyprus to the Assembly's May session. However, the Political Affairs Committee insisted that Cyprus be discussed and a second vote was taken which opened the way for the Cyprus debate. At that point several European deputies called for a debate on Turkey rather than on Cyprus, but this demand was rejected.

Sources said the Conservative group was against a debate on Turkey until May. The Socialists did not want a debate because it could show splits among the Socialist ranks with "moderates" taking a stand in favour of the Turkish regime.

There were at least 76 speakers asking for speaking time in the debate on Turkey, that means that a debate on the credentials of the Turkish delegation could take up 5 hours. 45 speakers were eager to address the Assembly concerning the political situation on Cyprus, which would take up 3 hours of Assembly time.

Amidst the Cyprus debate the interpreters suddenly stopped translating and started reading out their own declaration for a new pay scale and better working conditions. The Chairman of the Assembly, Karl Ahrens, recessed but the situation did not improve and the session came to a halt.

According to *Le Monde*, only interpreting in German and Italian, which are additional work languages of the Assembly, could not be ensured. Although interpreting in English and in French, the two official languages of the proceedings, was going on, most conservative and christian-democrat representatives favourable to the Ankara regime seized this occasion for calling for a recess. Thus, the new Turkish delegation, against which the left and the liberals in the Assembly had raised protests for "breach of the rules of democracy", emerged as the winner. According to the rules, the deputies who had been sent by the Ankara Parliament were wholly entitled to sit in the Assembly pending the validation of their credentials. But this validation was not to occur until the beginning of the 36th ordinary session of the C.E., that is next May.

As the debate on Turkey at the Parliamentary Assembly ended in failure, Irish representative Andrew expressed his impression as follows: "Here, the Council of Europe has finally turned into a circus." As for Austrian representative Steiner, also rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, he described this situation as "shameful for the Council". Belgian socialist deputy Claude Dejardin who always distinguished himself by his determined attitude on the defence of human rights in Turkey blamed some socialist deputies who did not take heed of the decision taken unanimously by the Socialist Group, for treachery.

In Ankara, the spokesman of the Turkish delegation, Kamuran Inan, claimed that the Turkish regime had won a political and diplomatic victory against the "extremist Western European socialist deputies who attempted to dissociate it from the Council of Europe."

No doubt, the one who was most satisfied of the Council's failure was Prime Minister Ozal. Considering this result as a propaganda asset for his campaign prior to the local elections, he said on February 5, 1984, in Giresun: "If they wish to expel us by resorting to some manoeuvres, and if they have power to do it, they can act so. In that case, we shall never go there."

According to the German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Ozal had been gambling and it paid off.

Following the "*fait accompli*" at the Council of Europe, the Turkish Government speeded up its efforts with a view to obtaining a reintegration in the Council of Europe. The local elections held in March 1984 and the lifting of martial law in some provinces were presented to the European opinion as the new proofs of the return to democracy in Turkey.

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe which failed to keep out Turkish deputies at its January session sent a delegation to Turkey at the end of April. This mission had talks with the Turkish political leaders as well as with some victims of repression.

The North Atlantic Assembly, parliamentary organ of the North Atlantic Alliance, decided to welcome 10 Turkish parliamentarians to its plenary session to be held in Luxembourg on May 24-28, 1984.

As for the European Parliament, it rejected on April 12, 1984, an appeal by its Socialist Group calling on the European Community to intervene on behalf of political prisoners in Turkey.

Nevertheless, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, taking into consideration the remarks made by its representative, Mr. Ludwig Fellermaier who visited Turkey in April, and the argument of international non-governmental organizations set forth at a hearing, decided to present a new draft Resolution on Turkey to the General Assembly.

PUBLIC HEARING ON TURKEY AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The public hearing on the respect for Human Rights in Turkey, organized by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, took place on April 26, 1984 in Brussels with international non-governmental organizations taking part.

This hearing, initially scheduled at late March, had been deferred in view of the local elections which were to be held in Turkey. As three more parties had been allowed to contest for the election, the EP's Committee did not want to interfere in the course of this election.

Besides non-governmental organizations, the Political Affairs Committee invited the Turkish Government. But the latter had refused to participate in the hearing, making it even clear that it did not intend receiving the Political Affairs Committee's rapporteur, Mr. Ludwig Fellermaier, who stayed in Turkey from April 16 to 19, 1984.

The Political Affairs Committee limited itself to examine four themes, basing itself on the Human Rights Convention laid down by the Council of Europe:

1. Torture
2. The conditions of arrest and the system of confinement of individuals
3. The right of persons concerned to a fair hearing and the right to defence
4. Press freedom.

The hearing presided over by Mariano Rumor, chairman of the Political Affairs Committee, opened in the presence of the Committee members, the representatives of the invited organizations, journalists and a Council of Europe observer.

Hereafter we reproduce extracts from the statements of all organizations concerned, followed by the answers given to the most pertinent questions.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (Mrs. Anne Burley):

"The restoration of civilian government has not so far resulted in any apparent change in the areas of interest to Amnesty International. AI continues to receive allegations that prisoners are tortured or subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment in police stations and prisons in various parts of Turkey; hundreds of prisoners of conscience remain in prison; more than 200 prisoners are under sentence of death and many more death sentences have been requested by military prosecutors in trials which are still in progress. 48 executions took place in Turkey between the military coup in September 1980 and June 1983. AI welcomes to halt to executions since June 1983, but for those under sentence of death and their families the knowledge that executions may be resumed at any time creates sometimes unbearable stress. Some prisoners under sentence of death who recently participated in hunger-strikes in Diyarbakir and Mamak Military Prisons, were reported to have preferred to risk death in this way, rather than wait for execution."

"Many press reports concerning political prisoners in Turkey refer to 'terrorists', as if all those now imprisoned for political offences had engaged in violent activities. This is far from being truth. Although there was a high level of violence throughout Turkey during the late 1970s and 1980, among the thousands of people detained following the coup of September 1980 were many who had never used or advocated violence, but were detained and subsequently charged solely for exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and religion (...).

"Torture in Turkey has been a concern of Amnesty International both before and after the military coup of September 1908... Reports of deaths alleged to have been caused by torture have continued up to this year. AI does not maintain that all deaths in police stations and military prisons are the results of torture. Of the more than 100 such deaths reported to AI since

EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY WITH THE TURKISH PRESS

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) to which the Union of Turkish Journalists (TGS) is affiliated, has always been in solidarity with the Turkish journalists.

Hans Larsen, member of the IFJ's Executive Board and chairman of the Danish Journalists Union has visited Turkey from 18 to 26 October 1983, shortly before the elections.

In his view, the situation of the Press and of journalists generally is quite depressing. Although there was no formal censorship, the military authorities were controlling strictly the press, by ordering the suspension of newspapers, the detention of journalists, by ordering proceedings to be taken which were never concluded, by calling journalists by telephone, etc.

Some journalists are in prison, but it is difficult to ascertain their exact number.

All these measures and the atmosphere they bring about, result very easily in self-censorship. No Turkish journalist will refuse to frankly admit that he is practising self-censorship to a rather considerable degree. Some of them try to maintain a delicate balance by introducing critical understatements.

The Union of Turkish Journalists (TGS), affiliated to the IFJ, is working under very strict restrictions imposed at the time of the September 1980 coup, which affect all trade-union activities, No activity or statement is permitted, if it is considered just a little political by the military authorities. It would immediately result in the banning of the union, without further ado.

The TGS leadership confirms however its desire to remain within the IFJ and hopes it will be able to send a representation to the coming meetings of the Federation, among which its World Congress in June 1984.

(*Info-Türk,* December 1983)

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17the World Congress of the International Federation of Journalists, held on June 4-8, 1984, in Edinburgh adopted the following Resolution on Turkey:

"Congress has been informed of the report on violation of press rights and freedoms in Turkey, and instructs the Bureau to continue to publicize —and campaign against— these abuses.

"Congress instructs the Bureau to communicate its concern to the President of the Assembly of Turkey.

"Congress encourages Turkish journalists and their union in their resistance to Oppression."

(*Info-Türk,* July 1984)

September 1980 nine people were said by the authorities to be still alive, others were said to have died from natural causes or to have committed suicide. In some cases, however, the authorities admitted responsibility for deaths and prosecutions of members of the security forces. But the number of such prosecutions is very small compared to the thousands of allegations of torture made in recent years and AI believes that the systematic and widespread torture which takes place in Turkey could only occur with official tolerance. This point was also made by the European Commission of Human Rights in its decision on the admissibility of the inter-state complaint against Turkey in December 1983. (...)

"Until the authorities, both civil and military, take positive steps to halt the ill-treatment of prisoners, such as a reduction of the incommunicado detention period, which is still 45 days, allowing detainees access to lawyer and relatives throughout detention and independent investigation of all complaints of torture, Amnesty International fears that torture will not be eradicated.

"Q - Is there any change in the situation since the elections?

"A - We had no observation of amelioration. Martial Law continues. Prisoners are still in prison. Allegations of torture are still coming. We believe that the torture does not cease. Amnesty International has not been allowed to visit prisons. In January this year I travelled to Diyarbakir in Eastern Turkey on behalf of Amnesty International to seek further information about reported deaths in Diyarbakir Military Prison. I was able to talk to the military authorities but was not able to meet lawyers or relatives of the dead men, or other people who might have had information, because I was informed they feared contact with Amnesty International would cause problems for them."

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
(Mr. Pieter De Jonge):

"Most of developments which followed the military takeover on 12 September 1980 led to flagrant violations of human and trade union rights, which continued to give cause for grave

concern in the international trade union movement. While terrorism and random violence carried out by rival factions of different persuasions have been considerably reduced in Turkey over the last three and a half years, the suppression of political violence and restoration of the ailing economy have been (quite unnecessarily) at the expense of fundamental human and trade union rights.

"Of particular concern were the mass arrests during this period, the ban on all political activity, the barring of many former politicians from public activity, the dissolution of political parties, the large number of trials taking place before military tribunals, the persistence of torture and degrading treatment of suspects to obtain confessions under duress during the interrogation, the doubts cast on the impartiality and fairness of justice and the total inadequate access of defense lawyers to their clients."

"Among the first measures taken by the military were the suspension of DISK, the placing of this union's property in the hands of trustees ('curators'), (...) and the arrest of numerous trade union leaders and members. Similar measures were taken against two other trade union centers, i.e. MISK and HAK-IS. Türk-Is and its affiliates — though some branches were suspended or disbanded by court decision — were allowed to continue with extremely severe limits. Even so, trade union activity was virtually banned after the coup, the right to strike suspended, demonstrations forbidden and collective bargaining abolished and replaced by compulsory and binding arbitration by a Government-appointed body, the 'Supreme Arbitration Council'.

"On 7 November 1982, a new Constitution was adopted following a referendum, held under conditions of martial law and censoship. A series of restrictive clauses in the adopted text do away with acquired rights and infringe on ILO minimum standards, thus creating an environment which strictly limits the operation of free trade union:"

"- the requirement of ten years of actual work in the industry to qualify for eligibility for trade union office,"

"- the ban on political activity by trade unions,"

"- severe restrictions on the right to strike (banning general strikes, solidarity strikes, go-slow action, etc.)"

"Subsequent legislation, i.e. the trade union law no. 2821 and the collective bargaining, strike and lock-out law no. 2822, promulgated on 5 May 1983, also contain a number of violations of trade union rights and standards. (...) Many obstacles to the full exercice of these rights still remain. The Supreme Arbitration Board still retains some powers in the field of collective bargaining but no longer decides the terms of all agreements. However, as the Board, prior to the return to collective bargaining, has been giving three year settlements, around half the country's workers cannot expect to resume collective bargaining until late 1983."

"In the main DISK trial the number of accused has risen till 85, out of whom 20 are currently under detention. If we add to the above trial the on-going trials against DISK affiliated unions, we reach a total of approximately 2,200 accused. Early March, according to the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* of 9 March 1984, not less than 1,233 trade unionists stood trial in 30 cases involving DISK and DISK-affiliated unions. The main DISK trial is now in its 30th month and at the present rate (one session a week) will go on for a long time yet."

Q - Did you observe any change in the prison conditions?

A - Three high-level ICFTU missions went to Turkey in April 1981, December 1982 and October 1983. During the last visit, we were informed that the conditions in Metris Prison were not changed. The prisoners were subjected to underwear inspection before going to tribunal. Food given to prisoners was simple and monotonous, and unsuitable for the older DISK prisoners. For instance, for Abdullah Bastürk, the DISK President, who suffers from gastro-enteritis. They sleep in collective cells below ground level accomodating up to twenty prisoners.

Q - Do you consider the elected Parliament able to change the situation?

A - The Parliament is unrepresentative and powerless. Last local election proved the unrepresentativity. Parliament cannot control the functionaries. The press is under a self-censorship. No proof has been given for the accusations against DISK. We ask justice for the political prisoners more than amnesty. This is our position.

ARREST OF GERMAN GREENS

Seven members of West Germany's Green Party, including three MP's, were arrested on March 23 in Ankara for protesting agaisnt alleged torture in Turkish prisons. They were later deported.

Others, including journalists covering the event, were also taken to the political section of security headquarters for questioning, but later released. Police refused to say how many had been in detention, but sources said 24 people were arrested.

A spokesman for the West German Embassy identified the Greens members arrested as Milan Horacek, Willi Hoss, and Gabriella Pothast, members of the Lower House. The spokesman identified the other four as Lukas Beckmann, Rudolf Bahro, Uli Fischer and Kalle Winkler.

They carried posters in Turkish saying "Empty the prisons", "Respect for human rights in Western and Eastern blocks." One poster said: "There can not be democracy with torture in prisons."

(*Info-Türk*, April 1984)

WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (Mr. Flor Bleux):

"Apologists for the military regime and their successors in Turkey have stressed and will go on stressing how the military have kept to the time-table, how elections have been held, how there is a parliament and civilian government now, etc. It is true that the military have kept to the time-table; a new Constitution is in force, general elections have been held and there is now a civilian government in Turkey.

"What matters is not the simple maintenance of a time-table but its content — a democratic constitution and democratic elections and total respect for human rights. This is what is crucial for democracy in Turkey. It is important to understand that the 'democracy' as envisaged by the military has noting to do with the concepts and practices of democracy prevailing the West, except having some resemblance only in form.

"This 'new democracy', 'tailored democracy', or using General Evren's favorite expression, 'democracy on strong rails', was in the process of formation from the very next day of the military coup d'état of 12 September 1980. The National Security Council proceeded to promulgate laws and decrees at an astonishing rate, relating to all phases of the state organisation and activities as well as to all fields of social life. (...)

"The adoption of the new Constitution by a massive majority in a referendum, led some people to think that the Turkish people supported the military regime. However, the results of the elections, in spite of its anti-democratic nature, showed that the Turkish people have a great belief in democracy and that they will not accept 'to lead a vegetable life'. (...)

"A 'wait and see' policy is not useful. One should be very firm with the Turkish Government. The 5 countries who had each filed with the European Commission on Human Rights and application against Turkey under Article 24 of the European Convention on Human Rights should go on with their application firmly.

"Torture seems to have stopped respecting cases which attract the attention of the international trade union movement (DISK) or the world public opinion (Peace Association of Turkey). Actually it is continuing in other cases all over Turkey and there is the danger that soon it may turn into genocide in the case of the Kurdish prisoners in the Diyarbakir and similar military prisons in the Southeast of Turkey. The situation should be protected very severely.

"The unjustifiably detained DISK officers should be released at once. The political trials against DISK and its affiliated unions should be stopped at once. DISK and its affiliated unions should become operative again and they should convene their conventions.

"The restrictive provisions respecting labour in the Constitution and the new trade union legislation should be changed and should continue as long as there is Martial law. Martial law should be terminated.

"General amnesty must be declared for all political prisoners and 'prisoner of thought'.

"Energetic intenational pressure should be stepped up. Governments of democratic countries should make economic and financial aid to Turkey conditional on the restoration of democratic, human and trade union rights.

Q - What do you think of the accusation

against DISK that it was involved in terrorist acts? Is it a terrorist organisation or a trade union confederation?

A - DISK is a trade union confederation founded in accordance with the law. It carried out legal activities until 1980. All indictments about DISK are groundless.

Q - In comparison with the neighbour countries, are the trade union rights really more violated in Turkey?

A - No doubt, the countries neighbouring Turkey are not champions of trade union rights. However, there is a great difference between them and Turkey. At least in those countries there are not 3 thousand persons put in prison or prosecuted for their trade union activities, neither risk capital punishment.

Q - Is there any change in Turkey since elections?

A - Since the elections, we have not observed any change. Only, under the international pressure, a delegation of ILO was allowed to observe the DISK trials. But in the exercise of trade union rights there is not any amelioration.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP
(Mehmet Ali Dikerdem):

"I am here also as the son, the very proud son, of former ambassador, Mahmut Dikerdem, who, at the age of 68 and striken with cancer, is at this very moment serving a sentence of 8 years hard labour to be followed by 32 months internal exile. You will agree ythat I am not exaggerating when I say that my father is under a *de facto* death sentence. And this, after 40 years of impeccable service to his country, with 20 years of this bearing the title 'ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary', that is, bearing the right to speak on behalf of the privilege to represent the Republic of Turkey.

"My father is the President of the Turkish Peace Association, the only peace organization which existed in our country. Less than 10 days after the general elections held in Turkey last November, 17 of his distinguished friends were sentenced to 8 years hard labour to be followed by 32 months internal exile, while 5 others, including the President of the Istanbul Bar Association, were given 5 years hard labour and 20 months internal exile.

"Thus, at a time when fanfares sounded Turkey's return to democracy my country also became the first and only member of the Council of Europe and NATO to suppress its peace movement and imprison its peace leaders.

Each member of the TPA executive was prominent in his or her profession. They did not even share the same political beliefs and convictions. But what they did share was their profound concern for the Helsinki Final Act and their impeccable credentials as establishment figures. If people of such calibre and standing can be charged and sentenced, so can any one. Thus, *pour décourager les autres,* under the guise of exceptional martial law courts and in a political environment traumatised by political terror, certain circles in Turkey took the opportunity to remove from circulation some of their most distinguished critics, persons who could well form the nucleus of a movement of real democracy.

"The continued imprisonment of my father and his elderly friends is an affront to all human rights conventions signed by Turkey. Please let us try to end the shameful double-standards which relegate Turkey into the 'margins of the West's conscience and consciousness'."

INTERNATIONALE GESELLSCHAFT FUR MENSCHENRECHT
(Mr. Harald Vocke):

"It is the European Parliament's duty to contribute to dismantling General Evren's military justice. Offences should be judged by civilian courts, not by military ones."

"On the other hand, I request from the Turkish Government to restore Turkish nationality to those of its citizens who were stripped of it."

Q - Is the decision that someone be stripped of Turkish nationality based on a judgement pronounced by a court?

A - No judgement by a court... They have been stripped of their nationality and property in pursuance of a decision by the junta which is still in force.

Q - Did you observe any change since the election with respect to the military regime?

A - Turkey's democratic existence has entirely been destroyed. No change has been noticed.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF LAWYERS
(Mr. Nial Mc Dermot):

"The new Turkish Constitution reflects the new legal framework formed by the laws and decrees of the National Security Council and is

thus a constitutional consecration of the emergency legislation. In the field of human rights the Constitution recognizes a satisfactory list of rights and freedoms, but empties them of their content by a series of prohibitions, exceptions and restriction. The structure of the State is given an almost religious significance and is indeed described in the Preamble as the 'sacred state of Turkey'. The first three articles, dealing with the republican form of the state, the basic principles of the Republic and the indivisible integrity of the State, cannot be amended, and their amendment cannot even be proposed. The powers of amendment of the other articles are so restricted as to make it difficult to move towards a more liberal concept of democracy. This is the nature of the Constitution which the military leaders seek to impose permanently upon Turkey. Much more serious is the present situation under the transitional regime, which is far from a return even to this limited state of normalcy."

After Mr. Mc Dermot, Kurdish lawyer Hüseying Yildirim, who had been imprisoned and tortured in the Diyarbakir Military Prison, made an exposé, as a member of the International Commission of Jurists and gave details on the torture practice in Turkish military prisons.

"I want to make it clear to the representatives of European countries that," he said, "their expectations of a return to democracy established step by step in the wake of such elections, are a total illusion. What is being set up and reinforced is not democracy but fascism. Furthermore the repression has only become worse since the elections. At the very moment that the representatives of the Junta were taking their seats at the Council of Europe in January, burnt corpses were coming out of Diyarbakir prison. And at Mamak prison hunger-strikes and torture were continuing. Over the last ten days, 32 detainees have been sentenced to death; hundreds of others have been condemned to life imprisonment or sentenced to up to 36 years."

"The structures set up by Junta are still in place and martial law is still valid."

Q - Is there not any change since a civil governement has come to power?

A - The parliament and governement have no power of control over the martial law commanders or over the mechanisms at their disposal. The Justice Minister of a governement, who claims that he is in power, has not even the right to access to the military prisons in his own country. The present Ministers of Health and of Justice were obliged to admit on their return from Diyarbakir that they had not been permitted to visit the prison and had no control over its administration."

INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE (Mr. Peter Galliner):

"Despite all hope that before the elections the situation would improve, once again leading newspapers such as Tercüman, Milliyet, Nokta, Günaydin, Tan and Hürriyet were closed down for some time, and editors had to face the martial law commanders. Then the new civilian government was elected. Hope was expressed by our Turkish friends, and by most of us that the civilian government would lift martial law and would grant an amnesty and be concerned with human rights and press freedom.

"... But harassment and persecution continue. Shortly before the recent regional elections, once again Mrs. Ilicak and her editor, Mr. Ilter of Tercüman, and Mr. Nadi and his editor, Mr Gönensin of Cumhuriyet, had to face investigations — and it looked that once again new trials in both these cases would take place.

"It is difficult to be over-optimistic on the return of Turkey towards greater democratic freedom at the present time. As I have mentioned, the closing down of newspapers had become commonplace. Editors are expected to use self-censorship. Any hope for the respect of human rights, the freedom of speech and freedom of expression has so far not really materialised. The pressures from the military remain extremely strong. The press laws are such that it is unlikely that there will be greater freedom of expression. We regard this Press act as an outright violation of press freedom. If Turkey wishes to be accepted as a member of the free world, an amnesty should be granted; and the fear of harassment and persecution must cease. There cannot be a compromise on these basic principles. It is more than a year ago since President Evren state that all necessary steps would be taken expeditiously for the establishment of a democratic parliamentary regime. So far there has been little development in that direction."

Q - How are developments in Turkey being covered by the European press?

A - Unfortunately, the European mass media and most European governemnts are very lax with respect to Turkey. The Federal Republic of Germany was in a position — and it is still so — to exert the strongest pressure. The European mass media, except for 2-3 newspapers, have paid very little attention to the persecutions in Turkey. News coverage is quite minimal. The activities of the Council of Europe are not taken seriously.

Q - Is criticism in the Turkish press tolerated by the authorities?

A - No, it is not. Self-censorship is still quite common practice. The press is not free, since democracy has not been restored."

TURKISH REGIME READMITTED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

Europe's climb-down before the blackmail of the Turkish Generals took a further step on May 8, 1984 with the approval of Turkish delegation's credentials by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Thus, after a 3-year interval, the representaives of militarist "democracy" was officially readmitted to the benches of the European House, despite the fact that all international non-governmental organizations had pointed out shortly before, at the hearing of the European Parliament, that systematic human rights violations were still going on in this country.

It was the same Assembly of the Council of Europe that had decided on May 14, 1981, in the aftermath of the military coup, to oust the Turkish delegation "as long as a democratic regime is not re-established in Ankara".

On January 28, 1983, it was the same Assembly that had adopted a resolution criticizing the nature of the Turkish Constitution and the conditions in which the referendum was held with General Evren simultaneously being elected "President of the Republic". That resolution had seriously taken into consideration the possibility of ousting Turkey even from the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee.

Again it was the same Council that, prior to the "general election", had declared on September 30, 1983 that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey, will not be able to be considered as representing the Turkish people and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the proceedings of the Parliamentary Assembly".

Although a democratic regime was not yet re-established and the anti-democratic Constitution was still in force and General Evren was still ruling the country at the head of the authoritarian state apparatus established in the wake of the Constitution; and despite the fact that it was clearly proven at the local elections that the elected "Assembly" was very far from representing the people of Turkey, — Turkey was not only kept in the Council of Europ's Ministerial Committee, but what is more, the representatives of this admittedly repressive regime were allowed to sit side by side with parliamentarians of twenty European democratic countries. To cap it all, at the same session, one of Turkey's representatives was elected Vice-president of the Assembly!

Out of 151 present members of the Parliamentary Assembly, 91 voted for the Turkish regime, 50 against with 10 abstentions. Those who voted against the approval of the credentials were the Communists and the majority of the Socialists. They expressed the reasons for their opposition as follows:

BUDTZ, *Danish Socialist Deputy:*

"I shall express the views of the Socialist Group in the Assembly, although I recognise that some do not entirely agree with what I shall say. I took part in the fact-finding trip to Turkey, and I have no hesitation in admitting that we were presented with evidence of some progress and some improvements in political developments there. I am sorry to say, however, that this is not enough. We should all be aware that the present national parliament of Turkey is not representative. That has been proved clearly in the local elections. Moreover, human rights are not respected. I believe that we cannot allow the Turks to take their seats in this Assembly at this stage. I believe that the situation is very dangerous. What will be the future of the Council of Europe if member countries that are not democratic and that do not respect human rights are allowed to sit

GERMAN DELEGATION REBUFFED

According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 1, 1984, Turkish authorities have announced in late May that they are not prepared to welcome a West German parliamentary delegation.

On March 31, the Bundestag had approved a motion by the "Green Party", calling on Parliament to send a delegation to Turkey for an inquiry into the state of human rights there.

(*Info-Türk*, June 1984)

among us and to participate in votes when we are dealing with democratic problems? The issue concerns the future of the Council of Europe."

SILVA, *Portuguese Communist Deputy:*

"The issue is political rather than legal. Validation would mean inclusion of representatives of a dictatorial regime in Turkey and approval of the sham elections that had put them forward. In Turkey there are still persecution, prisons with torture and censorship, while left-wing parties and trade unions were banned. That is incompatible with the principles of the Council of Europe. Validation would not allow progress towards democracy. First, the State is actually increasing its control. Secondly, many of the present rulers had been closely involved with fascist parties. Tolerating such a regime would lead only to its reinforcement, as experience in Portugal had shown. Such authoritarian regimes should be isolated and condemned. The validation of the Turkish credentials will be a precedent that will weaken the Council of Europe, while non-validation will strenghten democracy."

As to the right-wing parties which voted for the Turkish regime, their representatives put forward the following arguments:

BLENK, *Austrian Christian Democratic Deputy:*

"Turkish colleagues said that withdrawal of Turkey from the Council of Europe because of non-recognition of credentials would not help to improve human rights in Turkey. What is important is not the present situation but an evaluation of the prospects for democracy in Turkey. As a member of a fact-finding inquiry I can report slow but steady improvement in key areas."

BENNETT, *British Conservative Deputy:*

"What had happened in Spain? It had not in our view yet achieved a completely democratic state — indeed it had not even signed the constitution — but my friends and I voted in favour of its admission... Exactly the same circumstances arose for Portugal. It was clear that Portugal had not yet achieved a full return to pluralistic democracy without military control. I have no doubt from all the evidence before us that it is in the interests of democracy in Turkey that we should vote favourably for its credentials today."

ELMQUIST, *Danish Liberal Deputy:*

"The Liberal group agrees that democracy is a question not of black and white but of development. It is difficult to put forward a 100 per cent definition of democracy. It is a development, an evolution; anyway, it is not a revolution. The Liberal group is convinced that many human rights violations are still going on in Turkey. We are confronted with the question: if a child does not behave, do you caress or hit it in order to correct it? I put a counter-question: in that case, do you want to kill the child so that you can be sure that it will never again behave badly? The Liberal group prefers to continue to dialogue. It is therefore for the moment in favour of accepting the credentials of the Turkish delegation."

In fact, the idea of "dialogue instead of refusal" was not limited to the right-wing members of the Council of Europe. Despite the fact that they voted against the approval of the credentials, even the Socialist members of the Assembly had already toned down their criticisms at the Turkish regime after the visit of the fact-finding mission to Turkey and repeatedly stated that there was a progress towards democracy and that Europe should avoid any action that may harm the Turkish-European dialogue.

For example, the declarations of the two most ardent critics of the Turkish regime since the coup, Dutch Deputy Harry Van den Bergh and Belgian Deputy Claude Dejardin.

Mr Van den Bergh had declared, on his return from Turkey, that in this country human rights were again respected and that there was no more repression nor torture. This is the reason why he had advocated readmittance of Turkey's deputies to the Council of Europe. This reversal provoked protests by Kurdish

exiles in Holland who, on May 3, took over for a couple of hours the national headquarters of the Dutch Social-democrat Party (PvdA) in Amsterdam, in protest against Mr. Van den Bergh's statements.

As for Mr Dejardin, he held two press conferences, one in Paris and the other in Brussels, on his return from Turkey. According to the Belgian left-wing daily *La Wallonie* of May 4, "throughout his long statement, Dejardin kept insisting on one crucial issue: he reports only what he has seen, stripping his conclusions of what militants may believe or feel. The reason for this is as follows: if the Ankara government, however little, wants to prove that it is 'cooperative' with the Council of Europe, it should not be given the pretext of being able to accuse the parliamentarians of the great Europe of dishonesty and prejudice." As for the Flemish daily *De Morgen* which focused on "Claude Dejardin's very cautious attitude", it mentioned in particular his assertion that "in Turkey, a lot of people wish that Turkey remains associated with Europe".

In view of the fact that their Turkish Social-Democrat counterparts, after they were legalized by the junta, maintained this view, such a cautiousness by the European Socialists was hardly surprising. What is more amazing is the fact that the European Socialists overestimated general Evren's "gesture" consisting in permitting them to visit Mamak and Diyarbakir military prisons. At the press conference, Mr Dejardin interpreted this as a willingness to co-operate with the Council of Europe. And yet, after the European mission left Turkey, the Turkish regime proved once more that noting had changed, as far as human rights were concerned.

Moreover, the members of the mission later noticed that they had actually been fooled by the Ankara dictatorship during their visit to Turkey.

After the Turkish regime had been readmitted to the Council of Europe, Mr. Dejardin confirmed that, during their visit to Diyarbakir prison on April 27, the list of prisoners which was presented to them as a list issued by Amnesty International, was actually a false one. According to the military, the seventeen names included in this list were alledgly those of detainees A.I. had wrongly declared dead in prison, and they claimed to be able to prove that these prisoners were still alive by proposing to the Euro-MP's to meet them. Afterwards, on checking the list in London, they found that it had never been issued by A.I. Seven out of the seventeen names included in this list are completely unknown to A.I., while the ten others had been the subject of just a request for information on their fate.

But the regime's deceitful manoeuvres were not limited to this. Later Mr. Dejardin learnt that the building he himself and his colleagues had visited in Diyarbakir, was in fact reserved to administrative staff and to the prison guards, while the detainees were confined to three other blocs from which the European parliamentarians had been barred.

Even the head of the delegation, Danish Liberal deputy Elmquist, who later voted for the readmittance of the Turkish regime was finally induced to express his doubts about his own findings he made during his visit to the prisons.

According to *The Guardian* of May 9, "Mr Elmquist admitted that he had doubts about some of the findings, and knows of instances of deception. 'We are not professionals, we are politicians,' Mr Elmquist told the Assembly in explaining why none of the members of the delegation took a tape recorder to check the accuracy of the Turkish authorities' translation or cameras to photograph prisoners they met."

But particularly disappointing is the fact that the Euro-MP's did not even pay heed to warnings of Turkish democrats exiled in Europe, nor to the cautions of European experts, before taking up a new stance at the Council of Europe vis-a-vis the Ankara regime.

In West Germany, for example, prior to the session of the Assembly, three high-ranking judges had already publicly exposed manipulations by the Turkish regime. According to the German daily *Hamburger Abendblatt* of May 7, Martin Hirsch, a former judge at the Federal Constitutional Court and Michael Stallbaum, judge at the High Administrative Court in the Hambourg region along with Jürgen Kühling, judge at the Federal Administrative Court, accused the Turkish authorities of having deceived the European delegation.

In Stallbaum's view, "the way in which the parliamentarians have conducted their investigations leaves much to be desired". The delegates "could talk with alleged prisoners" only through an interpreter appointed to that end by

EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS' SOLIDARITY WITH DISK

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) decided unanimously, on January 30, 1985, to grant affiliation to the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK)

DISK first applied for affiliation in 1979, before the coup d'Etat. After the military intervention in September 1980, the military junta has arrested about 2 thousand officials of DISK and its affiliated unions, suspended their trade union activities and confiscated their all properties. 78 of the accused DISK officials still risk capital punishment despite their release in the course of trials.

The ETUC and its affiliated organisations made representations on several occasions to their governments and to the European and international authorities to press for action to make the Turkish trade unionists and their families.

The press release of ETUC underlined that "DISK's affiliation to the ETUC is the expression of both the Turkish colleagues' and the ETUC's determination to continue their fight until the fundamental freedoms and rights of workers and their trade unions have been fully guaranteed in Turkey."

Pursuant to the Trade Union Act at present in force in Turkey, the other trade union confederation, Türk-Is, is required to await the decisions of its forthcoming congress in 1986.

(*Info-Türk*, January 1985)

the Turkish Government. Hirsch Stallbaum, Kühling and several other jurist, along with Dr. Jochen Zenker, a psychiatrist who is head of the Main Health Office of the City of Bremen, had started on April 26 a 10-day fact-finding travel to Turkey in order to examine conditions of detention, procedures at the military courts and the situation of the national minorities. They had been denied permission by the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry to get in touch with official circles and to visit the prisons.

In a press release, issued on May 7, the West German judges declared:

"We have learnt through our unofficial talks that in Mamak military prison the authorities concerned have proceeded, in anticipation of the European deputies' visit, to gross manipulations with the view of deceiving the Council of Europe — that the prisoners allegedly wish that the Turkish deputies be readmitted to the Council — over 20 relatives of prisoners have assured us that in no case their children would recommend that Turkey's membership to the Council of Europe be prolonged."

During the debates on Turkey, several demonstrations by Turkish opponents took place in Strasbourg. About thirty people chained themselves up in front of the Palace of Europe in protest against the voting. A *people's tribunal* with film director Yilmaz Güney taking part among others, denounced human rights' violations by the Ankara regime. At the same time, in Paris, Amnesty International publicized a report accusing the Turkish regime: "Thousands of people detained under martial law are systematically subjected to torture. No significant change has occurred in 1984."

As it turned out, all these warnings could not prevent a militarist "democracy" from being readmitted to the Parliamentary Assembly.

As for the Resolution which was approved by this Assembly two days later, the text of it has been reprinted below. As noted by the Dutch daily *Volkskrant* of May 11, "the result of the Council of Europe's decision is that the political prisoners will have to wait still a pretty long time before an amnesty has been granted, before torture has been eneded, before the workers' right to free trade unions has been recognized and before journalists can write in newspapers freed from censorship. The Council of Europe has given a present to Turkey and assumes an atittude of expectation, wondering whether the country will celebrate its anniversary. Otherwise, the gift will have to be returned within a year, proof that the Turks have not yet reached their anniversary."

The fact is that it was a present for dictator Evren who shorlty later exclaimed trimuphantly during a visit to the earthquake-stricken region of Erzurum:

"After a number of efforts, we succeeded in being readmitted to the Council of Europe. We have a lot of enemies in that Council. They have made every effort to prevent us from being readmitted. But it seems that our friends are superior in numbers than our enemies.

Now it insists that we lift martial law. We never act under pressure by others."

This was the present General Evren have as a mark of this gratitude toward the Council of Europe which yielded to the blackmails and the deceitful manoeuvres of a dictatorship within the European fold.

The Resolution adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly reads:

"The Assembly,

" 1. Having examined the report of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 5208) and the opinion of its Legal Affairs Committee, which give an account of the fact-finding mission carried out in Turkey by its delegation from 25 to 28 April 1984;

" 2. Recalling its previous positions, in particular its Resolution 803 (1983);

" 3. Considering that the timetable drawn up by the previous military governement for a return towards democracy has been formally respected;

" 4. Noting that the polling operations of 6 November 1983 to designate the Grand National Assembly were properly conducted, but that the restrictions placed on parties and on the right of Turkish citizens to stand as candidates limits its democratic character and raised a problem of compatibility with the principles of the Council of Europe Statute, which can only be fully resolved through future elections;

" 5. Welcoming the conditions under which the municipal elections of 25 March 1984 took place;

" 6. Noting with satisfactation the lifting of martial law in 13 provinces;

" 7. Considering nevertheless that the maintenance of martial law for the great majority of the population, which implies the suspension of several rights and liberties, as well as of the separation of powers still presents an obstacle to the full restoration of democracy;

" 8. Concerned inter alia about the number of persons convicted and imprisoned for their opinions, about the length of some trials and about prolongation of a situation in which military courts are exercising jurisdiction over areas which should normally fall within the competence of the civil courts;

" 9. Particularly regretting that numerous and serious limitations are still placed on the exercise of trade union freedoms in Turkey;

"10. Expressing the wish that freedom of education and conscience by fully respected in Turkey;

"11. Taking note of the decisions of the Turkish Government aimed at dispelling doubts about conditions in prisons and allegations of torture, as well as of the penal sanctions applied to officials who have been found guilty of it, while underlining that it remains concerned by the gravity of the situation, to which the dealth of several prisoners notably following hunger strikes bears witness;

"12. Welcoming with satisfaction in this connection the proposal of some members of the Grand National Assembly to set up a parliamentary committee to investigate allegations concerning the situation in Turkish prisons;

"13. Concerned at the restrictions to the right of defence which affect both the accused and their lawyers, in particular in the ongoing mass trials;

"14. Concerned by the prosecution brought against an authorised political party which might create a situation where political rights and liberties would not be guaranteed in accordance with the requirements of a democratic society;

"15. Reaffirming its interest in the investigation currently in progress before the European Commission of Human Rights;

"16. Considering that it falls on the Council of Europe to encourage the present progress of democratisation, in accordance with the will of the Turkish people and so as to ensure full compatibility with the principles of the Statutes of the Council of Europe;

"17. Urges the Turkish authorities:

"A. to continue the democratic normalisation of the country, bearing in mind the requirements of the Council of Europe's Statute and the European Convention of Human Rights through the following measures, inter alia:

i. the abolition of martial law throughout the country, implying the progressive restoration of the full jurisdiction of the civil courts and the abolition of the rule authorising the police authorities to remand an individual in custody for 45 days without contacts with his family or his lawyer;

ii. the abolition at the earliest possible moment, of measures derogating from the European Convention of Human Rights taken under Article 15, such measures being admissi-

ble only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation";

iii. an amnesty for those convicted for their opinions;

iv. the full affirmation of political pluralism, trade union freedoms, freedom for political parties, freedom of association and of the press and education in order to ensure free expression of opinion of citizens in the framework of a democratic society;

B. to strive for the respect of human rights:

i. by taking a vigorous stand against all cases of torture and of inhuman and degrading treatment;

ii. by improving conditions in prisons;

iii. by thoroughly investigating all allegations of torture and ill-treatment;

iv. by ensuring that each individual's right to have his case heard within a reasonable time limit is respected;

v. by ensuring respect for the rights of the defence;

"18. Expresses the hope that the Turkish Government will accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in accordance with Article 46 of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"19. Instructs its Political and Legal Affairs Committees to continue to follow the evolution of the situation in Turkey and to report back to it, at the latest at the beginning of the 37th session of the Parliamentary Assembly, in the light of the response and concrete action taken by the government and the Grand National Assembly on the basis of this resolution."

CONTRADICTORY STANDS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

As for the European Parliament, despite the witnesses of international human rights organizations at the public hearing, it adopted, on May 24, 1984, a Resolution, tabled by a notorious defender of the Turkish regime. The Resolution, which talks of the eventual resumption of the EEC-Turkey Association's works, reads:

"The European Parliament,

"- having regard to the joint declarations on fundamental rights signed by Parliament, the Council and the Commission on 24.4.1977,

"- having regard to the preamble to the EEC-Turkey Association agreement of 23.12.1963, which stresses the determination to uphold and reinforce peace and freedom by their joint efforts to achieve the highest aims of the Treaty establishing the european Economic Community,

"- having regard to the public hearing on respect for human rights in Turkey held by its Political Affairs Committee in Brussels on 26.4.1984,

"- having regard to the motions for resolution tabled by Mrs. Charzat and others on the conditions of detention and the hunger strike in Turkish prisons and by Mr. Kyrkos on the death of 12 political prisoners in Turkey.

"1. Notes that, by virtue of the election of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the recently held local elections, Turkey has taken its first steps towards the re-establishment of pluralistic democracy, although in view of the de facto martial law at present prevailing in Turkey, these elections are of only limited significance;

"2. Recalls that by signing the European Convention on Human Rights, Turkey undertook to respect human rights;

"3. Protests, in the light of the results of the aforementioned hearing held by the Political Affairs Committee, - against:

- the use of torture and intimidation and the protracted nature of criminal trials held before military courts,
- the imposition of the death penalty in numerous cases and the demand for this penalty by the military prosecuting authorities,
- and the restriction of the freedom of the press;

"4. Urges the governement and Parliament of Turkey (as well as the military authorities in the provinces under martial law) to put an end to this deplorable state of affairs and to guarantee full respect for human rights;

"5. Welcomes the steps taken by the Turkish authorities to set up committees to investigate allegations of torture and ill-treatment in prisons;

"6. Demands that those responsible for the violation of human rights be called to account and that the innocent victims of arbitrary measures be compensated as far as is possible;

"7. Urges the Turkish Grand National

Assembly, on the basis of the traditionally friendly relations between the peoples of the European Community and the relations between Turkey and the European Community, to press for an end to martial law all over the country and to take practical steps towards granting an amnesty to political prisoners;

"8. Is convinced that only measures leading to the reestablishment of democracy and respect for human rights can bring about a normalization of relations between Turkey and the European Community and guarantee the resumption, in the near future, of the work of the EEC-Turkey Association institutions;

"9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council of the European Communities, the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States, the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Turkish government."

In view of continued human rights violations in Turkey, The European Parliament, at its 11 October, 1984, sitting, had to take a new "reserved" position as regards the reconstitution of the EEC-Turkey Parliamentary Committee.

The chairmen of the parliamentary groups, who had been convened separately before the opening of the debate on the "inter-parliamentary delegations for relations with third countries", signed an agreement stipulating that the motion for resolution relating to the future EEC-Turkey joint delegation was to be accompanied with a restriction clause: "The European Parliament decides that the delegation of the European Parliament / Grand National Assembly of Turkey Joint Committee will not be set up until the Association Treaty is implemented once again and until the European Parliament has reconsidered the situation in Turkey."

Despite the previous agreement signed by all political group chairmen, this restrictive clause was endorsed - and in the end adopted -by only 140 Euro-MP's, while 66 voted against and 21 abstained. When the result of the vote was announced, amid the shouts of indignation bursting forth from the left benches, Socialist Group Chairman Arndt accused EPP Group Head Klepsch of breaking his word - and disowning his signature - by inciting the rest of the Assembly to oppose the restrictive clause's adoption. The spokesperson of the Rainbow Group, Graefe zu Baringdorf got angry and rushed amid the hubbub at Klepsch's bench, then at the Speaker's desk. To the boos of the Right shouting "Out... Out...", Speaker Pflimlin then announced an adjournment. On the other hand, the EP adopted two motions for a resolution, one protesting against the death sentences passed on political prisoners in Turkey, the other denouncing the imprisonment of Mahmut Dikerdem, chairmen of the Turkish Peace Committee.

TURKISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE

Although in the wake of the general and local elections in Turkey, European governments had given their representatives the go-ahead for normalizing Turkish-European relations, the continuation of human rights violations put them in a predicament.

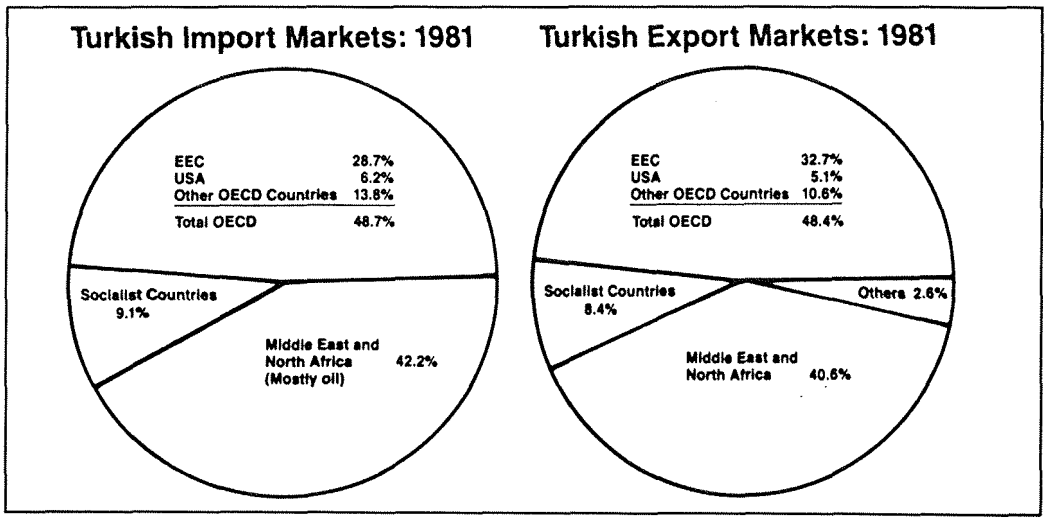
In May 1981, Turkey had voluntarily renounced her turn to take up the presidency. Every six months, the presidency falls to one of the 21 member countries in alphabetical order. At that time, the Ministerial Committee had decided that Turkey could take up the presidency as soon as democracy would be restored.

On November 22, 1984, in Strasbourg, the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee decided to postpone until its next session, in May 1985, the decision on the Council's presidency which fell due to Turkey. At the November 22 meeting, only Great Britain and West Germany had no objections to Turkey presiding over the Council of Europe.

In retaliation, Turkish Premier Ozal declared that henceforth Turkey would no longer be represented in the Council of Europe at ministerial level.

Asked by journalists he said: "The Council of Europe is no longer important to Turkey. It is only concerned with social problems and human rights issues!" And he went on: "In the future, no matter whether we get the Council's presidency or not, we will no longer be represented there at ministerial level."

Thereupon, the Turkish Minister of For-



eign Affairs, Mr. Vahit Halefoglu, left the meeting of the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee.

Insiders said that the informal meeting of the 21 Foreign Affairs Ministers had given rise to heated discussions. The Netherlands, which over the past months had been lending a sympathetic ear to Ankara's positions, did an about-turn on account of the recent imprisonments and hangings in Turkey.

TURKISH REGIME'S FRIENDS AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In the parliamentary field, "friends" of the Turkish regime at the European Parliament took new steps at the beginning of 1985, in order to set up a lobby inside this institution in support of Ankara regime.

German Christian-Democrat MEP Gerd Ludwig Lemmer announced to Turkish press correspondents that about fifty Members of the European Parliament were to meet on February 13, 1985 in Strasbourg in order to establish work rules for this lobby whose aim is to counter the Turkish regime's critics at the European Parliament and to constitute a majority backing the Ankara regime. He further said that as a result of the Turkish regime's sympathizers' indiscipline some left-wing MEP's had succeeded several times in having adopted proposals of resolutions hostile to Turkey's rulers.

The initiators of this "lobby" included Christian-Democrat, Conservative, Liberal and ultra-right MEP's such as Vedekint, Habsbourg, Taylor, Scott-Hopkins, D'Ormesson, De La Madeleine, Luc Beyer De Ryke, Lalos.

On the other hand, at the January meeting of the European Parliament, Mr Giulio Andreotti, the new President in office of the Council of Ministers during the six-month period of Italian presidency, was asked a number of questions during questions hour about the Community's financial aid to Turkey.

In his verbal question Socialist MEP Tongue asked: "It is rumored that the Council allegedly intends to grant Turkey a new financial aid package as part of the special aid fund. Can the Council assure Parliament that it will take no measure with a view to granting a new aid as long as the Assembly does not take up a stand on the political situation in Turkey?"

On the other hand, this Socialist MEP also asked the following question: "Is it right that most delegations (at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs ministers on the 11th September 1984 in Dublin) now share the view that the situation in Turkey has somewhat improved and that, as a first step towards normalizing relations with Turkey, the Commission should be charged with the task of updating the technical file of the financing project (TEK)".

Mr Andreotti's answer was as follows: "The Council pays heed to the situation in Turkey. It is right that the Ministers of the Ten have discussed in Dublin the situation in Turkey. An exchange of view has taken place at the Council on relaunching the financial cooperation program as part of the special aid which was decided in 1980 (which includes the TEK project). But the discussion is going on and so far the Council has taken no decision.

"We should not say that we should not have made steps forward by the 30th of June in a situation of dictatorship... or semi-dictatorship... or of dictatorship at its sunset.

"The situation in Turkey has changed a little, the present situation is slightly more favorable."

Thereupon, Communist MEP Chambeiron pertinently observed:

"Are current developments really favorable? Five Turkish Democrats have just been sentenced to death by a military court.

"Does the Council intend to comply with the European Parliament's decision, as far as the budgetary procedure is concerned; does it intend to cancel the credits, after they were rejected by the EP, while the new budget is being worked out?"

Mr Andreotti has failed to answer this precise question, taking advantage of the interventions made by two right-wing MEP's who tried to draw a parallel with some ACP countries which do not respect human rights.

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HARDENING ITS STAND AGAIN

Despite the lobbying of the Turkish regime's friends, the European Parliament, on April 18, 1985, adopted the following Resolution accusing the Ankara regime of pursuing the violation of human rights and a bloody State terror:

"The European Parliament,

"A. whereas the present regime in Turkey has launched a systematic campaign of genocide against the Kurdish minority,

"B. having regard to the recent death sentence given to 30 Kurdish soldiers by the military court of Diyarbakir,

"C. having regard to the new trial of 84 Kurdish fighters in the special military court of Diyarbakir for 13 of whom the prosecuting officer requested the death penalty (including two who were youths under the age of 16), while 4 other persons were unable to appear in court since they had died in the meantime from the torture inflicted upon them during their imprisonment,

"D. aware that the Turkish authorities carry out death sentences, as happened in the case of Hidir Aslan who was hung in the Burdur prison.

"E. having regard to the recent condemnation by two famous playwrights, namely the American, Arthur Miller and the Briton, Harold Pinter who, on a visit to Turkey, said that human rights were being violated there and intellectual freedom suppressed by torture,

"1. Calls for an end to the death sentences issued by the Turkish military courts which provoke the justified abhorrence of international public opinion;

"2. Demands that the death sentences that have been issued are not carried out;

"3. Calls on the Turkish authorities to bring an end to the inhuman conditions surrounding the treatment, detention and interrogation of political detainees since this constitutes a ruthless violation of human rights;

"4. Calls on the governments of the Member States and, in particular, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to exert as much pressure as possible to ensure that a halt is called to the death sentences and executions, and the human rights and freedoms of the Turkish people upheld;

"5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Governments of the Member States and the Turkish authorities."

Prior to this session of the European Parliament, its former speaker Piet Dankert had made a one-week visit to Turkey to find out about the state of human rights in this country.

After meeting some prominent journalists, trade union officials, academics and public figures in Istanbul on March 22-24, Mr Dankert proceeded to Ankara and afterwards to Diyarbakir.

In Ankara, he met with the Speaker of the Turkish National Assembly, Necmettin Karaduman, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, Justice Minister Necat Eldem, the leaders of the pres-

ent political parties as well as with former Prime Ministers Ecevit and Demirel, who have been banned from taking part in political activities for ten years.

During his Ankara talks, Mr Dankert said pertinent elements exist to revive ties between Turkey and the EEC and insisted that the Turkish regime should make further efforts on some burning questions such as granting a general amnesty, abolishing the death penalty, full respect for human rights. "As a member of the Council of Europe, Turkey should act in conformity with the human rights standards adopted by Europe. Of all Western European countries, Turkey is the only one which keeps capital punishment in force. Trade union rights should be entirely respected. Since Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, no one can accept the establishment of an 'oriental democracy' in this country. Turkey should abide by the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights as one of its signatories," he said.

With regard to the practice of tortures, he reminded that "if a Turkish migrant worker is beaten in a police station in Holland, not only the staff of this center but the Dutch Government as well bears responsibility for this act. Therefore, it is not convincing to claim that the beating in some police stations in Turkey is out of the sphere of responsibility of the Turkish Government."

After his talks with city administrators and his visit to the military prison in Diyarbakir, Mr Dankert told the press that he had been able to obtain all information required concerning the conditions of political detainees and that he contemplated elaborating on them afterwards.

Speaking about his contacts with the Turkish social-democrat leaders who are divided in three political parties, Mr Dankert expressed his hope that the Social democrats will win in the next general election, but he refused to favor any of the three parties.

Before leaving Turkey on March 30, Mr Dankert held a press conference in Istanbul and revealed that prisoners in Diyarbakir Military Prison told him they had been tortured.

"Allegations on torture, proceeding according to the Turkish authorities from western sources, are more or less the same as those prisoners made in my presence," he said.

He urged the Turkish parliament to be more active on human rights issues so as to remove all obstacles preventing the stalled relations between the European Community and Turkey from taking a fresh start.

MORE CONCESSIONS FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Contrary to the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe carried on its conciliation with the Turkish regime and adopted, in April 1985, two decisions that amount to endorsing the regime's repressive practices.

In accordance with the instruction given by the Assembly on May 10, 1984, to the Political and Legal Affairs Committees to go on watching developments in Turkey, both rapporteurs of these committees, respectively Austrian Christian-Democrat Ludwig Steiner and Dutch Socialist Pieter Stoffelen tabled their reports - written at the beginning of the debate - on the situation in Turkey and, in particular, on their visit to Turkey from March 5 to March 9.

Their approach to certain questions and the weight they gave to each of them was different, but they agreed to criticize the upholding of martial law in many regions, the permanence of certain restrictions imposed on radio and television news as well as on the rights of the defence before the courts, the upholding of the existing laws in this field, even though they were meanwhile mitigated; in addition the fact that the political parties, trade unions and other democratic associations were still being prevented from exercising their rights. They also criticized the application of the death penalty in time of peace.

At the first session on April 22, while the Permanent Committee's activity report was being presented, it was announced that the latter had accepted the Turkish parliamentarians' invitation to hold a mini-session of the Parliamentary Assembly in Turkey in March 1986. This decision aroused strong reactions from progressive MP's.

British MP Hardy pointed out that, for its part, the Socialist Group had opposed this decision. He went on to say: "If the Assembly

proceeds now to make arrangements to hold a mini-session in Turkey in 1986, it will be acting unwisely and incautiously. Such an acceptance will be seen outside Turkey as an endorsement of conditions as they are within that country now. Such an acceptance will be regarded within Turkey as a seal of approval from this body. Members of my party and of the Socialist Group are not prepared to sacrifice our commitment to human rights."

Danish MP Elmquist asked the Committee if it had obtained guaranties as to the complete lifting of martial-law by the time of the mini-session. In reply, the chairman of the session pointed out that Mr Inan, the head of the Turkish delegation, had not been able to guarantee absolutely that martial law will not be in force in Istanbul next year.

Despite this statement, the holding of the mini-session in Turkey was approved by 59 votes, against 49 "no's" and three abstentions.

In this respect, it should be reminded that prior to the Assembly's plenary session in Strasbourg, another Committee, the Budget and Programme Committee, had met in Istanbul on April 12, 1985.

As regards the presence of the representatives of the Turkish regime within the Assembly, French MP Pignion pointed out that the Socialist Group questioned the Turkish delegation's credentials, "considering that concrete progress has not been accomplished by the Turkish government for a return to a real democratic life and for a full respect of human rights."

Thereupon, at a meeting of the Rules Committee, the validation of the Turkish delegation's credentials was approved by 9 votes against 6.

This decision of the Committee was opposed by the Communist and Socialist Groups, whereas the Liberal Group gave it its backing.

Communist Group spokesperson Gianotti: "The statutes of the Council of Europe has laid down very strict conditions for affiliation to this body: It is not possible to respect the human rights of even days and not respect on odd days. Although the Council wanted to continue its dialogue with Turkey, dialogue did not imply recognition or admission to full membership."

Socialist Group spokesperson Pignion: "Had Spain and Portugal returned to democratic life only in homeoepathic doses just as Turkey does today, they would never be members of the Council of Europe."

In order to consolidate the backing given by the Conservatives and Liberals, the spokesperson of the Turkish delegation, Kamran Inan, resorted to the Turkish regime's usual demagogy and blackmailing: "Today, the Western World spends each year about 400 billions dollars for the defence of its freedoms, its way of life, its civilisation and its institutions against a certain imperialism. It is pity to destroy by internal conflicts the values which we defend... We are sure that our partners will never leave us alone in the way of democracy."

Following these interventions, the Turkish delegation's credentials, after a roll-call vote, were declared valid.

In addition, the head of the Turkish delegation, Mr Inan was re-elected deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly.

After these two *fait accompli,* the European MP's started discussing the reports of both the Political and Legal Affairs Committees.

The rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, Mr Steiner, pointed out that since May 1984, a great many events have occurred and that several political realities coexist: the Government, the Turkish Grand National Assembly which resulted from a restricted election, the Army and the political parties. He reminded that martial law has been lifted in 44 out of 67 provinces, but that it remains in force in the most populated areas. He pointed out that although the parties which are represented at the Grand National Assembly are allowed to develop their activities, some subjects remain taboo. Mr Steiner, found out that, even though some progress has been made with regard to human rights, lots of shortcomings still exist. For exemple, a great many university professors have been ousted; estimates range from 500 to 1,600 if those who reportedly quit on their own decision, - out of discouragement - are taken into account. He added that all legal political parties of Turkey deny the very existence of any problem with regard to ethnic minorities.

As for the Legal Affairs Committee's rapporteur, Mr Stoffelen, he noticed no change in the Turkish Constitution nor in Turkish laws.

He emphasized the interferences of the National Security Council in the general election and the restrictions laid on the powers of the Grand National Assembly. Stoffelen could not understand how it was possible that martial law was still in force in Ankara and Istanbul. He expressed concern about the fate of the prisoners of opinion: "How could a trade-unionist understand that membership of a trade union is a serious crime. I've got indignant at the news of the opening of a new investigation against the members of the Peace Movement. If some members of this Assembly (of the Council of Europe) were Turkish citizens, they could be jailed!" The rapporteur expressed his concern about the number of death sentences and went on to say: "All those who visited Turkey last year will remember well the shocking description of the serious restrictions on the rights of defence. The present situation is at least as bad. There is no free contact between the detainnee and his or her lawyer. The penal legislation, especially Articles 142 and 146, follow the example of Italian penal law during the Fascist regime."

Mr Stoffelen, after having repeated his preoccupations concerning human rights, concluded his view as follows: "It is clear that we can detect real progress towards the full restoration of a normal parliamentary democracy and full respect of human rights... Yet, there is a long way to go to the restoration of normal parliamentary democracy and full respect for human rights." Nevertheless, he advised the Parliamentary Assembly to maintain dialogue with the Turkish regime.

After the presentation of the reports of the committees, European deputies were called to express their views on the situation in Turkey. Having obtained the validity of their credentials, Turkish deputies also stood up to speak and even interrupted the European deputies criticizing the Turkish regime.

While French MP Dreyfus-Schmidt was speaking of the rights of the minorities in Turkey, the former foreign minister Bayülken interfered by shouting: "The minorities question is not the subject." He was answered by the orator: "This is the freedom of expression!".

The Turkish spokesperson, Inan accused French socialists: "Instead of insisting upon European spirit, they try to win agreement for socialist ideology. They create a gap between us. Your country (France) is the place of refuge for Italian terrorists, the center of terrorism... You are member of a Parliament of Louis-Philippe style, Mister Dreyfus-Schmidt!"

Another Turkish deputy, Ozarslan accused European countries by claiming that "Thousands of terrorists who had been obliged to flee from Turkey have found refuge in European countries. The aim of these persons is to do everything in order to provoke a rupture in Turco-European relations."

His colleague Celikbas made himself ridiculous by asking a question: "I would like to know if the existence of communist party is a *sine qua non* condition of a parliamentary democracy?"

While the right-wing deputies, Lord Reay, Geoffrey Finsberg and Corrie (United Kingdom), Cavaliere and Bianco (Italy), Spies von Bullesheim and Schwartz (FRG) and Blenk (Austria) were defending the Turkish regime, the progressive deputies criticized it as follows:

Mr Riesen (Switzerland): "Turkey showed a new open-mindedness towards the Council's criticisms but that had to be followed by action. The Turkish delegation had to justify Turkey's policies in relation to the Council's resolutions. Turkey had scorned Recommendation 974, which demanded the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus. Although immediate withdrawal of their troops could not be expected, they should reduce the number of their troops in Cyprus."

Mr Dreyfus-Schmidt (France) said that the report showed too much optimism about Turkish democracy. The only question at issue was whether democracy currently existed in Turkey. "The rapporteurs should have added to their reports the fate of minorities in Turkey. Everybody knows that, according to the Turkish authorities, there is no Kurds in Turkey. They are banned to say that they are Kurds and to have an education in their mother tongue... Somebodies hope a spring of Ankara... Our rapporteurs believe in seeing one swallow. But one swallow does not make a summer."

Mr Hesele (Austria) took note of the comment in Mr Stoffelen's report that the situation in Turkey did not comply with the statutes of the Council of Europe. It was important to remedy that. He regretted that there had been no amnesty. He regretted the continuation of torture and the death penalty. Finally, he said that too litle had been said of the situation of the Kurds.

Mrs Aasen (Norway): "A political refugee from Turkey came to Norway in 1975. He belonged to the Kurdish minority in Turkey. He was a journalist and had earlier been imprisoned in Turkey because he protested against the way in which the Kurds were treated. In 1982 he was granted Norwegian citizenship. Last year he returned to Turkey to see his aged mother. Although he has been Norwegian since 1982, Turkey has not taken the consequences of this change of citizenship. It still insists on his being a Turkish citizen. He has been imprisoned. Mrs Reha Isvan, a peace worker and the wife of the former mayor of Istanbul, has been in a military prison for 18 months. I agree with Arthur Miller that there is either democracy or none of it. The Turkish people do not deserve a second-class democracy."

Mr Anastassakos (Greece) said that Amnesty International had reported last month that the Turkish Government continued to torture and execute political prisoners. The draft resolution was over-optimistic about the slight liberalisation that had occured. Freedom could not be achieved through a dictatorship, which would create fresh social problems. Greece had experienced that. The Turkish delegates should tell their government that public opinion in Europe was shocked by the violation of human rights.

Mr Budtz (Denmark): "In the draft resolution we say that we shall once more instruct our Political Affairs Committee and Legal Affairs Committee to continue to follow the evolution of the position of Turkey and report back. Nothing more. What it means in practice is that we shall do nothing, because it has been proved that the Turkish authorities, which are strictly controlled by the Turkish forces and the generals, could not care in the slightest about what we say. Two reports also prove that the so-called Turkish parliament is not representative, yet representatives from the so-called parliament are sitting in this Assembly and participating in the democratic votes. It is absurd, and it harms the reputation of and respect of the Council of Europe."

Mr Martinez (Spain): "Progress in Turkey towards democracy and human rights has been unsatisfactory. Turkey has to be judged by the standards members set for theirs own countries. There cannot be first-class and second-class democracies. Turkey was only a semi-democracy in a forum of full democracies."

Mr Alemyr (Sweden): "Even if some progress can be noted in the restoration of democracy in Turkey, this Assembly of the Council of Europe must ask for more, because we must be guided by the statutes of our organisation and the principles laid down in the European Convention on Human Rights. The fact remains that Turkey cannot be regarded as democracy. The reports provide evidence that things are a little better in Turkey than they were a year ago, but that they are not good enough for a member state of the Council of Europe."

Mr Alegre (Portugal) said that fact and fiction about Turkey was not in accord with the statutes of the Council of Europe. The fiction was that the Council could influence Turkey. The reports simply put forward regrets and hopes about a situaton that was not democratic at all. The so-called progress was simply the insitutionalisation of a regime comprising elements of boths democracy and dictatorship. Either a country was a democracy or it was not. The Council of Europe should be aware of the more vigourous attitude of the EEC to human rights and should not confine itself to tactical consideration of these matters - unless it was prepared to reduce its credibility. He did not have double standards: he was against all dictatorships.

Mr Vial-Massat (France) regretted that, despite the evidence in the two reports, the Assembly had ratified the credentials of Turkey. One year later there was no decisive change but the draft resolution noted with satisfaction that progress had been made... The Assembly should remember the experience of some of its own members in those situations where the imprisonment of communists was followed by the imprisonment of democrats and the rise of fascism.

Mr Gianotti (Italy) emphasised that, unlike the Atlantic Assembly, WEU or the European Parliament, the Council of Europe had a specific responsibility to defend the ethics and the culture not only of Europe but of other countries. At the further risk of displeasing the rapporteur of the Rules Committee, he would reassert the indivisible principle of freedom. Did the Council of Europe want to support democracy or frustate it? The behaviour of the majority of the Assembly in 1984 had not

encouraged but prevented democracy in Turkey. He was not satisfied with all aspects of the draft resolution.

Mr Neumann (FRG) observed that Mr Inan had said that Turkey had been criticised by socialists for several years. It was not true. Socialists had criticised only those in Turkey who were denying their fellow Turks basic human rights. Socialists and Conservatives could agree on the defence of these rights. Turkey had many more prisoners than any other country belonging to the Council of Europe. People there were imprisoned for reasons not considered criminal elsewhere.

Mr Hardy (United Kingdom): "The absence of proper democratic structures and inadequate concern and provision for human rights would disqualify Turkey from membership of the Assembly were it to be merely an applicant country... I am told that a teachers' organisation has suddenly been declared illegal. Its members are banned from public employment because of their membership of an illegal organisation. I am told that members of another organisation have been imprisoned because they seek to change the social order. What a precedent for members of the British Labour party, who make no secret of their belief that the social order should be changed. I suppose that some Conservative members of the Assembly would rather like to see some of my colleagues and me behind bars."

Lady Fleming (Greece) said that in five years little had changed in Turkey. The Council of Europe consisted of twenty democracies and one dictatorship. There was no such thing as a part-democracy. Turkey did not accept the basic principles of the Council of Europe. It continued to deny freedoms: people were in prison for reasons of conscience. The Greeks had experienced dictatorship and wished to help the Turkish people gain their freedom. The Assembly knew that Turkey was a bloody dictatorship: she wondered what the Council was waiting for.

Mr Gardia (Portugal): "The changes sought in Turkey have not happened. There has been dialogue with some results, but I doubt whether dialogue prevails when the Assembly is discussing Turkey. The overweaning arrogance and vehemence of many speakers is alarming and I wonder whether on certain major issues the Assembly is becoming a forum for *realpolitik*. The future is uncertain and one day the Turkish concept of democracy may be considered applicable to other member states. The Assembly's members are friends of Turkey but greater friends of democracy."

Mr Cox (United Kingdom): "If the powers-that-be in Turkey wish Turkey to remain a member of the Council of Europe, they must be in doubt about what the rules of the Assembly are. Where is the real power in Turkey now? Is it with parliament or with the army? They both cannot have it. There have been comments about visits to prisons. It is no good just walking around a prison; one has to know what is going on within it."

In spite of all these criticisms, the two rapporteurs defended their position at the end of the debate and insisted that the proposition of Resolution should be adopted without any changement. Nevertheless, Mr Steiner admitted that there was a great problem with minorities in Turkey, but rapid progress could not be expected and such a problem could be resolved only if there were movement towards genuine democracy.

Finally, after having made a few changements, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the following text of Resolution:

"The Assembly,

" 1. Having examined the reports of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 5378) and its Legal Affairs Committee (Doc. 5391), which take account of the fact-finding mission carried out in Turkey by the respective rapporteurs from 5 to 9 March 1985;

" 2. Recalling its previous positions, in particular its Resolution 822 (1984), detailing a number of measures which would be conductive to furthering the restoration of democratic normality and respect for human rights, in accordance with the statutory obligations of Council of Europe membership;

" 3. Noting with satisfaction the progress achieved over the past year towards the normalisation of political and parliamentary life, although it is still restricted, notably due to martial law which implies the suspension of several rights and liberties as well as of the separation of powers;

" 4. Noting with satisfaction the progressive lifting of martial law, this measure having been implemented in a further 11 provinces on

19 March 1985, but regretting that these emergency provisions still remain in force in 23 of Turkey's 67 provinces;

" 5. Noting that the press today is more free in discussing and criticising the government, the Grand National Assembly and political life in general, while still being subject to certain restrictions especially where radio/television is concerned;

" 6. Welcoming the spirit in which the seven-member committee of the Grand National Assembly on prison conditions is approaching its work, which it has chosen to interpret as a long-term mandate;

" 7. Concerned at the restrictions imposed in the life of the universities;

" 8. Concerned also by the fact that mass trials, like those of members of DISK and the Turkish Peace Association (TPA), are still continuing, and that new trials are being prepared against TPA, several of whose members are still in prison;

" 9. Reiterating its serious concern at the restrictions on the right of defence which affect both the accused and their lawyers in the ongoing mass trials, some of which have entered their final stages;

"10. Recalling its Resolution 727 (1980), appealing to parliaments of those member states of the Council of Europe which have retained capital punishment for crimes committed in times of peace, to abolish it from their penal systems, and deploring that the death sentence is so often asked for and pronounced in Turkey, before being submitted for ratification by the Grand National Assembly, in accordance with the Constitution;

"11. Expressing its indignation at the continued terrorist attacks on Turkish citizens, and diplomats in particular, and stressing that this sort of action in no way serves the cause of democracy, but on the contrary tends to strengthen the enemies of democracy in Turkey;

"12. Reaffirming its interest in the result of the proceedings currently pending before the European Commission of Human Rights which recently carried out its decision, following an invitation by the Turkish Government, to send a delegation to Turkey to gather first-hand information on the current situation as it relates to Turkey's obligations under the European convention on Human Rights;

"13. Noting the express assurance of the Turkish Prime Minister that the period of remand in custody without contacts with family or lawyer, still legally set at 45 days, is now in practice restricted to ten days, subject to two extensions each for a further ten days, and noting also that this practice is likely soon to be given legal force, but expressing its concern that any period of such detention is a grave infringement of human rights and its anxiety that such detention should be reduced to an absolute minimum as soon as possible;

"14. Recalling its constant concern for the removal of the restrictions which continue to affect the exercise of the rights of trade unions, of political parties and of minorities,

"15. Urges the Turkish Government and the Grand National Assembly that they should continue to give attention to all the measures listed in Resolution 822 (1984), and in particular:

"i. to make full use of their constitutional powers to secure the continued abolition of martial law and of the state of emergency which has often replaced it in most of the provinces, until normal civilian courts have full jurisdiction over the whole country;

"ii. to take immediate steps toward granting amnesty to those prosecuted or convicted for their opinions, exploiting to the full those possibilities which exist short of amending the Constitution, such as specifying the notion of "crime against the state" in such a way that those who are not condemned or accused of crimes of violence can be freed, at least conditionally;

"iii. to accelerate progess towards the necessary full affirmation of political pluralism and human rights, encompassing freedom of association including within trade unions, freedom for political personalities including those temporarily excluded from parliament, all rights of minorities, of the press, and especially broadcasting, and of education;

"16. Express the hope that the Grand National Assembly will not ratify the death sentences at present referred to it;

"17. Instructs its Political and Legal Affairs Committees to continue to follow the evolution of the situation in Turkey, and to report back to it at the latest at the beginning of the 38th session of the Parliamentary Assembly, in the light of the response and concrete action taken by the government and Grand National Assembly."

LAWYERS REBUFFED BY AMBASSADOR

One March 29, 1985, the Turkish Ambassador in the Netherlands, Mr Ayhan Kamel, refused to receive a delegation of the Dutch Bar Association. As part of Amnesty International's campaign against torture, the Bar Association wanted to express its concern about the fact that in Turkey too prisoners are subjected to torture.

According to lawyer G.A. Stuyling de Lange, the Bar Association wished to get further information about the fate of their colleague Mümtaz Kotan, who was arrested in 1980. After a first eight-year prison sentence was quashed, he was again put on trial.

According to the Dutch daily *Volkskrant* of March 30, A.I. has learned from several sources that Kotan was tortured on several occasions, since his arrested. A colleague of Kotan who was arrested at the same time in April 1980, described afterwards how they had been treated on their way back from the court room to the prison.

"Soldiers were sitting on top of the van. Three soldiers got into the van behind us. Before the van shot off, one of them said: 'Why did you submit a written defence (to the court)?' Thereupon, they started striking on my head and back, then in my neck and on my back. During the ride, all of us were being hit by them. Particularly Mümtaz Kotan was mercilessly beaten nevertheless he didn't say anything...'

Following a previous intervention on behalf of the political detainees, Ambassador Ayhan Kamel recognized, in a letter addressed to A.I., that there had been human rights violations in his country. But, in his view, these events were isolated ones which have been investigated. He blamed A.I. for not being objective. It would have been better, he said, that A.I. underlines during its campaign that things had improved in Turkey as regards human rights.

(*Info-Turk*, April 1985)

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS' OUVERTURES TO TURKEY

While the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly was reintegrating the representatives of the Turkish regime, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Tindemans carried out first openings in the governmental field with a view to developping relations between Europe and Ankara.

During his visit in Turkey, Mr Tindemans declared that the "main stages in the process of returning to democracy have been the (1983) general election and the (1984) local election. Thus Turkey has demonstrated that she intends to observe her democratic tradition." On the other hand, he reminded that "Turkey's solidarity within NATO is an exemplary one."

The Belgian newspaper *Le Drapeau Rouge* of July 16, 1985, made the following comments on Mr Tindemans' visit:

"Even if from time to time he likes to revel in big words on respect for human rights, our Foreign Affairs Minister never abandons his role of product promoter for his native region and, in particular, for the interest of the Antwerp-based Bell-ITT Company, nor his unfailing zeal as staunch NATO supporter. The screams of the detainees who are being tortured in Turkey's military prisons, the executions of political prisoners, the blows dealt at political, trade-union and cultural democracy... do not prevent Mr Tindemans from confering guarantees of respectability on the Turkish military regime which, for form's sake, rigged itself out with a... civilian uniform, nor does it stop him from pleading with the EEC authorities on its behalf.

"Indeed Turkey intends to become a member, when the time comes, of the European Community. Belgium may contribute towards making things smooth for Ankara and thus help it to achieve its end, in both parties' interest. This is, in substance, according to Belga new agency, the message Turkish Prime Minister Ozal and Foreign Affairs Minister Vahit Halefoglu tried to pass on Foreign Affairs Minister Tindemans.

"Belgium, which has been for many years a traditional partner of Turkey, may well play this role along with other member countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, according to diplomatic circels in Ankara. Since Turkey is already a member of the Atlantic Alliance, it would consequently be 'normal' that she could benefit from the 'advantages' resulting from the fact of belonging to the 'big European family', especially on the economic level, the same circles add.

"Observers consider that Belgian diplomacy which has always advocated 'construc-

tive engagement' vis-a-vis Ankara, is going to pay this mediation role.

"In order to illustrate this way of seeing things, Messrs. Tindemans and Halefoglu signed on July 15 an accord on a state-to-state loan of BF 250 million to Ankara. This amount which has been lent for a 30-year period at a 2-percent interest rate is meant to enable purchase of Belgian equipment. Several Belgian firms have projects in view in Turkey and one of them, Bell Telephone, has already 'landed' a contract of over BF 5 billion for delivering telephone exchange equipments. Consequently, this company is to be the first to benefit from the 'results' of this project."

As for the Belgian daily *La Libre Belgique,* it interpreted in this way the consequences of this visit: "Ankara is confident that Belgium, which has always considered dialogue preferable to anathemas, will plead on its behalf in the coming weeks. The statements made by Mr Tindemans seem to indicate that its confidence is well-founded. The Belgian Minister's presence in Ankara points to the fact that the Belgian government greatly appreciates the developments which have occurred in Turkey.

"Therefore there is no doubt that Belgium will try to throw a bridge between the Ten and Ankara, given that the problem of enlarging the Community has presently been settled. And so much the better if normalization is followed sometime or another - 'when the time comes for both parties', it is discreetly said in Ankara, by an application for membership."

On the other hand, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl asserted on July 10, 1985, during his stay in Ankara, his Government's determination to "open the way towards normalization of relations between Turkey and the other European democracies".

Mr Kohl, who is the first government head of a Western country to visit Turkey ever since the coup d'état, pledged at a press conference to "devote himself to persuading his European colleagues that Turkey is an important partner".

As regards the thorny problem of "migrants", that was dominant during this visit, Mr Kohl made it clear that it proved impossible to reach an agreement on that point.

A text distributed by the spokesperson of the West-German Government, from which it appeared that an agreement on immigration had failed to materialize, even though official talks on this particular issue had not yet started, "strongly shocked" the Turkish officials. In this text Bonn utterly rejects Ankara's argument which insists that the association treaty should provide for the "totally free movement" of Turkish labor within the EEC as of December 1st.

SOCIALISTS AGAINST THE POLICE LAW IN TURKEY

The fifth Turkey Conference of Socialists held in Brussels on 4th June, 1985, under the Chairmanship of Ludwig Fellermaier on the initiative of the European Parliament Socialist Group, came to the following conclusions:

"1. We recognise that political life in Turkey is growing closer to democratic conditions, above all because of the Parties which were prevented from contesting the general election. There is movement in the party political landscape. This is proved by SODEP and the Correct Way Party and the announcement of the foundation of the Democratic Left Party in August.

"2. The press has become freer. But as long as martial law still continues in some of the Turkish provinces, press freedom is not fully assured.

"3. We are deeply shocked that at the moment when the Turkish Government announces the lifting of martial law in further provinces, just then the Government introduces in the Turkish National Assembly an amendment to the Police Law which is a basic violation of fundamental civil rights. This draft, which will soon be adopted, is in fundamental contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights.

"4. The participants make the following chief demands of the Turkish National Assembly as a pre-requisite for reactivating relations between Europe and the Turkish Republic:

- the amendment to the police law must not be adopted as it stands;
- Martial law must be lifted, since parliamentary democracy cannot develop under martial law;
- mass trials before military courts must be ended;
- no further death sentences must be carried out;

- torture in prisons and particularly in police stations must finally be completely stopped;
- Trade Union rights must be fully restored;
- free collective bargaining must not be continuously limited; free trade unions need a free right to strike. The already limited rights retained by the still legal Trade Union Confederation are being undermined, and the second major Confederation DISK remains banned;
- an amnesty for political prisoners must be introduced this year;
- freedom of science, research and teaching must be assured;
- minorities must be protected - whether in Turkey or in Bulgaria."

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S 5 CONDITIONS TO TURKEY

The European Parliament's stand concerning Turco-European relations was confirmed once more at the meeting of October 23, 1985, in Strasbourg: The situation of human rights in Turkey is not yet sufficiently satisfactory to justify reopening the relations between the European Parliament and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

Adopting a resolution very critical regarding the situation of human rights in Turkey, the European Parliament has laid down the following five prerequisites for reopening its relations with the Turkish parliament:

- Abolition of the capital punishment for political crimes committed without violence and an amnesty for the prisoners detained for opinion offenses;
- Stop to torture of prisoners and prosecution of all torturers;
- Possibility for each Turkish citizen to apply to the European Commission of Human Rights (of the Council of Europe);
- Lifting of all restrictions on political, social and opinion freedoms.

This position of the European parliamentarians constitutes a new democratic blow to the militarist "democracy" set up by the army generals in Turkey.

Angry at this decision, the Turkish Government as well as the pro-governmental Turkish press have launched a new campaign of slander against the European democratic forces by accusing them of being "liars", "traitors", "arrogant people", "enemies of the Turkish nation", "lackeys of the Greco-communist plot"...

However, this resolution which also constitutes a great act of solidarity with the democratic fight of the people of Turkey has been welcomed with great satisfaction by the country's democratic forces, who are always for a complete restoration of Turco-European relations, on the basis of full respect to the human rights defined by the European Convention on Human Rights of which Turkey is one of the first signatories.

Before putting this matter on its agenda, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament charged the British Labour Deputy, Mr. Richard Balfe, with carrying out a fact-finding mission to Turkey. During his visit to Turkey from May 12 to 17, Mr Balfe was not authorized to visit prisons and to have talks with the officials of the regime.

(Richard Balfe, deputy of the Labour Party since 1979, fights for the defence of human rights troughout the world. But he has a special concern for Turkey because of his daily relations with the Turkish living in his constituency, South London. He is a member of Amnesty International and, since 1981, of the Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey).

In his report drawn up in the name of the Political Affairs Committee the rapporteur Richard Balfe exposed the summary of the facts he had found as follows:

"A considerable volume of evidence, written and oral was received by your rapporteur during the enquiry. In particular, it was clear from the outset that it would be impossible to complete the report without making a visit to Turkey in order to obtain an up-to-date properly informed picture of the human rights situation. This decision was authorised by the Bureau of the Parliament on 12th March 1985. This decision specified that there should be no impediment to your rapporteur making whatever contacts he wished. No difficulty was experienced in this respect, as a communication from the Turkish Ambassador to the Communities dated 10 May 1985 makes clear. However, your rapporteur has to record that,

equally, no facilities were given by the Turkish government comparable to those accorded to previous rapporteurs and even to individual Members of the Parliament visiting Turkey under their own auspices. These facilities were requested well in advance of the visit by your rapporteur who was given to understand, particularly at a meeting with a visiting Delegation of Turkish Parliamentarians to Strasbourg in April, that such facilities would be accorded. It was only at the very last moment, on the eve of the visit, that a Telex message was received from the Turkish Ambassador to the Communities saying that it would not be feasible for these facilities, such as meetings with Ministers and Civil Servants, to be granted.

"However, despite these difficulties a full programme for the visit was carried out between 13th and 17th May by your rapporteur who was accompanied by Mr John Taylor, Director General of the Human Rights Service of the Parliament. For the successful arrangement of this programme, much credit must go to Mr Gwyn Morgan, who spared no effort to make high-level appointments covering the whole of this complicated subject at very short notice. Your rapporteur would like to convey his gratitude both to Mr Morgan and to the Commission who made his services available. As a result, your rapporteur was able to hold talks with the leaders of all five major political parties in Turkey, including the ruling Motherland Party. A most important exception to the political contacts, however, was any representative from the Turkish Communist Party. This party is banned; most of its leaders are in prison and trials of its members are still continuing. For similar reasons, other political parties, particularly, the Turkish Workers Party (TIP), were unable to have the opportunity of making representations to your rapporteur when he was in Turkey. However, representations from these parties have since been received on their behalf from Holland and Britain respectively. Meetings were also arranged with trade union leaders, again both recognised and not recognised and in some cases banned by the régime; together with lawyers, journalists, international and national civil servants, members of diplomatic missions, ex-prisoners and relatives of prisoners, and with numerous other witnesses. Altogether, a total of over 100 separate groups and individuals in Turkey were interviewed. It should be recorded that many of the witnesses inside Turkey expressed serious concern to your rapporteur about the consequences to themselves and their families should this material become known to the Turkish authorities and should their identities be revealed. For this reason references to these sources have been ommitted from the report."

During the plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the facts exposed by Mr. Balfe (even the fact that Turkey, with an average of 171 political detainees for 100,000 inhabitants, holds a European record on the matter of repression) did not prevent the representatives of the European Right from demanding the restoration of relations with Turkey, under the pretext that "some sensible development was accomplished in that country". "Do not we maintain relations with the COMECON countries or with Uganda, where the violation of human rights has surpassed the imagination," said a British conservative Mr. Prag. If his arguments were taken into consideration, the Resolution would be transformed into a text of passionate çongratulations to the Turkish regime.

In fact, the Liberals, the Cristian-Democrats and the Conservatives, during the voting, tabled many amendments with the purpose of reopening relations with the Turkish regime, in one way or another. All these efforts of the European Right corresponded to the will of some European governments, especially to that of the FRG and the Great Britain.

However, in spite of these propositions of amendments and the lobbying of the representatives of the Turkish regime, the European Parliament adopted the Resolution on the situation of human rights in Turkey, without any important changement. Out of 287 present members of Parliament, 159 voted for the Resolution, 119 against and 10 abstained. The result of the voting has been a rout for the Turkish regime as well as for the European Right.

THE RESOLUTION READS:

"The European Parliament,

"having regard to the following motions for resolutions:

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Van Hemeldonck on the imprisonment of Süleyman Yasar (Doc. 2-556/84)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kuijpers and Mr Vandemeulebroucke on the

GENERAL EVREN'S ANGER

It is very well known that General Evren and his prime minister Ozal have no intention to taking heed of what European democrats say. Just after the validation of the Turkish delegation's credentials by the Council of Europe, General Evren, in his speech delivered on April 29 in Antalya, defied the Council of Europe Resolution on Human Rights.

"We have enemies as well as friends in the world. These enemies have organized bands abroad in order to destroy the current atmosphere of security in our country. In 1982 Turkey adopted a new constitution which is a guarantee of peace and prosperity for the Nation. They know it very well... And they do their utmost to abrogate this constitution. They tell us to modify it if we wish to take part in the community of civilized nations. They urge us to lift martial law. This choice is in our hands, not in theirs.

"They talk very often of torture in Turkey. They come here and talk with terrorists who are in jail, not with people in the street. Obviously, a terrorist who is to be condemned to capital punishment claims that he was tortured. A person of goodwill should not rely on their allegations.

"They are against the death penalty, they find it contrary to human rights... Are we obliged to feed in prison those who have assassinated ten, twenty, thirty persons? Moreover, the European Convention on Human Rights has never abolished the death penalty.

"They claim that there are prisoners of opinion in Turkey. The Turkish Penal Code does not include any article concerning opinion crime. They make allusion to articles 141 and 142 of the Code. These articles had already been enacted in 1936, at the period of Atatürk. Some members of associations are in prison in accordance with articles, but they are not prisoners of opinion..."

As for Prime Minister Ozal, he had already declared during his visit to the United States that there were no political prisoners in Turkey, except the leader of the MHP neo-fascist party, Alparslan Türkes, and that all other prisoners are anarchists or criminals. In Ozal's view, since the recent release of Türkes, there are no more political prisoners in Turkey!

(*Info-Türk*, May 1985)

trial of 56 intellectuals in Turkey (Doc. 2-568/84)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Staes on the fourth anniversary of the coming to power of the military regime in Turkey and events there condoned or instigated by the Turkish Government (Doc. 2-595/84)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Simpson on torture and death sentences in Turkey (Doc. 2-1492/84)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Lizin on the imprisonment in Turkey of Mr Tamer Kayas (Doc. 2-1521/84)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Vandemeulebroucke and Mr Kuijpers on the fate of the Kurdish minorities in Turkey (Doc. B 2-63/85)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Ulburghs on the alarming situation of Kurdish prisoners in Turkey (Doc. B 2-89/85)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr De Gucht on the abolition of the death penalty in Turkey (Doc. B 2-413/85)

"- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Hoff and Mr Fellermaier on the death of Fikri Sönmez, Mayor of Fatsa, Turkey (Doc. B 2-530/85)

"- having regard to the report of its Political Affairs Committes (Doc. A 2-117/85)

"A. recalling that no fewer than 11 resolutions expressing concern about the human rights situation in Turkey have been passed by the Parliament since the 'coup d'état' in September 1980, and that more than 20 motions for resolutions to this effect have been tabled during the same period by Members from many different political groups,

"B. recalling also the decision of the Parliament of 11 October 1984, sponsored by all the political groups, 'that the Delegation of the European Parliament/Grand National Assembly of Turkey Joint Committee will not be set up until the Association Agreement is implemented once again and until the European Parliament has reconsidered the situation in Turkey" (See OJ No. C300, 12/..11.1984, p. 49-50)

"C. noting also that allegations of breaches of the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights by Turkey have been formally tabled, under Article 24 of the Convention, by five countries (Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden), of which three are members of the European Communities; and that these allegations have been referred to the European Commission on Human Rights, which has not yet reached a decision on this matter, but in an interim ruling

on 6 December 1983, without in any way prejudging the merits of the case, declared the applications admissible,

"D. recalling that a rapporteur appointed by the Political Affairs Committee visited Turkey, under the authority of the Bureau of the Parliament, to prepare a report on the human rights situation, and had full discussions there with leaders of political parties and members of the Grand National Assembly as well as with other leading politicians, and with trade union leaders, lawyers, journalists, international and national civil servants, members of diplomatic missions ex-prisoners and relatives of prisoners and with numerous other witnesses,

"E. welcoming the rapporteur's finding that some progress has been made towards the restoration of human rights in Turkey and that there appeared to be a widespread recognition of the need for further such reforms,

"F. regretting, however, that these improvements did not appear to amount to the return to democracy and respect for human rights called for in the aforementioned resolutions passed by Parliament, and furthermore that safeguards have not even been restored for those human rights consistently regarded by the European Parliament as the most basic and elementary (See Annual Reports of the Parliament on Human Rights for 1983 and 1984 and the resolution adopted following the report by Mr von Hassel on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee in July 1982 - OJ N0.C238, 13.09.1982, p. 51 - and the resolutions adopted by Parliament under urgent procedure on 24 May 1984 - OJ No. C172, 21.7.1984, p. 128-129-, namely the right to life, the right to integrity of the person and the right to a fair trial on charges brought,

"G. noting, in particular, that as regards the right to life, while a most welcome reduction in the number of executions has taken place in the past eighteen months, the death penalty is still being imposed and occasionally carried out,

"H. noting, further, that as regards the right to integrity of the person, the Parliament's rapporteur was repeatedly informed by distinguished political leaders, lawyers and academics, among others, that torture, particularly in police stations, was still endemic and systematic and that its incidence did not seem to be diminishing significantly, and that furthermore the Prisons Committee of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, while its establishment is clearly a laudable development, did not seem to be having a significant impact in controlling this grave abuse of human rights,

"I. noting, further, that as regards the right to a fair trial on charges brought, the unsatisfactory procedures and practices noted in the Parliament's previous resolutions referred to above were continuing, notably infringements of the rights of prisoners to an adequate legal defence and to fair legal procedures,

"J. deploring, in this connection, the continuance and the protracted procedures of the mass trials of various bodies such as the Turkish Peace Association and the trade union confederation DISK and its affiliated unions, and of various groups of academics and intellectuals, for offences which seem to amount to no more than the peaceful and non-violent expression of political opinions.

"K. recalling, in particular, its resolution of 13 June 1985 (OJ No. C 175, 15.07.1985, p. 222) on the trial of members of the Turkish Peace Assocaition which called on the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation to request the Turkish authorities to bring this trial to an end immediately to abandon future such trials and to free immediately the accused,

"L. welcoming signs of relaxation in the strict and repressive censorship of writing and publishing, but concerned that a number of authors and publishers are still being prosecuted for expressions of non-violent opinions and that new legislation gives the police wide powers to seize films and video cassettes of a non-violent and non-pornographic character, to prohibit or control cultural activities without prior authority and to detain without a warrant persons whose behaviour they believe does not conform to the moral standards of society,

"M. regretting also that widespread violation of the human rights of the Kurdish minority is still occuring in Turkey and, even more so, of these who are politically active as Kurds,

"N. welcoming, in the field of freedom of association and the right to engage in democratic politics, the holding of local elections in 1984 for the first time since the "coup d'état", with a wider representation of political parties than had been permitted in the general election of 1983,

"O. recognizing, nevertheless, that political

democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties, particularly the Social Democratic Party on the left and the Correct Way Party on the right, remain unrepresented in the country's parliament, while leading political figures such as Mr Demirel and Mr Ecevit remain excluded from active political life, while the Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban with many of its members in prison, and while other political parties have been harrassed and their members prosecuted and imprisoned.

"P. recalling, in this connection, Parliament's decisions of 22 January and 8 July 1982 not to renew the mandate of its Members on the Joint Parliament Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association until such time as the Turkish Grand National Assembly has been freely elected, as well as the decision referred to above of 11 October 1984.

"Q. regretting that trade union rights continue to be severely restricted, with one major trade union confederation, DISK, a body affiliated to the European Trade Union Confederation and one of these recognized by the European Communities, forbidden to function in Turkey, and with its funds and assets sequestered;

"R. noting that martial law still remains in force in some areas of the country, including the largest city, Istanbul, and covers a large section of the population, that this involves severe restrictions on human rights, and that even where martial law has been lifted, it has been replaced by states of emergency in many areas with similar severe controls,

"S. noting, further, with concern that there are some developments, notably in the recently acquired power of the police to remove, without the legal authority previously required, prisoners from prisons to police stations for further interrogation, and in new legislation giving the police substantially more extensive powers in the field particularly of censorship, powers of arrest and search without prior authority, incommunicado detention and the use of firearms by the police, the use of which may result in a worsening rather than an improvement in the human rights situation.

"T. noting that the Turkish authorities violate the rights of ethnic minorities even when they are protected by international treatics,

"1. Expresses deep concern at the continuing seriousness of the situation with regard to human rights observance in Turkey and strongly condemns all forms of violence against the person practised in that country;

"2. Calls on the Turkish Government to move rapidly towards a restoration of human rights in the country particularly as regards:

"a) the right to life, including the abolition of the death penalty and an amnesty for prisoners of conscience;

"b) the right to integrity of the person, including the prosecution of those responsible for torture, the compensation of victims of torture and an end to all forms of inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners;

"c) the right to a fair trial, including the removal of restrictions on the conduct of the defence of prisoners and court procedures which are in conformity with accepted practices of fairness to the accused;

"d) the discontinuance of the mass trials of the Turkish Peace Association, of the trade union confederation DISK and its affiliated unions, and of various groups of academics and intellectuals, and the immediate release of those still detained in connection with these trials;

"e) the granting of the right of individual appeal to the European Commission of Human Rights under Article 25 of the European Human Rights Convention (now accorded by 17 out of the 21 signatories of the Conventions);

"f) the removal of the restrictions on freedom of political activity, trade union rights and expression of opinion;

"g) the rights of minorities, notably as regards religion, language and history and their right to take part in cultural and social activities;

"3. While fully recognizing the difficult political and economic circumstances faced by Turkey, is of the opinion that the human rights situation does not justify a reversal of the previous decision referred to in recital B of this resolution, and that the appointment of the European Parliament delegation to the EEC-Turkey Joint Committee should remain in abeyance;

"4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Members States, the Council of Europe, the Turkish Government and the Turkish Grand National Assembly."

ANKARA'S INSULTING REACTION TO THE E.P. RESOLUTION

Ankara has called the Resolution of the European Parliament a new proof of the "European hostility against Turkey" and even the most optimistic Turkish commentators have declared that this European position means that the relations between the EEC and its associated member in the East will not be reopened at least untill 1988, the date of the next legislative elections in Turkey.

We are reprinting below the different reactions which appeared in the Turkish press:

Tercüman, 24.10: GRECO-COMMUNIST PLOT. During the debates on Turkey at the European Parliament, all evil forces took a common position. The Turkish parliamentarians who went to Strasbourg for lobbying have declared in a press release that Europe had been manipulated by the separatists taking refuge in foreign countries.

Tercüman, 25.10: NEW PREMIUM TO THE ENEMIES OF TURKEY, WE HAVE RECEIVED A NEW BLOW. The German socialist Ludwig Fellermaier: "We do not wish that Turkey be the 13th member of the European Communities. It is for this reason that we adopted the Resolution proposed by Mr. Balfe." The Christian Kepsch: "This is a scandal. Turkey has been punished for the first time for having manifested her respect for human rights." The Liberal Simone Veil: "We have parliamentary relations even with communist countries. Why does Turkey become the only country with whom we have cut all our relations?" The British deputy Pierce: "It is the Greeks who deceived us. We have been duped by them. Now they are laughing at us in their corner." The German deputy Wedekind: "Those who voted for this Resolution are the enemies of Turkey." The Belgian Liberal Luc Beyer: "What a hypocrisy! Are you masochists?"

Milliyet, 25.10: TURKEY SNUBS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. In a written statement the Turkish Foreign Ministry called the resolution and Balfe's report "one-sided, ill-affected and based on preconceived ideas". It said: "A study of the report and the resolution shows that its primary aim is to prevent the improvement of relations between Turkey and the rest of Western Europe. With this objective in mind, basic facts concerning Turkey are distorted, groundless accusations are made and moreover, all positive developments in Turkey are deliberately ignored... The resolution is a vivid example of the erroneous approach of relying on the report of prejudiced third persons in assessing the situation in Turkey, rather than seeking direct information from the Turkish parliamentarians. The adoption of this report and resolution is a blow to the prestige and credibility of the European Parliament."... On the other hand, British Conservative Leslie Marshall said: "When we alienate Turkey we help the Russians." However, the former President of the EC legislature Piet Dankert said his own news conference in Ankara last spring "was censored" and charged that police stations "are equipped for torture". He said Balfe's report "is a pure statement of fact."

Hürriyet, 26.10: INSOLENCE DISGUISED BEHIND THE MASK OF DEMOCRACY

Tercüman, 26.10: RELATIONS WITH THE EEC CUT OFF. The spokesmen of the Socialist Group, Mr Piet Dankert, Mr Richard Balfe and Mr David Blackman said: "This is a victory. Even the right-wing deputies supported us, why do the Turkish parliamentarians come here though their presence is not desired?"

Hürriyet, 27.10: BALFE IS A LIAR! The spokesman of the Turkish Foreign Ministry denied Balfe's claim that the Turkish Ambassador with the CEE, Mr. Bulat Tacer, had refused to give him information: "If the Turkish authorities had not received him, no doubt, there is a reason: We knew very well that he had prejudices against us," he said.

Tercüman, 27.10: The spokesman of the Turkish delegation at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Mr. Kamran Inan: "Turkey was judged by a Parliament of which she is not a member. The Greeks played the role of prosecutor and the Communists and the Socialists, acting as judges, adopted such a partial resolution. While Turkey is estimated in Brussels as the most valuable ally of NATO and considered as the guard of the economic welfare of the West, such a condemnation in Strasbourg is not comprehensible. These two attitudes are not compatible."

Hürriyet, 28.10: "BALFE IS A CROOK! The Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, during his talks with Turkish journalists in New York, said: "It is a crook named Balfe who prepared that report. The relations have never been re-opened, then it is nonsense to say that the relations were suspended. We do not have need of 600 million dollars from the EEC. This resolution does not have any political or economic importance for us."

Hürriyet, 28.10: UGLY MORGAN. It is reported that a certain part of Balfe's report had been drawn up by Gwynn Morgan, the EEC representative in Ankara. Following the adoption of the Resolution by the European Parliament, Morgan was seen embracing with his friends joyfully.

Hürriyet, 28.10: EUROPEAN TREASON. Angry at the fact that Turkey had given the business of constructing the second suspension bridge on the Bosphorus to a Japanese firm by refusing the British offer, the British conservatives did not defend us at the European Parliament. Some Christians as well as some British Conservatives such as Lord Bethell acted against Turkey as the Crusaders had done.

SOLIDARITY APPEAL OF 200 PARLIAMENTARIANS

While the European Parliament was condemning the Ankara regime in Strasbourg, another parliamentary initiative with a view to defending human rights in Turkey appeared in the European press.

On the initiative of Mr. Jean-Pierre Fourre, Vice-Speaker of the French National Assembly, many representatives of European countries have launched a campaign in favor of the detained members of the Peace Committee of Turkey.

200 parliamentarians of 21 European countries have already signed the following appeal:

"The trial opened against the officials of the Turkish Peace Committe ended.

"Six out of 18 leaders of this committee, of whom the Chairman, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, and the Vice-Chairman, former president of the Bar of Istanbul, Orhan Apaydin, have been condemned to prison terms of 5 and 8 years.

"However, thanks to the solidarity of all peace partisans and of the defenders of human rights, Mr Dikerdem and Mr Apaydin have recently been released temporarily, after many months of detention. While the defense was appealling to the Military Court of Cassation, a second trial has been opened against 48 former members of the Peace Committee of Turkey. According to the formal charge from the military prosecutor, this second trial will be enlarged and will concern 501 persons.

"These men have been placed in the dock merely for an offense of opinion: defending a just and everlasting peace, disarmement and the respect to the Final Act of Helsinki. They have never participated in any terrorist action, they have never committed any crime.

"In solidarity with their action, we, undersigned parliamentarians, ask the Turkish authorities to take every measure for putting an end to the trials and for assuring the liberation of the members of the Turkish Peace Committee."

5 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITHDRAW COMPLAINTS

In the process of Turco-European conciliation the withdrawal of five European countries' complaints against the Turkish regime from the European Human Rights Commission has been the most surprising and subsequently the most determining move.

After Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden logded five petitions against Turkey in 1982, the European Human Rights Commission decided first on the receivability of the petitions and later on, at the beginning of 1985, sent a mission to Turkey.

The mission held an inquiry in Turkey from January 27 to February 2nd, 1985, by meeting government members, trade union officials, journalists, university professors and high functionaries. It also visited five military prisons.

The conclusion of the visit: Too many violations of human rights do not allow Turkey to take place among real democracies.

The delegation's confidential report was leaked out on March 13, 1985, by the Associated Press.

According to the delegation's confidential report, most of the interviewed prisoners had complained about being tortured under arrest or having witnessed torture scenes.

Nevertheless, the delegation has noticed a decline in the numbers of torture allegations, because the number of clandestine organisations is now smaller than during the first years of military rule and because the military authorities have been compelled to be careful of their methods due to pressure from world opinion.

Yet, ill-treatment of prisoners is still widespread at police stations during interrogations, the report said.

Of the five military prisons the legal experts visited, they found the harshest conditions at Mamak in Ankara. The prison houses over 1,270 inmates, most of whom are suspected of belonging to left-wing political groups.

The average detention period of the prisoners interviewed by the commissioners was four to five years. Most have not yet been tried or are awaiting appeal court reviews of their convictions.

Prison officials dismissed the allegations of torture as "communist propaganda" designed to mislead the public and gain their sympathy.

Turkey's Minister of Justice, Necat Eldem, told the delegates that Martial Law Officials suspected of torture are prosecuted and frequently dismissed or jailed. He said 584 officials have lost their jobs and 102 prison officers have been given prison sentences.

If a detainee laughs, speaks loudly or looks an officer straight in the face, he may be isolated in the "death cells". Situated in the underground of the prison, those "cells" are known to be very cold. The prisoners are freezing there because they have been stripped naked. The prison director claimed that he ignored the existence of these cells; therefore the delegation was unable to take a glance at them. Most prisoners complain that they are not allowed to benefit from an appropriate defense.

But torture and other degrading inhuman treatments are maybe not the main reason for concern in Turkey. What is even more worrying is the restriction of fundamental rights every member of the Council of Europe is expected to respect. The delegation has been told that the Constitution does not correspond to the standards of democracy. It has too many restrictions regarding human rights and freedoms. So, human rights violations have been "legalised" by the Turkish Constitution.

Trade Union rights are limited: "There is no more trade union activity corresponding to European standards. Wherever martial law is in force, the right to strike is suspended."

Journalists are forced to practice a very strict selfcensorship under the threat of a ban on the publication of their newspaper. "There is no liberalisation of the regime. One may criticize the Prime Minister, but not the military regime. They risk jail terms and reprisals for criticizing the military", a journalist said. Another pressman explained that any reporter who wants to attend a session of a mass trial, has to sign a document first, implying that he accepts any press-restriction, which means that it is forbidden to report any allegation.

"Prime Minister Turgut Ozal has most of the constitutional powers, but the country is run by the military", another journalist said.

Considering all these facts, it appears that, even if there has been progress since the military coup, "there is not yet, in Turkey, a complete respect for the European Convention on Human Rights".

In spite of these findings of its own mission to Turkey, a few months later, the European Human Rights Commission announced that the Turkish Government and the petitioning five governments adopted a "friendly" settlement on December 7, 1985, and subsequently the Commission decided to discontinue the contentious proceedings dealing with the allegations concerning human rights violations in Turkey.

To reach this compromise, the Commission first met the Turkish Government's representatives in Paris. From there, the Commission asked the governments of the five countries to react upon the proposition for compromise.

After the discussions between the two parties, representatives of six governments presented the Commission's delegation with a common plan for regulations. In its definitive form, the content of the plan is drawn up as follows:

"A. As to matters relating to Article 3 of the Convention

"1. The State Supervisory Council set up

under Article 108 of the Turkish Constitution will be instructed to have special regard to the strict observance by all public authorities, including the military and civilian detention houses and prisons and police headquarters, of obligations assumed by Turkey under Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

"2. The Government of Turkey prevailing itself from Article 57 of the Convention, will report on 1 February 1986, 1 July 1986 and 1 October 1986, to the European Commission of Human Rights, via the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, of the measures by which the internal law and practice of Turkey ensures the effective implementation of Article 3 of the Convention (including conditions and procedures of detention). Each report is for the information of the Commission of Human Rights only and should not be used for other purposes.

"3. During a period not exceeding three months following the submission of each report, a dialogue will be held on the basis of the information envisaged in paragraph 2 above, by delegates of the European Commission and representatives of the Government of Turkey. The dialogue will be carried out by correspondence and, if so requested by one side, by a meeting the duration of which should not exceed one week, or by any other appropriate means agreed upon by both the delegates of the Commission and the representatives of the Government of Turkey.

"4. In the course of the dialogue, the delegates of the European Commission of Human Rights, may comment on the information received. Such comments are of a confidential nature and should be made to the representatives of the Turkish Government only.

"5. The dialogue being carried out under the joint responsibility of the Commission and the representatives of the Government of Turkey, a short final report on the implementation of the present arrangement shall be prepared not later than 1 February 1987, by the participants at the dialogue and be made available at the Secretariat of the Commission, to representatives of the Contracting Parties to the Convention.

"B. As to derogations under article 15 of the Convention

"1. While noting with satisfaction that the Government of Turkey has progressively reduced the geographical scope of martial law, and also that the martial law administration is making use of its powers with the greatest restraint only, special regard is given to the following declaration made by the Prime Minister of Turkey on 4 April 1985 in Washington D.C.:

"I hope that we will be able to lift martial law from the remaining provinces within 18 months".

"2. As a number of restrictions of personal rights and freedoms have been implemented during the emergency situation covered by Article 15 of the Convention, it was noted that a number of decrees or other legal enactments, mentioned by the applicant Governments in their applications, have been changed or amended in the meantime, taking into account the obligations assumed by Turkey under the European Convention on Human Rights. A table indicating those changes is attached hereto as Annex I. The Government of Turkey will keep the Commission informed of further charges to be enacted in the same spirit.

"C. As to the issue of Amnesty

"The question of amnesty is of concern to the Turkish Grand National Assembly and to the Government of Turkey. Work on amnesty has been started by the Turkish Government with a view to facilitate, within the framework of the Turkish Constitution, the granting of amnesty, pardons or similar measures of leniency. Deliberations are expected to take place in Parliament in the forthcoming months on the basis of initiatives under Article 88 of the Turkish Constitution. The Turkish Government will inform the Commission of developments on this matter."

After receiving the plan for settlement presented by the two parties, the Commission, "noting the willingness of the five applicant governments, in the light of the developments in Turkey, including the measures taken by Turkey with a view to reestablishing an effective democracy and securing compliance with the rights and freedoms defined in the Convention, to discontinue the contentious proceedings dealing with allegations for the period 12 September 1980 to 1 July 1982", has adopted by majority vote the report, in conformity with Article 30 of the Convention.

Although the Commission's decision aroused great reaction in human rights circles in Europe, the European press favorable to the Turkish regime expressed its satisfaction with

the European retreat: "Taking into account the promises that the Turkish government has made, it is intelligent and right that the five countries have withdrawn their official complaint. Turkey is not a democracy according to western norms and it is certain that the country will still not be one a year and a half down the road. All the same, there are sufficient reasons to continue to help the Turks and to have confidence in them. This country is surrounded by real and potential enemies: Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Greece. Relations with the rest of Europe and with the United States are the only means to come out of this isolation". (*NCR Handelsblad,* 11.12.85, Rotterdam).

As for Turkey, government circles announced the Commission's decision with a triumphant air, all expressing their hope of reestablishing Turkish-European relations, despite the European Parliament resolution setting five concrete conditions for resuming these relations.

ETUC reacted against the surprise compromise

Whatever may be the true reasons for the five European countries' new position, the trade union movement in Europe reacted immediately against this conciliation.

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC) expressed, during its meeting in Brussels on December 12-13, 1985, its extreme dissatisfaction and rejected the "friendly" settlement between Turkey and the five complaining countries in the following terms:

"The situation in Turkey with regard to trade union rights, human rights and democracy does not improve; this in spite of considerable pressure internationally in particular, by way of trade union activities through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the European Trade Union Confederation and in spite of government's activities through the Council of Europe, the European Economic Community, the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations.

"The Turkish government seems unwilling to listen and take heed of international opinion; they continue with their undemocratic policies and methods, denying their people democracy, human and trade union rights.

- The trials against DISK, its affiliated trade unions and leaders continue in its fifth year
- No amnesty has been given to political prisoners
- Human rights are not accorded to the people of Turkey
- Trade union rights are limited and do not conform with international labour standards
- Freedom of the press and expression is limited and does not live up to the Council of Europe's statutes
- No major steps towards democracy, as pointed out in the Council of Europe's statutes are taken by the Turkish government.
- DISK's elected leadership and its affiliates are invited and would like to have the opportunity to travel out of Turkey to participate at the ETUC Executive Committee meetings and other European trade union meetings and are denied the permission to travel.

" 1. Therefore, the European Trade Union Confederation has to reinforce its activities and pressure on the Turkish government.

" 2. Therefore, the ETUC urges the Council of Europe and its parliamentary Assembly to put real and concrete pressure on the Turkish government, to union rights in Turkey. By not doing so, the Council of Europe accepts double standards where it concerns its member states' convictions towards democracy and human rights in Europe.

" 3. The ETUC urges the Council of Europe, the European Community, the European Parliament and EFTA, to do their utmost to put political and economic pressure on the Turkish government until democracy, human and trade union rights are reinstated in Turkey.

" 4. The ETUC also urges all the European institutions and all the governments of Western Europe to request the Turkish government to stop the trials against DISK, its affiliated trade unions and its leaders, with immediate effect, and to restore to DISK and its affiliated organisations, the funds and assets that have been confiscated.

" 5. To achieve a stop of the trials against DISK and its affiliated trade unions, the ETUC plans to make a representation to the Council of Europe, the European Community, the European Parliament and EFTA.

" 6. ETUC's national affiliated trade union

EUROPEAN STANDARDS AND GENERAL EVREN

While the regime that he has set up in Turkey is still being criticized by the European circles, General-President Kenan Evren, taking no heed to what they say, continues to treat his opponents as "communists" and "traitors".

Below, we are reprinting some quotations from his recent speeches:

"The youth should take into account the fact that the illegal organizations have restarted their subversive activities'" (9.10.1985)

"Communism can arrive here by hiding its face behind different kinds of masks. Perhaps one day in the future, we shall be able to attain the level of GNP per head of 15,000 dollars (Today, it is about 1,000 dollars - Editor's note), then we can tolerate the existence of a communist party'.. (18.10.1985)

"Communists always dream of dividing the country. They collaborate with Armenians, even with Greeks in Cyprus. They demand the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the island." (19.10.1985)

"We have not been able to make the Europeans accept the fact that there is not any community called Kurdish in Turkey. There are many Turkish communities in the world. As for the Kurds, they have been crowded between Iran and the Arabs... In their language, there are many Turkish words. They are not a minority, but pure Turks." (26.10.1985)

(*Info-Türk*, October 1985)

confederations are asked to make representation to their national governments urging them to demand an end to the trial against DISK and its affiliated trade union organisations and its leaders.

" 7. The ETUC urges all concerned to observe the facts that DISK, its affiliated trade unions and its leaders in Turkey were only carrying out normal trade union work and activities. The Turkish government has been unable (after five years of continuing trials), to produce any conclusive evidence that DISK has been involved in any illegal or undemocratic activities. Despite this, 78 of DISK's leaders are still under the threat of a death sentence, and 1,477 others are menaced by long prison terms. Information rceived at the ETUC Secretariat indicates probably that 'the death sentence may be converted to 10-20 years of imprisonment and for the others, the prison sentence of between 6-10 years'.

" 8. The ETUC finds this totally unbearable as a development and considers it a crime against justice, democracy and human rights in Europe.

" 9. ETUC expresses extreme dissatisfaction and rejects the friendly settlements which the five complaining states (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and France) have entered into with Turkey, as a result of the case placed with the Council of Europe's Human Rights Commission. The compromise promises vaguely "discontinuation of torture, but it contains nothing on the reintroduction of trade union rights". A large number of trade union leaders are still on trial, under the threat of capital punishment or extreme prison sentences. The financial means of the trade unions are still confiscated, or stolen, their premises occupied. The acceptance of the compromise signifies that the five complaining states have legitimized a dictatorship's violation of trade union rights in Turkey and failed human rights.

"10. The ETUC now urges all democratic bodies and powers to show on whose side they are.

"11. Do they support the Turkish government as it shows no signs to move towards democracy, human and trade union rights in Turkey.

"12. Or are they ready to stand up for democracy and human rights and take real measures so that the Turkish government will finally live up to the Council of Europe's constitution and its regard for human rights issues, democracy and freedom."

European capitulation in every fields

After the five countries' complaint was withdrawn from the European Human Rights Commission, other European institutions, namely the European Communities, European governments and the Council of Europe - all crediting the Turkish Government's misleading arguments - have turned a deaf ear to complaints from the victims of the dictatorship and have decided one by one to develop good relations with Ankara.

For justifying their ouverture towards the Turkish regime, the European governments made their second gesture at the United Nations Human Rights Commission, held at the end of February in Geneva.

Since the military coup, human rights violations in Turkey had always been the order of the day for this commission.

At the Geneva meeting, the Turkish delegation - referring to the withdrawal of the five European countries' complaints from the European Commision on Human Rights - proposed to do same thing at the U.N. Commission and to discontinue the proceedings against Turkey. This proposal was brought to the Commission by the Jordanian delegate and accepted there by the votes of 30 countries. To observers' great surprise, all the European countries voted in favour of closing the file. Only Cyprus and Costa Rica voted against the Turkish regime. The Soviet Union, the Democratic German Republic, Bulgaria and the Ukraine did not take part in the voting, though they had criticized the violations of human rights in Turkey during debates preceding the vote.

Encouraged by the decisions of the two international human rights commissions, the Turkish Government increased its contacts with the members of the European Communities for convincing them to consent to the normalization of the Turco-European relations in every field.

On the Turkish demand, the Twelve were confronted first with a difficult political choice. All European countries were still under pressure from their public opinions and international trade union and human rights organizations.

However, most of the "Europeans" - Belgium, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany in the lead - pointed out that an improvement in Human Rights could already be noticed in Turkey and that, consequently, one should not risk keeping this country isolated. They added that such isolation might lead to a rise of a destabilising Islamic fundamentalism at the continent's borders... and at the doors of the Soviet Union.

But this was not the only reason for normalising relations with Turkey. This softening on the Europeans' part was also the result of economic concerns about their investments and business. According to the *Milliyet* of December 17, 1985, since the lodging of their complaint against Turkey, the five countries must have noticed that their investors were not taking part in Turkish economic projects which total three billion dollars.

This analysis is shared by the European Committee for the Defense of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI). In its information bulletin, CEDRI says the following:

"It is not the European democracies which have organised an economic boycott, but the terrorist Turkish regime. The Turkish market is extremely lucrative, in fact, for western enterprises, thanks to IMF functionaries who, over the years, have prepared the putsch of 1980, in collaboration with NATO and the Americans. With the military, investments in Turkey report a return of much more than previously.

"It was therefore sufficient to exclude from the Turkish market the five countries which had lodged the complaint. This calculation by Evren and Ozal has worked very well: Great Britain, the FRG, Belgium and some other countries have rushed at the thus freed market.

"The Swiss example is significant: Once the Strasbourg compromise was signed, Switzerland, which has great experience in the areas of neutrality and business, could finally speak freely and declared proudly in Bern that as far as its arms exports - strongly on the rise, by the way - were concerned, Turkey henceforth had top priority.

"In exchange for this important market, the Swiss ambassador to Ankara, André Maillard, promised in the Turkish press that Switzerland was carefully preparing the expulsion of 7,500 Turkish seekers of asylum in Switzerland... which would be timidly denied by Bern afterwards. A week later, it was announced that the new Turkish ambassador appointed to Bern was none other than General Haydar Saltik (officially retired) who, in 1980, prepared the military coup with General Evren. In Bern, it was officially declared that Saltik would be effectively close to those presently in power in Ankara, but that the "fact of having belonged to military hierarachy was not, according to People's Right, sufficient reason to refuse an appointment".

"The litany which has been repeated to us for several years that today there would be a 'democratisation' process in Turkey is now confirmed by a solid explanation, an economic one: 'the friendly accord' in Strasbourg is not

the final chord of this concert. One knows now that 'democratisation' means: the Turkish market is again open to all..."

EEC COMMISSION TOO GIVES THE GREEN LIGHT

In fact, the European Community started its move towards normalising its relations with Turkey with the consensus reached in the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers in Luxembourg on February 17, 1986. At this meeting, the Twelve accepted the proposal of an EEC-Turkey meeting in the Autumn of 1986.

The Council of EEC-Turkey Association has not met in more than five years. The association accord was frozen by the European Commission after the 1980 coup. Concretely, this freeze brought about a suspension in paying the balance (29 million ecus) of a special aid of 75 million ecus accorded to Turkey in June 1980. The fourth financial protocol of 600 million ecus - 375 in financial aid and special loans and 225 in loans from the European Investment Bank (BEI) - has still not been approved by the EEC governments.

Negotiations on the limitation of EEC textile imports from Turkey were still at a standstill although this country has been one of the main suppliers of textile to the EEC since 1984.

The FRG, Great Britain and the Netherlands proposed that a Council of Association meeting take place at the ministerial level, as Turkey requested.

By virtue of a decision taken in 1976, it was expected that Turkish workers would be able to move freely within the EEC, starting from December 1st, 1986. The FRG, which shelters a large Turkish community, wanted rapid renegotiation on this clause of the association accord.

For speeding up the process of normalising the relations, Turkey had to obtain support also from the Commission of European Communities. It was known that Claude Cheysson did not have sympathy towards the Turkish regime. This French commissionner in Brussels was charged with the relations with Turkey. After the European parliament's announcing five conditions for the resumption of Turco-European relations, some insulting attacks on the EEC's representative in Ankara, Mr. Gwyn Morgan, worsened the tension.

Everything began when the European Parliament charged one of its members, Richard Balfe, with writing a report on the human rights situation in Turkey. Mr Morgan first helped the British member of Parliament to establish contacts in Ankara. Then on Balfe's request, he commented in writing on the report plan destined for the European Parliament. As agreed with the reporter, Morgan addressed his observations to John Taylor, the director general of research in the European Parliament; But there are two John Taylors in the European Parliament, and it was the other one who received the packet and the observations. This John Taylor is a British member of Parliament, but a conservative. Furthermore, it has been found out that he has always had excellent relations with the authorities in Ankara and that he even owns a holiday residence on the "Turkish Part" of Cyprus.

For obscure reasons, Parliamentarian Taylor seized the comments which were not addressed to him and he brought them to the attention of the Turkish ambassador to the EEC. Shortly afterwards, the Turkish press launched a new campaign of insults against Mr. Morgan.

According to the *Financial Times,* the ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands in Turkey estimated that it would be necessary to replace Mr. Morgan. For these diplomats - concerned about treating Ankara carefully - he had become embarrassing.

In spite of this submission, European Commissioner Claude Cheysson defended Mr. Morgan, saying that "Gwyn Morgan has done his job."

Following this stand, the Turkish press took the European commissioner as target: "Cheysson defends the snake in our midst!" (*Hürriyet,* 7.11.85). When Mr. Morgan returned to Ankara from Brussels, after his contacts with the Commission, the same newspaper in Ankara announced the news in its November 27, 1975, edition with the headline "Morgan the shameless has returned."

The same paper labelled Cheysson "inso-

Foreign investments in Turkey in 1985

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA—The number of firms with foreign capital stood at 421 on December 31, 1985, the Undersecretary for the Treasury and Foreign Trade announced.

Foreign capital invested reached TL 208.4 billion by the same date. Total capital invested was TL 464.9 billion so that the share of foreign capital in total capital invested was 44.8%.

Manufacturing industry had the greatest quantity of foreign capital invested, with TL 118.1 billion invested by 202 firms, while the mining sector had the least, with 813 million invested by four firms.

In terms of sub-sectors, the banking sector has the most foreign capital with TL 43.8 billion invested by 20 firms, while the trade sector has the least, with TL 10.4 billion invested by 123 firms.

Switzerland has invested the most, with capital of TL 35.6 billion supplied by 63 firms, while Israel, with capital of TL 29 million invested by 1 firm, has the least.

The distribution of countries with firms investing foreign capital in Turkey is shown as as on the table.

	Sectoral distribution	
Sector	No.of firms	Foreign cap. (TL million)
Manufacturing	202	118,100
Service	208	83.300
Agricultural	7	6,100
Mining	4	813

Country	Number of firms	Foreign cap. (TL million)
U.S.	60	30,837
Austria	8	481
U.A.E.	3	1,370
W.Germany	59	21,798
Bahrain	1	490
Belgium	6	970
Denmark	6	9,259
Finland	1	300
France	7	5,124
Holland	18	13,532
IDB	8	1,844
IFC	2	1,363
Britain	34	11,890
Iraq	7	1,417
Iran	17	2,711
Israel	1	29
Sweden	6	115
Switzerland	63	35,616
Italy	11	8126
Japan	3	39
N. Cyprus	3	974
Canada	1	1,097
Joint vestments	37	26,750
Kuwait	2	1,006
Libya	3	14,399
Lebanon	3	2,307
Luxembourg	4	3,337
Egypt	1	49
Monaco	1	140
Pakistan	1	2,382
Panama	2	154
Syria	28	1,415
S. Arabia	10	6,703
Jordan	3	75
Yugoslavia	3	313
TOTAL	421	208,408

lent" in another article which appeared in its February 14, 1986, issue.

Nevertheless, Turkish Premier Ozal, encouraged by some European countries, counting on the results of French elections which resulted in the electoral victory of the Right, continued to knock the doors of the EEC Commission.

Even before the French elections, Ozal had made a visit to Paris on November 15, 1985, and been received by Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris and future Premier of France. Although French students protested against his visit by shouting "Assassin, get out of France!", Ozal had received many promises from Chirac.

After the French elections, Cheysson too changed his attitude and formulated the Commission's proposals for the resumption of Turco-European relations.

First the Commission proposed that the budget authorities make a primary transfer of 10 million ecus for 1986 within the context of special aid to Turkey. Furthermore, it proposed that the Council of Ministers decide on the community position in view of negotiations with Turkey about rules governing the free-movement of Turkish workers.

"Realizing that the social-economic context characterized by significant unemployment in the Community (16.75 million are unemployed, which means 12.4 percent of the active population in the 12-member Community), and realizing that an improvement in Turkey's economic situation whose growth between 1980 and 1984 was 4.4 percent on the average, thus effecting unemployment conditions not fundamentally different from those in the Community," the Commission proposed:

"Consolidating and improving the status of Turkish workers and their families residing regularly in the Community, particularly through the suppression of still-existing discrimination in the areas of living and working condition.

"- fixing conditions of access to the job market in a member state for Turkish workers, insofar as a job is effectively offered, with respect to job priority for nationals of the member states, but permitting appropriate measures in these conditions might give rise to problems foreign to free-movement.

"- organizing the keeping together of families with respect to family life and parental obligations in the area of education.

"- These measures also take into account the situation of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese workers in the Community. In fact, in conformity with the Additional Protocol of the Association Accord, Turkish workers cannot be treated more favourably than workers from member states.

"- For the latter, limitations on the exercise of free-movement will be in effect until 1987 for Greece, and 1992 for the two new members."

In concrete terms, this proposal envisages the pure and simple suspension of a right already acquired by virtue of a bilateral accord concluded in 1963 between Turkey and the EEC. In fact, this proposal which replaces free-movement starting from December 1st, 1986, is only a new formulation of the statute which has been in force since 1976. The Council of Association had already decided in 1976 that the member states would be compelled to give priority to Turkish workers when the need for manual labour could not be satisfied by Community workers. The same council decided in June 1980 to bring about improvements to this rule: after three years of regular work in a member state, the Turkish worker can apply for a job in the same profession; and after four years, he can benefit from free access to any salaried work. Furthermore, cooperation was expected in favour of Turkish workers and their families in socio-cultural areas, and in favour of professional formation and the exchange of young workers. Moreover, the same Council in June 1980 decided that Turkish Workers and members of their families in the Community could benefit from equal treatment with Community workers in matters concerning remuneration, benefits for sickness, old-age disability and unemployment.

The only novelty might be the ending of visa obligations for Turkish workers residing regularly in the Community. But, in exchange for European concessions in the political area, the Turkish authorities are ready to accept the suspension of the right to free movement for an indefinite period.

Meeting in Brussels on March 10, 1986, the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Twelve showed agreement for a "prudent" thawing in relations with Turkey in the context of proposals from the European Commission. However, during the negotiations, the Greek minister insisted that the thaw occur only if the Turkish government respected five conditions that the European Parliament set for resumption of

Turco-European relations. The Danish minister also showed reservations regarding Turkey's disrespect for human rights.

It appears that if the European Parliament or Greece drops its position, the Council of Turco-European Association will meet in Autumn 1986, and the repressive Turkish regime will thus become a "respectable" associate of the European Community.

Turkey: 13th Member of the European Communities?

As a sign of this acceptance, the Committee of Ministers of the 21-nation Council of Europe decided on April 23, 1986, to give Turkey the presidency of the Council next fall in recognition of the "country's progress towards democratic rule".

The decision was opposed by Greece, Denmark, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Malta and Norway while Sweden abstained. But 14 European foreign ministers voted for Turkish chairmanship.

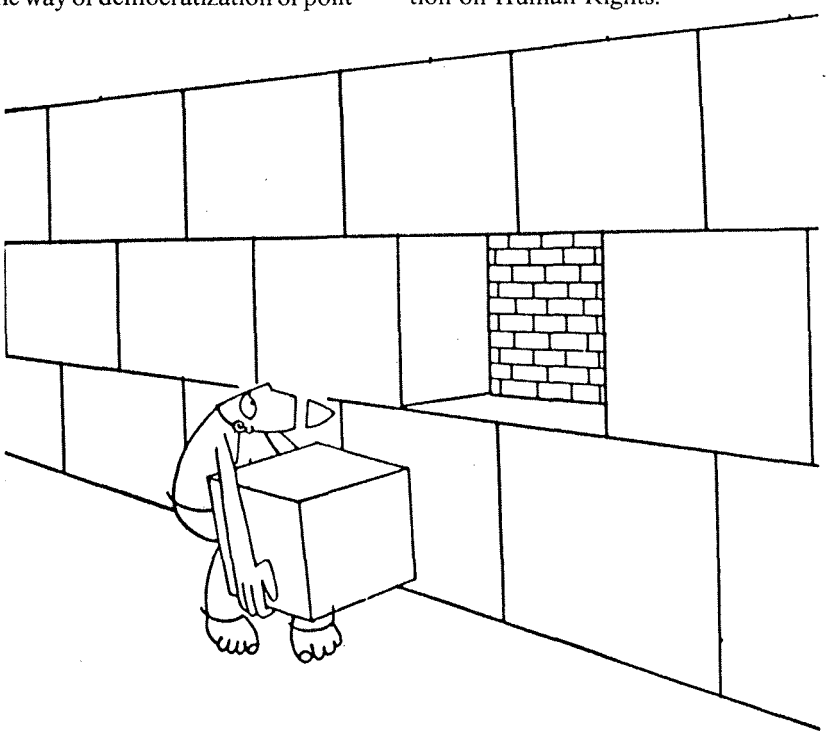
European capitulation did not end there, and on April 24, 1986, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution appreciating the Turkish regime's "efforts" in the way of democratization of political life and proposing that the Council of Europe should refrain from any interference which could lead to a rupture in this process.

What is more, during the same session, the Socialist Group of the Parliamentary Assembly announced that the majority of the socialist deputies had decided to participate in a mini-session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from June 30 to July 3, 1986, in Istanbul: A city where thousands of political prisoners are still in military jails and thousands more are still being tried before military tribunals.

After having taken all these steps, the Turkish Government announced on April 27, 1986 that it seriously considered applying to be the 13th member of the European Communities.

European governments, by reintegrating Ankara's deputies to the Parliamentary Assembly, giving the Council of Europe's presidency to Turkey and deciding to hold a mini-session of this Council in Istanbul, have already proved that a militarist "democracy" can take place in an important European institution charged with defending fundamental rights and freedoms.

Then, there is no longer any obstacle against Turkey's integration as 13th member to the European Community even if the rulers continue to disregard the European Convention on Human Rights.



HISTORICAL SUMMARY



MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATURK
(First President of the Republic)

FIRST YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

1923, October 29: Proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk elected first President.

1924, March 3: Abolition of the Caliphate; Ministry of Sheria and Pious Foundations abolished, Religious Affairs attached to the Prime Ministry.

March 4: Caliph Abdülmecit and the members of the Ottoman dynasty expelled.

April 8: Abolition of religious courts.

November 10: Opposition wing within the Repubican People's Party (CHP) quits and founds Progessive Party, advocating liberalism.

1925, February 11: Kurdish uprising in eastern Turkey.

March 4: Law for Maintenance of Public Order gives Government exceptional powers, Progressive Party suppressed. Left-wing intellectuals and workers arrested. Trade unions banned and the right to strike abolished. A single-party dictatorship established.

November 3: Abolition of *fez* and other traditional dress.

November 30: Suppression of religious brotherhoods and closing of sacred tombs as places of worship.

December 17: Treaty of Neutrality and Non-agression signed with the Soviet Union.

December 26: Turkey adopts western calendar.

1926, February 17: Adoption of new Civil Code. Abolition of polygamy.

March 1: Adoption of new Penal Code.

June 5: Agreement on Mousul; Treaty of Ankara signed between Turkey, Britain and Iraq.

June 28:Adoption of the new Commerce Code.

July 3: Execution of many political figures on the accusation of plot against life of Kemal Atatürk.

1927, February 17: Resumption of diplomatic ties between Turkey and the United States which had been suspended since 1917.

March 7: New Kurdish uprising in Eastern Anatolia.

1928, April 10: Turkey becomes a secular state, Islam is no longer the official religion of state. *Ezan*, call for prayer is made in Turkish.

November 3: Latin alphabet replaces Arabic alphabet.

1929, September 1: Abrogation of teaching in Arabic Language.

October 1: Law on Protection of national Industry goes into effect.

1930, March: Third Kurdish uprising in Eastern Anatolia.

June 15: Turkey receives her first external credit, 10 million dollars from the United States.

August 12: Foundation of the *Liberal Party* by a former premier of Atatürk.

October 30: Turkey and Greece sign Ankara Treaty.

November 17: Dissolution of the *Liberal Party*.

November 23: Religious insurrection in Menemen. Arrests and executions.

1931, April 1: Turkey adopts metric system.

October 30: Turco-soviet Treaty extended for another five years.

1932, January: First recitation in Turkish of the Islam's holy book, the *Koran*.

May 8: Premier Inönü visits Moscow.

August 12: Turkey becomes member of the League of Nations.

1933, September 14: Turkey and Greece sign a ten-year non-aggression treaty.

1934, January 9: First 5-year Plan for industrial development.

February 9: Balkan Pact concluded between Turkey, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia.

June 21: New law requiring Turks to adopt a surname.

November 26: Mustafa Kemal awarded the surname "Atatürk" (Father of Turks) by the Grand National Assembly.

November 27: Abolition of all inherited titles and grades.

December 8: Women obtain the right to vote and to be elected to Parliament.

1935, January: 18 women elected as MPs.
May: Weekend shifted from Friday (islamic sacred day) to Sunday.
1936, July 20: Montreux Convention signed, Turkey regains military control over the Straits.
Adoption of a new law intergrating Mussolini's anti-communist articles in the Turkish Penal Code.
1937, January 17: Arrest of great Turkish Poet Nazım Hikmet. He will be condemned to a 20-year prison term and will stay in prison until 1950.
February 5: Constitution is modified. Six principles of the Republican People's Party (CHP) are made the principles of the State: Republicanism, nationalism, populism, étatism, secularism and reformism.
June: New Kurdish uprising in Dersim (Tunceli).
July 9: Sadabad Pact signed between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.
1938, September 2: The GNA votes nominal Republic of Hatay with Turks in effective control, following agreement with France.
November 10: Atatürk's death.
November 11: Ismet Inönü designated President of the Republic.

YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1939, June 29: Turkish troops enter Hatay. Hatay Assembly votes for union with Turkey.
October 19: Treaty of Ankara between Turkey, France and Great Britain.
1940, January 18: Martial Law proclaimed nationwide on the pretext of World War. The Government is given extraordinary powers.
June 18: Trade agreement between Turkey and Germany.
1941, March 25: Joint Turco-Soviet Declaration issued, the two sides affirming to stay neutral when the other is attacked by a third power.
June 18: Turkey and Germany sign Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression.
December 3: The USA decides to allow Turkey to benefit from the Lend and Lease Act.
1942, February 29: Unsuccessful assassination attempt against the German Ambassador in Ankara, Von Papen. Turks and Soviet citizens pursued and condemned.
June 27: The Soviet Union withdraw its ambassador in Ankara as sign of protest.
November 11: New Law to tax wealthy families. Target is mainly non-moslem citizens.
1943, January 30: President Inönü meets Churchill in Adana, Turkey.
December 4-6: Inönü meets Roosevelt and Churchill in Cairo. Turkey turns down the proposal to enter the war.
1944, January 12: Marshal Fevzi Cakmak retires from the post of the Chief of Staff which he has held since the proclamation of the Republic.
August 1: Turkey cuts all political and economic ties with Germany.
September 7: A group of extreme right-wing nationalists arrested. Among them figures future Colonel Alparslan Türkes.
1945, February 23: Turkey declares war on Japan and Germany.
Bilateral accord with the USA.
February 24: Turkey signs the United Nations Charter.
March 19: Soviet Union informs Ankara that she will not favor the extension of the Turco-Soviet Treaty dating from 1925, and request a revision.
June 11: A moderate Land Reform Law adopted at the Assembly.
June 12: Four leading members of the CHP, opposing the Land Reform Law, propose modifications in the party programme.
June 22: New legislation on labour relations and social security.
November 1: President Inönü accepts the adoption of multi-party system.
December 4: On the provocation of Inönü's party, right-wing student groups attack daily newspaper *Tan* and many left-wing publication houses.

PASSAGE TO MULTI–PARTY ERA

1946, January 7: *Democrat Party* (DP) founded by four former CHP deputies.
April 5: US Aircraft Carrier Missouri visits Istanbul as a sign of the improvement in US-Turkish relations.
May 7: The United States annuls a Turkish debt of 100 million dollars.
July 21: First direct general elections held, CHP wins 403 seats, DP 62. Serious indications about electoral fraud committed in favour of CHP.
September 7: First devaluation in the Republic's history.
September 22: The Soviets give a note with a view to changing the Straits' statue.
November 23: A US Fleet visits Istanbul.
December 16: Two socialist parties, TSP and TSEKP, founded after the passage to multi-party system, are closed down by martial law and their founders are arrested.
1947, March 11: Turkey becomes a member of the IMF and the IBRD.
May 22: President Truman signs assistance programs to Turkey and Greece.
September 1: Turkey ratifies Turco-American military defense agreement.
1948, April 16: Turkey becomes member of the OEEC, the future OECD.
May 20: Foundation of religious schools and the Faculty of Theology.
July 20: Foundation of the Nation Party (MP) by a scission from the DP.
1949, March 24: Turkey recognizes Israel.
August 8: Turkey becomes member of the Council of Europe.
1950, May 14: Overwhelming victory for the DP with 420 seats over 487 total seats, while the CHP gets only 68, the MP 1 and independents 3.
May 19: Celal Bayar elected the 3rd President of the Republic. Adnan Menderes becomes Prime Minsiter. Period of economic liberalism opens.
June 16: Return to the Ezan (call for prayer) in Arabic.
July 25: Turkey sends a brigade to Korean War.
August 1: Turkey applies for membership to NATO.
1951, August 7: Law on foreign capital investments adopted.
September 19: Turkey joins North Atlantic Alliance.
Ocotber 26: Beginning of mass arrests of presumed members of the TKP, outlawed since the beginning of the Republic.
1952, February 18: Turkey and Greece become full members of NATO.
July 31: Foundation of the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (Turk-Is), influenced by the US trade union movement.
August 18: Southeast European Headquarters of NATO opens in Izmir.
1953, February 25: Ankara Treaty signed between Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece.
May 30: Soviet Union proposes the resumption of good relations.
October: Turkey supports France against Algerian nationalists.
December 14: The Government seizes an imortant part of the CHP's real estate.
1954; January: Adoption of more liberal measures for encouragement of foreign capital.
January 27: The MP shut down on gorunds of political exploitation of religion.
February 2: The Republican Naiton Party (CMP) founded instead of the MP.
April 2: Turkey and Pakistan sign a pro-American friendship agreement.
March: Adoption of a law for foreign investments in oil industry.
May2: General elections. DP victorious 505 seats against 31 for CHP, 5 to CMP and 1 for independents.
August 9: Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia sign a 20-year Balkan Agreement.
1955, January 6-18: Premier Menderes is booed during his visit to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria because of his pro-American policies.
February 24: Pro-American Baghdad Pact signed between Turkey and Iraq.
April 4: Great Britain becomes the third member of the Baghdad Pact.
April 17: Asia-Africa Conference convenes in Bandung. Turkey defends US positions and is isolated.

September 6-7: Anti-Greek demonstrations in main Turkish cities, pogroms and pillage.
September 23: Pakistan joins Baghdad Pact.
October 11: Iran joins Baghdad Pact.
December 20: A group of DP deputies, protesting against Menderes' repressive policies quit the party and found Freedom Party (HP).

1956, June 6: DP Government modifies law on pess, steps up control over newspapers.
August 14: Turkey supports British position in the Suez conflict.
September 13: Government decides to introduce religious courses at the secondary schools.
December 1: Students' protest actions against the Government's repressive policies.
December 29: Turkey supports Eisenhower Doctrine.

1957, March 22: United States joins the military committee fo the Baghdad Pact. Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), economic organization of the Baghdad Pact, founded.
April-May: Some trade unions banned.
August: A Soviet commercial delegation's visit to Turkey with a 300 million dollar aid proposal.
September 27: Early elections. CHP obtains 178, CMP 4, HP 4, while the number of DP deputies falls to 424.

1958, January 16: Nine officers accused of plotting a coup arrested.
July 15: Turkey allows the USA to use Turkish airfields for operations in Lebanon.
August 3: Drastic economic measures and Turkish Lira's devalution on pressure from the IMF, the OEEC and the USA who promise a credit totalling 359 million dollars.
October 17: CMP turns into CKMP (Republican Nation and Peasant Party) with the joining of a minor party.
November 24: HP dissolved. Some members join the CHP.

1959, February 19: Agreement between Turkey, Greece and Great Britain on Cyprus.
March 5: Turkey and the USA sign bilateral military agreement.
September 20: Turkey applies to the EEC for associate membership. On the retreat of Iraq, the Baghdad Pact is renamed CENTO and seated in Ankara.
October 10: Turkey and the USA agree on the installation of IRBM missiles on Turkish soil.
December 6: President Eisenhower visits Turkey.

AFTER THE FIRST MILITARY INTERVENTION

1960, February: Commercial accord with the USSR.
April 16: Proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus.
April 18: Government bans the CHP's activities for three months. Creation of a special committee charged with making inquiry into the opposition's activities. First Turkish participation in an Asian-Africa Conference in Guinea. Menderes announces his intention to visit Moscow and to improve Turco–USSR relations.
April 28-29: Student demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul. Proclamation of martial law.
May 9: Ratification of the US-Turkey Agreement by the GNA. A NATO meeting in Istanbul and students' growing demonstrations.
May 27: Military coup d'état. The National Unity Committee (MBK) takes over political power. DP leaders arrested. General Cemal Gürsel becomes Head of State and Prime Minister.
September 29; Democrat Party dissolved by the decision of a tribunal.
September 30; State Planning Organization founded.
October: Deportation of some Kurdish notables.

November 13: Exclusion of 14 members from the MBK, among them Colonel Türkes, for their totalitarian tendencies.

1961, January: Workers demonstrations for trade union rights.
January 6: Constituent Assembly founded.
February 11-12: Foundation of new political parties: Justice Party (AP), New Turkey Party (YTP) and Workers Party of Turkey (TIP).
February 24: Soviet Union protests against Turkey for having granted missile facilities to NATO.
May 27: Constituent Assembly adopts new Constitution and the Law on Elections.
July 9: New constitution adopted by a referendum.
September 15: Mass condemnations of DP leaders.
September 16-17: Former Premier Menderes and his two ministers, Polatkan and Zorlu executed.
October 15: General elections: no clear winner: CHP 173 seats, AP 158, CKMP 54, YTP 65.
June: Departure of the first group of Turkish migrant workers to FRG.
October 26: Former general Cemal Gürsel elected President of the Republic.
November 20: First coalition government of AP and CHP. Inönü: Prime Minister.

1962, February 22: A coup d'état attempt by young radical army officers fails.
July 7: Inönü's second coalition government with the participation of CHP, YTP, CKMP and Independents.
October 22: Tension between USA and USSR over Cuba. Soviets demand dismantling of American missile sites in Turkey.
November 21: GNA adopts first 5-year economic development plan.

1963, March: Army's mutual assistance foundation OYAK starts to function.
May 21: A new coup attempt by Colonel Aydemir put down. Martial law in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.
July 14: Laws on Trade Unions, Collective bargainings and strikes adopted.
September 12: Turkey becomes an associate member of the EEC.
December 25: Cyprus crisis. Turkish planes buzz over Nicossia, as a warning against massacre of Turks.

1964, January 2: Inönü's third government with CHP and independents.
May 15: Turkey extends her territorial waters to six miles.
June 6: President Johnson's letter to dissuade Turkey from military intervention on Cyprus. Growing of anti-USA feelings. Justice Party announces its pro-American stand.
June 27: Major Fehti Gürcan executed for his participation in unsuccessful coup attempt.
July 4: Colonel Aydemir executed for his unsuccessful coup attempt.
August 7: Turkish planes buzz over Cyprus once again.
August 28: Anti-USA demonstration.
November 5: Turco-Soviet cultural agreement in Moscow.
December 1: Turco-EEC agreement takes effect.

1965, January 4: Soviet President Podgorny visits Ankara.
January 20: A new coalition without CHP replaces Inönü's government. Suat Hayri Urgüplü named Prime Minister.
May 17: Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Ankara.
August 9: Turkish Premier Urgüplü in Moscow.
October 10: General elections. AP gets an absolute majority with 240 seats while CHP has 134, CKMP 11, MP 31, YTP 19 and the Workers Party of Turkey (TIP) 15.
December: Spectacular amelioration of army officers's living conditions by a new law.
December 3: Protocol with the USSR for the construction of the third Steel-Iron plant.

1966, March 28: Chief of General Staff Cevdet Sunay replaces ailing Cemal Gürsel at the head of State.
October 18: CHP convention adopts a center-of-left policy and elects Bülent Ecevit Secretary General. Progressive Alevite notables found the Union Party (BP).
December 20: Kosygin's visit.

1967, January 23: Chief of Staff Cemal Tural's anti-communist circulars to the Army. Grey Wolves of Turkes' CKMP start training in special camps.
February 13: Foundation of the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK).
March 7: Reaction against a law project of Demirel Government for restricting fundamental rights.
April 2: President Sunay goes to the United States and confirms Turkish friendship with the USA.
May 12: Right wing of the CHP quits the party and forms the Reliance Party (CP).
September 19: Premier Demirel visits Moscow.
October: Demonstration against the US 6th Fleets visit to Istanbul.
November 16: Anti-Greek demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul.

1968, March: First mass demonstration of extreme-right organizations.
June 24: Student demonstration for university reforms.
July 27: Student demonstrations against the visit of the US 6th Fleet to Istanbul. Two students killed by security forces.
August 21: Unrest in the Turkish socialist movement because of Czechoslovakia events.
August 30: President Sunay defends the USA against anti-American demonstration. Turkes declares that more than one thousand nationalists were trained to challenge the Left.
December: Robert Komer, a well-known CIA functionary, arrives in Turkey as US Ambassador. This nomination leads to protest demonstrations.

1969, January 6: US Ambassador Komer's car burnt in Ankara.
February 9: Neo-fascist Turkes' party, CKMP, changed its name to Nationalist Action Party (MHP).
February 16: Bloody attacks by right-wing gangs on workers and students demonstrating against the arrival of the US 6th Fleet. Beginning of Grey Wolves' terror throughout Turkey.
July 3: Turco–US Framework Agreement on bilateral defense signed in Ankara.
October 12: General elections held. AP absolute winner with 256 seats, CHP gets 143 seats, GP 15, BP 8, MP 6' YTP 6, TIP 2, MHP 1, Independents 13.
November 12: President Sunay visits Moscow.

1970, January 23: Pro-islamic National Order Party (MNP) founded by Necmettin Erbakan.
June 15-16: Workers' mass demonstrations in Istanbul for protesting against the Government's attempt to restrict trade union rights. Four workers are killed by security forces. Martial law proclaimed. Worker leaders arrested.
June 21: Air Forces' commander Muhsin Batur gives a memorandum to government for establishing law and order.
July 22: Turkey and EEC sign the agreement on Ankara's completing the first phase of the future adhesion.
August 9: Turkish Lira devaluated by 66 pour cent.
December 18: 27 deputies expelled from AP forms the Democratic Party (DP).

AFTER THE SECOND MILITARY INTERVENTION

1971, March 3: Four US NCOs kidnapped by the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) which demands an end to US domination on the country. They are released unharmed later.

March 12: Army commanders issue an ultimatum forcing the Government to resign.
March 19: A national coalition government formed by Nihat Erim with a programme of reforms in favor of big business.
April 28: Martial law is proclaimed. Democratic organizations banned, left-wing intellectuels and student leaders arrested.
May 21: The Constitutional Court closes down MNP on grounds of fundamentalist activities.
July 20: The Workers's Party of Turkey (TIP) closed down by the Constitutional Court on grounds of separatist activities.
September 20: Constitution is amended to restrict fundamental rights.

1972, **January**: Mass arrests among intellectuals. Defense Minister announces the purge of 120 army officers for their relations with left-wing organizations.
March 30: Massacre of left-wing youth leaders in Kızıldere during a resistance action.
April 11: Soviet Presidium Chief Podgorny's visit to Ankara.
May 6: Execution of three youth leaders: Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Arslan and Hüseyin Inan.
May 14: Inönü resigns from the chairmanship of the CHP, disapproving of the election of Bülent Ecevit as Secretary General. Thereupon, Ecevit is elected chairman.
July: Departure of 500,000th Turkish worker to FRG.
September 4: The right-wing members of the CHP quit the party and form the Republican Party (CP).
December: The Council of Europe's move to exclude Turkey from the organization on grounds of systematic violations of human rights.

1973, **January**: Assassination of two Turkish diplomats by a deported Armenian in Los Angeles.
March 3: CP joins GP under a new name: Republican Reliance Party (CGP).
April 6: Chief of General Staff Gürler fails to obtain necessary vote from the National Assembly for being elected President of the Republic. A former admiral, Fahri Korutürk elected to this post. Army chiefs lose control over political life.
April 26: A new right-wing government formed by Naim Talu.
May 15: Heavy criticisms at the Council of Europe against the Turkish regime.
August: Ecevit convinces the regime's critics at the Council of Europe to suspend the procedure against Turkey, by claiming that he would establish democratic order when he comes to power.
October 14: General elections held. CHP is the winner with 185 seats (though short for absolute majority) while AP gets 149 seats, new founded National Salvation Party (MSP) of Erbakan 48, DP 45, CGP 13, MHP 3, TBP 1 and Independents 6.
December 12: Local elections. CHP raises its percentage from 33.3 to 37.1.

1974, **January 24**: Premier designate Ecevit agrees with fundamentalist Erbakan to form a coalition government.
May 9: Grey Wolves' attacks restart.
May 16: General amnesty is approved by the National Assembly. Although those condemned for articles 141 and 142 are left outside the scope of the amnesty, the Constitution Court later decides that they also can benefit from the amnesty.
July 2: Ecevit Government lifts ban on opium cultivation in seven provinces, put in practice in 1972 under the pressure of the USA.
July 15: Athens-led coup d'état of Nicos Sampson in Cyprus.
July 20: Turkish Army intervenes to restore peace and stability in the island. Martial Law proclaimed in 14 provinces in Turkey.
August 14: Greece quits military wing of NATO. Turkish Army's second intervention in Cyprus. Half of the island fell under the occupation of the Turkish Army.
September 19: Premier Ecevit resigns as a result of disagreement with Vice-premier Erbakan.
September 20: Turkish lira devaluated.

December 18: Four right-wing parties, AP, MSP, MHP, and CGP decide to act jointly as a "nationalist front" against the left.

1975, **February 4**: US Congress decides to halt all military aid to Turkey, American arms embargo imposed against Turkey for having used military aid during Cyprus operation.
February 13: Turkish Federated State of Cyprus proclaimed by Denktash with the support of Ankara.
March 31: Nationalist Front coalition government formed by Demirel.
Grey Wolves enter Government.
July 26: Activities of US military bases in Turkey suspended in retaliation for US armaments embargo.
August: Purge of democratic minded public servants.
December 25: Soviet Premier Kosygin in Ankara.

1976, **March 28**: Turkey and the USA sign a new military accord which restores American privileges at defense facilities in Turkey.
May 1st: First mass celebration of May Day in the Taksim Square of Istanbul on the call of DISK.
May 12: Seventh Islamic Conference opens in Istanbul.
September 17: Tens of thousands DISK-member workers go on strikes paralyzing life in Turkey's main cities to protest Government efforts to extend the lifespan of the State Security Courts, ruled "unconstitutional" by the Constitutional Court.

1977, **May 1st**: Thirty-seven persons die in a May Day rally in Taksim Square in Istanbul when unidentified persons fire on workers.
June 5: Legislative elections held. CHP wins 213 seats, while AP at 189, MSP at 24, MHP at 16, CHP at 3 and DP one.
August 1: Demirel's new right-wing government receives vote of confidence 229-219.

1978, **January 6**: Thanks to 11 AP deputies' defection, Ecevit forms a left-wing government.
March 1: Turkish Lira is devalued 29.8 percent.
March 2: General Evren named new Chief of Staff.
October 4: Turkey repones 4 US military installations.
December 24: 117 people assassinated by right-wing assailants.
December 26: Government declares martial law in 13 provinces.

1979, **February 1**: Mehmet Ali Agca assassinates journalist Abdi Ipekçi.
May 1st: Arrests of trade union leaders.
October 14: Partial Senate and Assembly by-elections with the success of AP.
November 7: Demirel forms a new right-wing government.

1980, **January 2**: Army commanders' ultimatum to political leaders.
January 10: Turco-American Defense Cooperation Agreement initialed.
January 24: Adoption of the drastical economic measures imposed by the IMF.
February 2: DISK decides to go on general strike.
June 25: NATO Ministerial Council meeting opens in Ankara.
July 4: Corum turns into a battle field. Rightist commandos attack left-wing people.
July 9: Army's "Point" Operation in Fatsa, a city administrated by a left-wing mayor.
July 22: Former DISK Chairman Türkler assassinated.
August 1: Workers' strike in the Army officers' OYAK-Renault car factory.
September 10: Turco-Soviet Cultural Exchange Accord signed in Ankara.
September 12: General Evren's military coup d'état.

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