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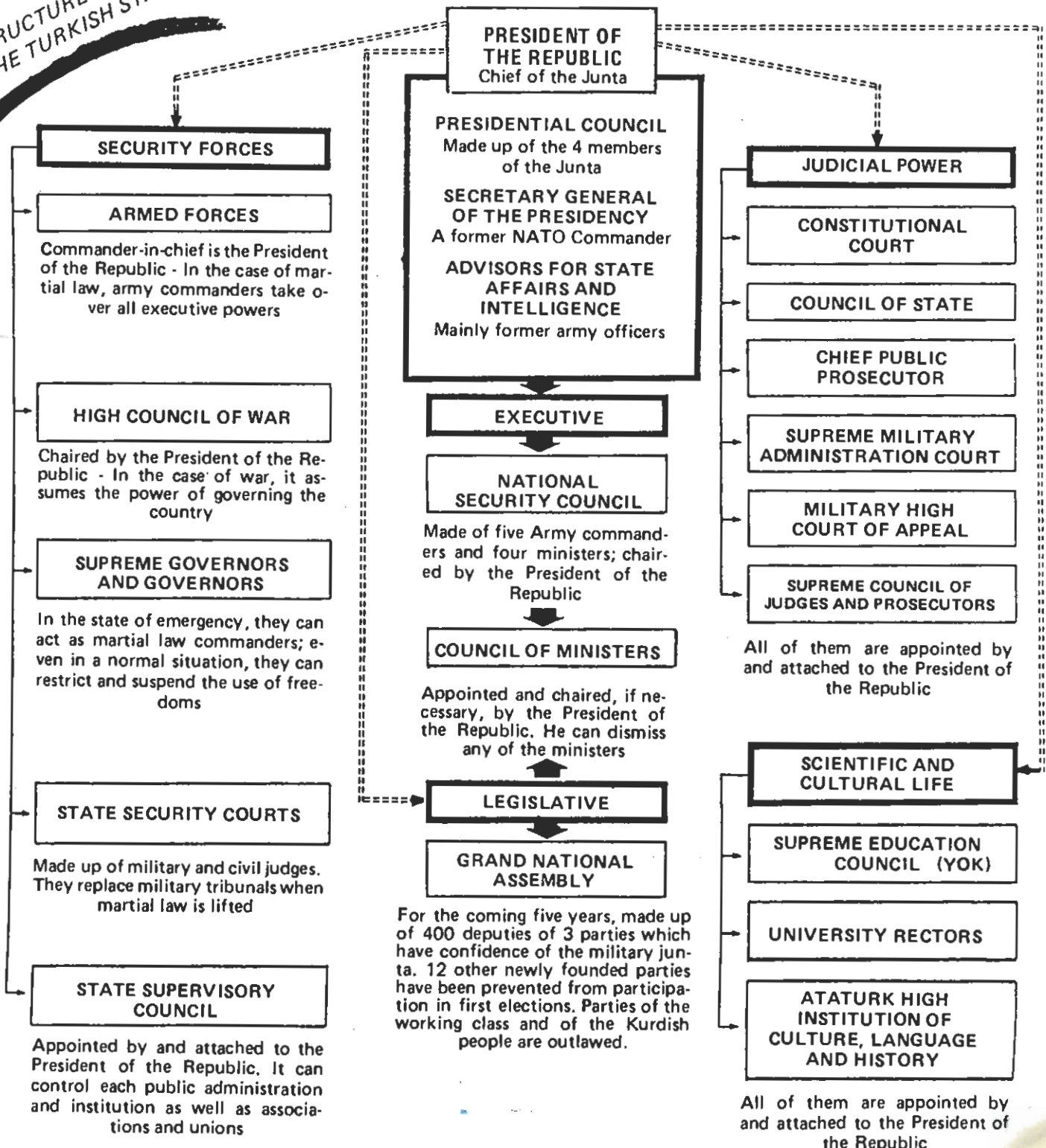


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NEW
STRUCTURE OF
THE TURKISH STATE



3 YEARS OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

At the third anniversary of the military coup of September 12, 1980, having undergone for the past three years a repressive military regime, Turkey is now resigned to face a rubber-stamp election in November, since only the three parties set up with the Army's backing are being allowed to register for the poll. November 6, 1983, will be the date of transition from an open military dictatorship to a so called "Parliamentary regime", guided by the military.

Ourwardly life in Turkey seems much more normal than it was three years ago on the eve of the coup which brought five army generals into power. There are no slogans on the walls, no political murders in the streets and no strikes in the factories.

Political violence in the street has been replaced by state terror; the slogans on the walls by the portraits and statues of General Evren; industrial disputes in the factories by compulsory arbitration, which has doomed the workers to misery.

In the preceding issues of this *Bulletin*, we had already given all details concerning the anti-democratic practices of the military junta.

The third year of military dictatorship has been characterized by a new wave of state terror and a number of laws enacted by the Junta as to institutionalize state terror and coercion.

First of all, on November 7, 1982, the new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was adopted by a referendum. With voters subjected to intimidation and all criticism banned, the result was hardly surprising. Nevertheless, out of 20.7 million voters 9 percent refused to go, 8 percent voted against. Contrary to official propaganda saying that 91.27 percent of all citizens above 21 years old voted for the new Constitution, the text which automatically made General Evren president of the Republic for a 7-year term, was actually adopted with a 83 percent majority. Especially in the Kurdish areas which have undergone an unprecedented repression, "yes" votes fell down to 64 percent.

Prior to the referendum, counter propaganda was officially banned, those who dared to disregard this ban found themselves in prison. Whereas the preceding elections were watched over by representatives of the political parties, this time, only the state employees appointed by the Junta, were controlling the poll and the counting of votes. In many voting booths, there were but "white" ballots. Above the top of some booths, supporters of the Junta used to put inclined mirrors enabling to distinguish the color of the ballot used by the voter. In addition, the blue ballots, against the Constitution, had a definitely darker reflection in the envelope and were thicker, so as to be perceivable by the officials.

Furthermore, Evren, during his one-man show prior to the vote, vilified the possible opponents to the "Constitution" as being "terrorists". He added also that, should the Constitution be rejected, this would mean a refusal of democracy by the people and their wish to see the military regime holding indefinitely the reins of government.

The draft Constitution approved under the threat of bayonets comprises a lot of anti-democratic articles, fascist institutions, restrictions on the fundamental freedoms and violations of human rights.

One of the most striking restrictions imposed by this Constitution, was the ban to re-enter into politics for the leaders of the dissolved political parties. (Details about the anti-democratic provisions of the Constitution were exposed in the *Bulletins* of July-October 1982).

After putting on his tail-coat and top-hat as "Pre-

sident of the Republic", General Evren, claiming that he had absolute support of the nation, launched the operation of enacting new laws to reshape the State and of recruiting new-type politicians to set up the political parties designed for the future guided "parliamentary regime".

As a matter of fact, since the military coup, the NSC has adopted 581 laws, 33 of which had previously been discussed by the Consultative Assembly which has been acting as a rubber-stamp office of the military. Prior to the legislative elections, all fundamental laws concerning the new structure of the State have already been enacted by the Junta.

As it can clearly be seen in the Table, all the key organs of the State have been attached to the President of the Republic. This new structure has already been provided in the Constitution adopted last year. 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 will now be 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 Constitutional Court for the annulment of laws, to call new elections for the National Assembly, to dismiss ministers. He is no more accountable before the National Assembly.

In the exercise of his functions, the President of the Republic will command organs which either did not exist before the coup, or were independent from him:

2. Presidential Council: According to a provisional article of the Constitution, the four members of the present military junta will acquire the title of members of the Presidential Council. For a period of six years, this council will examine laws adopted by the National Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, will give 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 will investigate matters relating to internal and external security.

3. General Secretariat of the President of the Republic: Already the former commander of the NATO Forces of South-East Europe, Retired General Sedat Güneralp, has been appointed Secretary General. Advisers will be 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 will have his own intelligence service.

4. The Armed Forces: The President of the Republic will represent 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, with taking all necessary measures and employing all citizens, both civilians and military, in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Then, despite the fact that General Evren has already retired from the post of Chief of General Staff, he will remain 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 will be dependant 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 will be appointed by the President of the Republic and will 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 a 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 in August.

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 constituting a Council of Ministers from among the members of the National Assembly, or from among those who are eligible for election as deputies, this organ will be merely a rubber-stamp council, designed to implement the general policies determined by the military.

According to the Constitution, a National Security Council shall be set up under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. It shall be 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 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 of which the Chairman and the members to be appointed by the President of the Republic and attached to the office of the Presidency of the Republic, will have absolute authority to supervise the functioning of the administration. All public bodies and organisations 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 will have 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 ASSEMBLY AND PARTIES

Since the President of the Republic holds all executive and judicial powers in his own hands and in view of the fact that all fundamental laws have already been enacted by the military junta, the future National Assembly will be but a sham designed for convincing world opinion that Turkey has returned to a parliamentary democracy.

Even within the narrow framework of its legislative activity, the National Assembly will always be under the threat of being vetoed by the President of the Republic. Besides, the latter is also empowered to call new elections for the Grand National Assembly.

But the main point for the time being is that the first National Assembly will be constituted only by the deputies of the three political parties which have been permitted by the military Junta to take part in elections: *The Nationalist Democracy Party* (MDP) headed by Retired Army General Turgut Sunalp, the *Motherland Party* (Ana-P) headed by the former vice-premier of the military government, Turgut Ozal, and the *Populist Party* (HP) headed by the former under-secretary of the same government, Necdet Calp.

12 other political parties set up after the adoption of the new Political Parties Law were denied the right to register for the poll as a result of obstruction made by the Junta. One party, the *Grand Turkey Party* (BTP), set up by the followers of the defunct Justice Party of Demirel, was officially dissolved by a decree of the military junta. As for the others, they have been exposed to an unprecedented practice of the junta. According to the Election Law, for being allowed to register for the polls, a political party should have at least 30 founders who have not been vetoed by the NSC. Until the deadline, August 25, 1983, the Junta has vetoed 453 out of 750 party founders without any concrete justification. Thus, among others, two influent political parties, the *Social Democracy Party* (Sodep) and the *True Path Party* (DYP) which have gained considerable support within the mass of the population, lost any chance to participate in elections.

The military junta did not stop at that point and recently drew up a new bill providing that only the three political parties authorized to register for the polls would be allowed to participate in the future local elections. Thus, twelve other political parties will fail to get any seat for at least five years, neither in the National Assembly nor in the municipal councils.

It should be stressed that the setting up of any political party on a working class basis or on the basis

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of the Kurdish population of Turkey has already been forbidden by the provisions of the Constitution. Even if the other parties had been allowed to take part in elections, this would have been anti-democratic elec-

tions. Let alone a working class party or a Kurdish party, the military junta has not even tolerated the competition of other right-wing parties with regard to those which are obedient followers of General Evren.

STATE TERROR

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 an unprecedented repression. The military junta which came into power under the pretext of putting an end to political terrorism, has replaced it by State terror.

All political parties have at first been suspended and later on dissolved by the Junta. Hundreds of political leaders and members of Parliament, including the former prime ministers Süleyman Demirel and Bülent Ecevit, have been prosecuted and jailed. Demirel and 15 other former political leaders are still in detention in a radar base at the Dardanelles.

A military-backed government under the premiership of a retired admiral, Bülent Ulusu, has obediently been carrying into effect for three years the whole policy laid down by the military junta.

Most of the civil governors and of the 1,600 mayors have been replaced by high-ranking officers, and all top bureaucrats by those who enjoy General Evren's confidence. About 18,000 State employees, 2,000 judges and prosecutors, 1,300 policemen, 700 university professors, and 5,000 school teachers have been either dismissed by the military or forced to resign under pressure.

As explained in detail in the preceding *Bulletin*, from the proclamation of martial law at the end of 1978 up to June 30, 1983, Martial Law prosecutors dealt with 62,639 cases submitted to the martial law courts which have already condemned 33,891 persons for their political opinions or activities. At present, there are still 21,046 persons in military prisons, 7,183 of whom have been condemned, 13,432 arrested and 431 are in custody. 18,754 persons have already served their prison terms.

During man-hunting operations, more than 500 people were shot dead by the security forces in the streets. According to a communiqué issued by the International League for Human Rights on February 19, 1982, only within the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,958 were taken into custody for preliminary investigation. Among them were also 203 members of Parliament, 79 journalists or writers, 93 judges or prosecutors, 35 district governors, 300 mayors, 6,191 teachers and 6,758 state employees. More than 100,000 of them were released following a 3-month detention without court warrant.

Besides, 5,854 more persons are still being wanted by the military authorities for their opinions or political activities.

The Junta launched a denunciation campaign against the wanted people and within the course of three years the NSC has received about 150,000 letters from informers.

At the beginning of 1983, the military have announced that 400,000 citizens had been deprived of the freedom of travelling because of legal proceedings pending against them.

Besides, a Data Collecting Center was set up at

the Ministry of Internal Affairs and all citizens of Turkey are being registered with all data relating to their private and professional life as well as their political opinions. The Ministry announced in 1982 that 36,771 political activists had been apprehended due to this computer system. Computers are also being set on the borders to check the dissidents' trips more efficiently.

The Ministerial Council decided on April 1983 to replace national identity cards by national security cards from 1984 onwards. The finger-prints of the holder as well as the usual information on his identity will be indicated to and a photograph be attached to the new cards.

Whereas the maximum capacity of the civil prisons was of 55,000, the Ministry of Justice announced on June 20, 1983 that there were 78,886 prisoners. 67 new prisons are being built in order to place the surplus of the prison population. 5 special prisons have been built for those who were convicted of "political violence acts" by the military tribunals.

By changing ten times the legislation of the martial law regime, the martial law commanders have been empowered to order to shoot down any suspect in the streets, to confiscate and ban publications, records, cassettes, films, to search individuals and their residences without any court warrant.

After the coup, all police forces too were placed under the authority of the martial law commanders. The military junta has assigned a sum of 99 billion TL to the reorganization of the police forces. It was decided to raise the number of the 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 Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, the police forces are being equipped with modern weapons, armoured vehicles and helicopters.

According to a law adopted by the NSC on June 4, 1983, persons whose activities are considered harmful to law and order will be forced into a form of exile by being confined to a certain locality. The movements of such persons from their allowed area of residence will be subject to permission from the martial law authorities.

Since all territory of Turkey is under martial law those who are indicted for their political opinions and activities are tried by the military tribunals set up in Turkey's major cities.

The procedure applied at military tribunals is proof that the right to a fair trial provided by the European Convention on Human Rights, is being violated. The bills of indictment are based on confessions obtained under torture. At mass trials, the prisoners are not brought all together to court, only groups of 10 or 15 are allowed. In 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 conditioned before being brought to court; defendants are given no possibility to defend themselves; they are not even allowed to read their petitions. The time al-

lowed for the defence is very short and sometimes the defendant is not allowed to speak in the court room.

The NSC, by modifying the Turkish Penal Code, has aggravated the prison terms for acts of propaganda and organisation based on socialist or fundamentalist opinions.

DEATH SENTENCES

One of the most striking aspects of the 3-year military repression has been the very high number of capital punishments called for at military courts. In spite of the fact that the Council of Europe adopted on April 28, 1983 an additional convention to the European Convention on Human Rights for abolishing the death penalty, the Turkish regime which claims to be a European democracy is carrying on the executions.

Within the 3-year period 188 persons have been sentenced to death for political acts and 37 of them have already been executed.

As for the demands of death sentences, the total number amounted to 6,353 up to September 12, 1983. The distribution of the demands of death sentences to political and trade union organizations is as follows:

- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): 2,458
- Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): 957
- People's Liberation Party/Front of Turkey (THKP/C): 571
- Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol): 529
- Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP): 177
- Kurdish organization KAWA: 154
- Liberation (Kurtulus): 118
- Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK): 68
- Union of Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda (MLSPB): 57
- Revolutionary Vanguard of People (HDO): 31
- Revolutionary Communists' Union of Turkey (TEKB): 31
- National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK): 18
- Workers' Voice (Işinin Sesi): 18
- Kurdish organizations Rızgari and Ala Rızgari: 13
- People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO): 12
- Kurdish organization TEKOSIN: 11
- Communist Labour Party of Turkey (TKEP): 11
- Reorganization of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP/TOK): 6
- Revolutionary Union of the People (DHB): 4
- Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B): 2
- Union of Socialist Youth (SGB): 2
- Revolutionary Liberation (DK): 2
- Association for Fighting Unemployment (Pİİ): 1
- Nucleus of Revolutionary Red Army of Turkey (TİKOC): 1

Besides, at a common trial concerning the Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP) and PKK, the prosecutor demanded 37 death sentences.

The total number of death sentences demanded for the leaders and militants of the left and Kurdish organizations amounts to 5,550, whereas the rightists risking capital punishment are but 803.

Although the military, with the purpose of creating the image of an even-handed policy, have started several trials against the leaders and activists of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), it is a fact that at the end of the 3-year period, all leaders of this party, except Alparslan Türkeş and his 2 aides, have been released by the military tribunals.

In addition to the left-wing organizations mentioned above, thousands of progressive persons are still being tried at military tribunals, accused of being affiliated to the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), the

Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSİP), the Union of Labour (EB), the Path of Partisan (PY), the Progressive Youth Association (IGD), the Labour Party of Kurdistan (KİP), the Association of Patriotic Revolutionary Youth (YDGB), the Socialist Fatherland Party (SVP), the Revolutionary Youth (Dev-Genç), the Workers'-Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP).

As for the parties represented in Parliament prior to the coup, the military took legal action against 203 former members of Parliament, 154 of whom belong to the Republican People's Party (CHP), 2 to the Justice Party (AP), 30 to the National Salvation Party (MSP), 15 to the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and 2 independents. Demirel and 15 other former political leaders who are for the time being kept under surveillance without legal proceedings being instituted against them, are out of this number. The leader of the CHP Ecevit has been jailed a few times for his declarations.

The Chairman of the MSP, Necmettin Erbakan was condemned to a 4-year prison term and 22 other leaders of the party to prison terms up to 3 years.

According to the French League for Human Rights, 300 out of 1,600 dismissed mayors of Turkey have been arrested by the military following the coup.

Besides, many democratic organizations such as the Association of Teachers (Töb-Der), the Union of Architects and Engineers (TMMOB), the Union of Peasants' Cooperatives (Köy-Koop), the Turkish Peace Committee, the Bar Association of Istanbul, the Association of State Employees (Tüm-Der), 25 progressive trade unions affiliated to DISK and even some organizations connected with the pro-governmental Türk-İs, the Union of Turkish Writers (TYS), the Chamber of Chemists, the Association of University Professors (Tümöç) and the Popular Houses of Culture have also been subjected to legal proceedings. The leaders of Töb-Der and Köy-Koop have already been sentenced.

TORTURES

Despite protests from the international human rights organizations, the military junta has never ceased torturing its political opponents in interrogation centers and military jails. As it used to be during the first 2 years of military rule, in the last 12-month period too numerous torture allegations have reached the world press.

One of the most striking revelations was made by Abdullah Bastürk, Chairman of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), during the session of December 15, 1982 of the DISK trial, attended by a delegation from the ICFTU. (See: *Bulletin*, December 1982). In his request submitted to the military tribunal, Bastürk said: "Even though no sentence has been rendered and though we believe it is 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 confinement we are suffering."

The auditor general of Töb-Der Abdullah Gülbudak was beaten to death by jailers in the prison of Ankara.

Amnesty International reported the death of Mustafa Hayrullahoğlu, Mazlum Doğan, Kemal Pir and Mehmet Hayri Durmus in military prisons.

All attempts made by international human rights organizations for visiting Turkey's military prisons and interviewing prisoners, have categorically been refused by the military junta on the pretext that these prisons were closed even for Turkish observers and reporters.

Being unable to make heard their voice through normal ways, 2,500 prisoners went on hunger-strike on July 4th, 1983 in the prisons of Istanbul. This resistance action spread later on to other cities and the total number of political prisoners who started at different times hunger-strikes of various durations amounted to some 6,000. They mainly demanded withdrawal of prison uniforms, and end to torture, oppression and all kinds of prohibitions, as well as suppression of the one-man cell system.

In their appeal to world opinion, the hunger-strikers also announced that Hakan Mermeroluk, Serif Akkaya and Hakkı Hocaoglu had died due to torture and ill-treatment in military prisons.

Amnesty International declared that it was doubtful whether all allegations of torture reported to the authorities were being subjected to investigation as claimed by the military junta.

PRESS UNDER CENSORSHIP

The Turkish press was put under censorship from the very inception of military rule. In addition to the newspapers and reviews which had already been forbidden prior to the military coup, three daily newspapers, Demokrat, Aydınlık and Hergün were indefinitely closed down on September 12, 1980. Since then many newspapers and periodicals have been subjected to temporary bans on their publication. Those which were temporarily forbidden in the past year are mentioned below:

Milliyet, Tercüman, Günes, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Günaydın (all these six newspapers are the most influential dailies of the country), Milli Gazete, Nokta, Gemlik Körfezi, Aziziye Postası, Hürsöz, Maya, Yeni Nesil, Türkiye, İsparta and Yankı.

Beside the official censorship, all newspapers have been forced to practise self-censorship in order to prevent any further ban on their publication.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet*, since the military coup d'Etat up to March 31, 1983, 98 journalists have been prosecuted by the military and 83 of them are still being tried before military tribunals or serving prison terms.

In addition to the journalists mentioned in the *Bulletin* of September 1982, during the past year the following persons have been subjected to legal proceedings for their articles or publications:

Muzaffer Erdost, Sadık Albayrak, Nazlı Ilıcak, Okay Gönensin, Mehmet Kemal, Oktay Akbal, İbrahim Arık, Aydoğdu İler, Tahsin Yılmaz, Akın Kıvanç, Aydın Senesen, Sezgin Tüzün, Metin Tokor, Doğan Hepar, Yalçın Küçük, Sadun Aren, Arif Damar, Yazgılı Aldogan, Ramazan Güntay, Akın Sınav, Yılmaz Güney, Mehmet Özgen, Aydoğan Eyyükbözen, Server Tanilli, Candemir Ozer, Sadi Ozansu, Osman Sahin, Emil Galip Sandalcı, Aralan Baser Kafaoglu, Aydın Karasüleymanoglu, Nadir Nadi, Hasan Karakaya, A. Aydın, Kamil Taylan, S. Torfili, Güzel Aslaner, Osman Yesil, Yüksel Erdogan, Cezmi Karımlı, Veyis Sözer, Hayati Asilyazıcı, Savas Dinçer, Siar Yalçın, Aziz Nesin, Ferhat Akdag, Tamer Kayas, M. Faruk Ozbay, Nazım Ozbay, Sahin Tekgündüz, Teoman Orberk, M. Ali Kutlu, Doğan Yurdakul, Recep Maraslı, Müjdat Gezen, Özgen Seçkin, Hasan Baykara, Deniz Kalkavan, Remzi Aydın, Isık Yurtçu, Mehmet Ataberk, Ergun Göze, İler Aydoğdu, Sadık Gürbüz.

Besides, 18 distinguished writers of Turkey, Aziz Nesin, Bekir Yıldız, Adnan Ozyalçın, Sükran Kurdakul, Demirtas Ceyhan, Alpay Kabacalı, Osman Safet Arolat, Atilla Ozkırımlı, Atol Behramoglu, Hasmet Zeybek, Orhan Apaydın, Asım Bozirci, Tekin Sönmez, Aziz Cahisar, Emil Galip Sandalcı, Kemal Sül-

ker, Vedat Türkali and Mehmet Ali Sebük have been tried since January 6, 1983 as members of the Board of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS).

On the other hand, the Turkish Radio-TV Corporation (TRT) had already been put under the control of army generals. Within the 3-year period more than one hundred programme makers have been dismissed or transferred to posts inconsistent with their profession.

The publication of a new newspaper or periodical has been made dependent on the previous permission of the local martial law commander.

All left-wing books have disappeared from the shelves since the coup, and are unlikely to return even when martial law is lifted.

The campaign of book-hunting launched by the martial law authorities has been extended even to school text-books. Besides, the military government issues very often lists of publications printed abroad, which are forbidden to be introduced into Turkey.

A new bill modifying the Press Law is being discussed at the Consultative Assembly. If it is adopted, prison terms for press offences will be much heavier than before, the prosecutor will be allowed to call for the ban or the seizure of any publication as well as of all printing facilities owned by the editor.

According to a press release of the International Federation of Journalists, Turkish journalists working for Western papers or news agencies receive very often warnings relating to their articles or are beaten up and threatened by police.

Not only the press, but also the other media such as films, video-cassettes, records or musi-cassettes have been subjected to a strict censorship by the military. Among the films seized by the military, there is also the prize-winner film Gandhi.

A government decree has made it compulsory for foreign individuals or companies wishing to shoot films in Turkey to get a permission from the Turkish State through the Turkish embassies.

The government has also drawn up a new bill for tightening up State control on the film industry. It provides that a previous permission should be given by the authorities for shooting a film.

CLAMP DOWN ON THE UNIVERSITIES

Trouble arose in the Turkish universities with the adoption of the controversial law on the founding of a 25-member High Education Council (YOK) which exercises centralized authority over Turkey's 27 universities, their 6,723 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 members of YOK as well as all university rectors have been appointed by the Chief of the Junta. With the adoption of the new Constitution, further legislative restrictions were imposed on the universities, mainly a ban on joining political parties and making political statements.

On November 10, 1982, YOK began to liquidate all university professors or assistant professors who are considered "unacceptable" by the military regime. Until the end of 1982, about 450 university members were dismissed from their posts by decision of YOK.

Nevertheless, unsatisfied of the practice of YOK, martial law commanders, using their authority provided by law, ordered 101 university professors to be dismissed.

Besides, on August 21, 1982, new disciplinary regulations were announced and consequently university members and students have been forced to abide

by YÖK's rules on clothing and outer appearance. All bearded professors had to make a choice between two alternatives: either to get a shave or to lose their university posts.

Protesting against these coercive measures, within a 6-month period, 160 university members have either been forced to resign or asked for their retirement.

Having no confidence even in the universities purged by YÖK and the martial law commanders, the military government has drawn up a new draft bill providing that the Armed Forces be entitled to establish their own universities and higher education institutions.

Within the framework of reshaping Turkey's cultural and scientific life, one of the most sinister decisions of the military Junta has been the founding of the Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History. This public corporate body, provided by the new Constitution, will be placed under the authority of the President of the Republic and develop scientific research and disseminate information on Atatürk's thought, principles and reforms, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and on the Turkish language. All scientific activities in the country will be carried out in accordance with the guidelines to be determined by this institution.

OPPRESSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The working class of Turkey has been the principal target of State terror since the very inception of military rule.

The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) has been suspended and its 85 officials are still being tried by a military court in Istanbul. Chairman Abdullah Bastürk and 67 of his comrades risk the death penalty.

In addition to this, more than 2000 trade union officials and militants have been arrested following the coup and most of them are, besides, being tried by military tribunals at several trials aimed against 25 trade unions affiliated to DISK. Some other trade unions, independent ones or affiliated to Türk-İs, have also been subjected to legal proceedings.

As for Türk-İs, the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, it has not been suspended in award of its collaboration with the military regime. The Secretary General of this confederation, Sadık Side accepted to take part in the military government and has kept his seat despite violent protests from the world trade union organizations. Although the affiliation of Türk-İs to the ICFTU was suspended by the latter in 1981, this measure was lifted this year on the ground that Sadık Side exercised no more the function of secretary general. Sadık Side himself, however, repeatedly declares that he may return to his post at Türk-İs following the legislative elections.

Furthermore, after the adoption of the new Constitution, the leaders of Türk-İs manifested their submission to General Evren's dictatorship by presenting him, during his visit to the head office of the confederation, with a golden plate expressing their gratitude to the military Junta.

For three years, without waging any struggle for the workers' interests, Türk-İs has nevertheless been keeping on collecting contributions from its members. On the other hand, all properties of DISK and its affiliated trade unions have been seized by the State and their members' contributions have been collected by the Curators appointed by the martial law commanders.

Since the right to collective bargaining and strike has been suspended, the level of wage increases is to be determined by the Supreme Arbitration Council. Acting in accordance with the IMF's suggestion to

freeze wages, this council has conceded ridiculous wage increases. Whereas the inflation rate of the past 3-year period has been 100 percent, the total wage increases over the same period failed to exceed 50 percent. Thus, the workers have lost half their spending power since the time of the coup.

Whereas a household of 4 persons needs 95,000 TL (about 1000 DM) for its monthly rent and other basic needs, the official minimum monthly wages amount still to 10,000 TL (about 100 DM) and the present average monthly wages amount to 20,000 TL.

Besides, the official number of unemployed rose from 2,366,000 in 1979 to 3,324,000 in 1982; in other words, the official unemployment rate has reached 18,19 percent, whereas it was 14 percent prior to the coup.

The hike of unemployment results from the recession of the national economy, which is caused by the fall in spending power. As a matter of fact, the share of workers and employees in the national income has fallen from 32,5 pc in 1972 to 16,2 pc in 1982. Consequently:

- 2/3 of all factories have failed to increase their production,
- the average capacity usage ratio in industry has fallen down to 59 pc.

Despite a propaganda campaign, claiming that the drastic measures imposed on January 24, 1980 by the IMF has boosted Turkish exports and foreign currency transfers from Turkish migrant workers, official statistics show a fall in both fields: Within the first 6-month period of 1983, the export incomes covered only 58 percent of the import expenses whereas this ratio was 65 percent in 1982. As for the transfers from migrant workers, the total sum for the first 5-month period of this year amounted to \$600 million as it was \$740 million in the corresponding period of 1982.

In addition to this fall in her incomes, Turkey will be obliged to pay her foreign debt which has risen to \$20 billion with the loans granted by international financial institutions in award of the concessions made to the IMF. Since there is no hope for stopping the recession and unemployment, the military junta, in order to make permanent the limitation of wage increases, has adopted a number of laws concerning social life.

As stressed by the ICFTU, the new legislation on trade unions and collective bargaining set up by the Turkish military authorities, makes literally impossible the exercise of trade union rights. The strikes have virtually been made impossible and replaced in most cases by compulsory arbitration under the conduct of the Supreme Arbitration Council which has already proved hostile to workers' interests. The new restrictions are only just added to those already laid down in the new Constitution, the cumulative effect aims at making the unions submissive and at turning them into instruments of the government and the employers.

The Turkish employers are so satisfied with the new laws, that the Chairman of TISK (the Confederation of Employers' Unions) Halit Narin said: "We have been weeping for twenty years whereas the trade unions were laughing... Now it's their turn!"

NATIONAL REPRESSION

The repression upon the Kurdish population of Turkey which existed since the proclamation of the Republic, has gained gigantic dimensions after the coup. Two thirds of the effective forces of the Turkish Army were sent to Turkish Kurdistan. Lately, the headquarters of the 2nd Army has been shifted from the Central Anatolian city of Konya to Malatya in the Kurdish area.

STATE TERROR ABROAD

Using aircrafts, helicopters and armoured vehicles, the commando units raid upon Kurdish villages on the pretext of "searching arms". After having beaten and insulted the whole population, they arrest those who had taken part in any political or democratic movement demanding respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Kurds.

According to the International League of Human Rights, since the military takeover, 81,634 Kurds have been arrested, many of whom have been subjected to torture at the interrogation centers. More than one thousand Kurdish militants are being tried under the threat of capital punishment.

The walls of the wards in prison where the Kurds are detained, are covered with catchwords stating "One Turk is worth the whole world" or "How lucky are those who say 'I am a Turk'!"

The Kurdish prisoners who resist humiliation and inhuman treatment undergo torture in military jails. Amnesty International has made public many death cases caused by torture in prison. Lately, the AFP news agency reported on September 15, 1983 the death of two prisoners in Diyarbakir military prison.

Not only Kurds but also Turkish intellectuals such as university professor Ismail Besikçi who defend the rights of the Kurdish people, are sentenced to prison terms up to 10 years.

The anti-Kurd operations did not remain within the borders of Turkey. A well-planned raking operation against the Kurds in Iraq was launched on May 26 with the entrance in Iraqi territory of two brigades belonging to the special forces of the Turkish Gendarmerie and to paratroop units. According to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Turkish Army encircled between 20,000 and 30,000 Kurdish civilians with a majority of women, children and old people. The number of prisoners is estimated at about 1500-2000.

The export of State terror has taken as target not only the Kurdish people in the southern neighbour country of Turkey, but also the opponents to the regime who are living abroad.

Since the military coup, 1,242 Turkish citizens abroad have been ordered to return and surrender to the military authorities. They are accused of "having carried out activities abroad aimed against the Turkish State". 78 of those who have refused to return to Turkey have been stripped of Turkish citizenship. 15 have been apprehended as they were crossing the border and 29 surrendered themselves. The proceedings against 113 persons were ceased on the ground that their "innocence" had been proved afterwards.

Among those who lost their nationality are also prize-winner movie director Yilmaz Güney, the famous Turkish singers Melike Demirag, Sanar Yurdatapan, Cem Karaca and two editors of Info-Türk, Dogan Ozgüden and Inci Tugsavul.

The Turkish Government has already asked for extradition of 246 Turkish citizens from European countries on the grounds that they had committed the crime of political violence. 36 of them have already been extradited. One of those who were under the threat of extradition, Cemal Kemal Altun, committed suicide in Berlin on August 30, 1983.

On the other hand, 10 thousand out of 80,000 demands for asylum made by Turkish citizens in the FRG have been rejected last year by the German authorities. Their extradition has already started in separate groups. After the landing of the plane, the extradited persons are arrested by the Turkish police and imprisoned. Up to now, about one thousand refugees have been granted asylum, whereas the overwhelming majority of applications have been left in abeyance.

NEW TERROR INSTITUTIONS

A 3-year period of intimidation and terror and a new state structure based on a despotic presidential system are not considered sufficient by the military junta.

Within a very short time prior to the legislative elections, the NSC, acting as a legislative body, has adopted a series of laws providing for the setting up of the institutions of repression, meant to replace the martial law commands and tribunals in case they are lifted.

Supreme Governors: The territory of the Turkish State will be divided in nine regions and each of them will be administrated by a supreme governor attached directly to the President of the Republic. The governors of Turkey's 67 provinces will be placed under the authority of these nine supreme governors. Both supreme governors and governors are provided with extraordinary powers equal to those of the present martial law commanders.

State of Emergency: When he deems it necessary, the President of the Republic can proclaim the state of emergency in a certain region or throughout Turkey. Under the state of emergency, the supreme governors or governors can act as martial law commanders, i.e. they can suspend the activities of associations and trade unions, ban newspapers and periodicals, control all means of communication, order to shoot at any suspect without warning, impose compulsory labour and seize the properties of any individual in the public interest.

State security courts: They will be made up of

military and civilian judges and replace martial law courts in order to deal with crimes committed against the State and its internal and external security. All acts of organization and propaganda aiming at defending the interests of the working class and the Kurdish people will be dealt with by these courts, which will be located in eight major cities of Turkey.

Associations and rallies: We have already seen the restrictions imposed by the new legislation upon trade union rights and press freedom. According to two new laws, all associations, professional organizations and bar associations are placed under the strict control of the State. They are no more allowed to make political statements or to take part in any action considered political. The State supervisory Council is entitled to control at any time all registers of associations and professional organizations as well as trade unions.

According to another law, the governors are entitled to ban any rally or meeting and the prosecutors can open a lawsuit against the responsables of the rally or meeting and prison terms up to 3 years can be called for.

Consequently, with the new structure of the State and the extraordinary powers of the President of the Republic, the new period of "parliamentary democracy" will be a mere caricature of the democratic system as provided by the European Convention of Human Rights, and the present regime will continue at least for six years under the dictatorship of five generals, authors of the military coup of September 12, 1980.