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MISCALCULATION OF "CHICAGO BOYS" ON LOCAL ELECTIONS

"... having won two resounding victories in four months, Mr. Ozal appears to have a mandate to carry out his controversial economic programmes in the next five years", said *The Guardian* of March 27, 1984, just after the local elections in Turkey.

This view has been shared by the major mass media in the world and all criticisms on the anti-democratic character of the Turkish militarist "democracy" and its repressive practices have been eclipsed by the admiration for the electoral success of the Chicago Boys who have been at the head of the Turkish economy since December 1983.

Prior to the vote, *The Wall Street Journal* of March 23 described the Turkish local elections as a "test for Ozal's austere way of westernizing economy".

It is a fact that 17,6 million voters in Turkey went to the polls on March 25, 1984 in their first local election since 1977 following a campaign which centered less on regional issues than on the country's political climate after three years of military rule. And it is another undeniable fact that by winning 41.26 pc of the votes and by taking over the control of the city administration in 54 out of 67 provincial capitals, the Motherland Party (ANA-P) of Premier Turgut Ozal has strengthened its power and ruled out, at least for a few years, an early parliamentary election.

Nevertheless, a careful study of the final results of this election contradicts the commentaries of the major mass media which hastily announced a "victory" for Ozal's team. Furthermore, the fact that the result of this election has left the opposition in turmoil, will be an element which is to paralyze very often the working of the "parliamentary" system and can push the country to an early election without permitting Ozal to complete his 5-year term in office.

As for the real character of this election, the claims that "the results have confirmed that Turkey is well on its way to democracy" or "that full democracy has been restored, the return to parliamentary democracy is complete", are very far from the realities of Turkey.

	ELECTIONS - 1983	ELECTIONS - 1984	DIFFERENCES
ANA-P	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)
Independant	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)	17,602,597 (100.00)	+ 273,862

Although three other parties which had not been allowed to participate in the general election of November 6, 1984, were permitted to take part in local elections along with the three favorite parties of the military junta, the ban on former politicians remained in force, some political currents which are always represented in European parliaments were barred from founding their own parties and participating in these elections. Just as the general election, the voting for local administrations took place under martial law throughout Turkey except 8 out of 67 provinces and a strict censorship by the military prevented the press from reporting all facts and criticizing anti-democratic practices of the security forces. While electors were going to the polls, more than 20,000 political prisoners were still held in military jails for their opinions.

Despite these conditions, the electoral campaign was livelier than that which preceded the general election, and its outcome has been viewed as a far more serious indication of the electors' choice.

A profound analysis of the results highlights the following facts:

FALL OF THE JUNTA PARTIES

At this election all of three political parties which had the privilege of participating in the general election and of being represented in Parliament have lost, with-out exception, the support of the masses.

They managed to win 10 million out of 17.6 million casted votes (57.15 pc), while they had previously won 17.1 million out of 17.3 million votes at the general election (98.88 pc). Consequently, they have lost the support of 7 million electors, that is a 41.73 pc fall in general.

As for the party in power, the Motherland Party of Premier Ozal—in spite of its hasty claim of "victory"—has lost 560,335 of its votes obtained at the

general election. This result represents a 3.89 pc fall in the confidence of the electors.

Judging by the standards of European political life, this fall may not be of great importance. But for a country such as Turkey, it should be interpreted in another way. First of all, ANA-P benefitted by the extraordinary advantages of being in power, mainly the possibility of propaganda by the State Radio and Television. Even the daily press—under the pressure of the political power—launched at the beginning of the electoral campaign the idea that Turkey should choose a two-party political system in order to avoid the re-appearance of the political disturbances witnessed prior to the military intervention, and presented ANA-P in power as the one side of this parliamentary tandem. This idea was supported by the announcement of the results of weekly opinion polls organized by two main dailies of the country, predicting that ANA-P would maintain its majority.

The success of ANA-P did not only depend on the advantages of being in power. Being aware of the fact that the everlasting quarrels between the pre-coup politicians exasperated the man in the street, ANA-P has been the only political party which put forward young, dynamic and "businessman"-type of technocrats for the city administrations, whereas the others were placing some stale public figures at the head of their candidate lists.

Furthermore, the new and complex voting system which was imposed by the parliamentary majority, gave ANA-P a big advantage over all other political parties.

But the fall in votes of the two other favorite parties of the Junta has been quite disastrous for them.

The National Democracy Party (MDP) of Retired General Turgut Sunalp lost 2.7 million out of its 4 million votes won at the general election. So, its percentage fell from 23.27 down to 7.11. The Populist

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ELECTIONS OF 1977				ELECTIONS OF 1984			
AP	4,477,133 (37.18)	CHP	5,069,053 (42.09)	ANA-P	7,263,492 (41.26)	SODEP	4,119,365 (23.40)
MSP	819,638 (6.80)	TIP	61,719 (0.51)	DYP	2,349,068 (13.35)	HP	1,545,593 (8.78)
DP	121,157 (1.02)	T8P	27,531 (0.28)	MDP	1,252,549 (7.11)		
CGP	64,042 (0.53)	TSIP	28,860 (0.23)	RP	837,043 (4.76)		
MHP	811,843 (6.73)	SDP	2,982 (0.02)			Left	5,664,958 (32.18)
Right	6,293,813 (52.26)	Left	5,190,135 (43.13)	Right	11,702,152 (66.48)	Independant	235,487 (1.34)
		Independant	557,082 (4.61)				
TOTAL	12,041,030	TOTAL	17,602,597				

ANAP: Motherland Party, HP: Populist Party, MDP: Nationalist Democracy Party, SODEP: Social Democracy Party, DYP: Correct Way Party, RP: Welfare Party, AP: Justice Party, MSP: National Salvation Party, DP: Democratic Party, CGP: Republican Reliance Party, MHP: Nationalist Action Party, CHP: Republican People's Party, TIP: Workers' Party of Turkey, TBP: Union Party of Turkey, TSIP: Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, SDP: Socialist Revolution Party.

Party of Necdet Calp, former adviser of the military government, lost 3.7 million out of 5.2 million votes casted for it at the general election and its percentage fell from 30.46 down to 8.78 per cent.

One should remind that the Constitution of the Military Junta had been approved by 92 pc of the electors in November 7, 1982 and General Evren had been elected "President of the Republic" with the same percentage on the same occasion thanks to the absence of a rival candidate and due to the repressive measures. The three parties of the Junta had obtained in total about same percentage thanks to the veto put on other political parties.

But at the local elections the added up results of those three parties amounted to a mere 57.15 pc, despite the pressure of the martial law authorities and unequal propaganda possibilities of the parties out of Parliament.

OPPOSITION IN TURMOIL

The most dramatic consequence of this election has been the turmoil in opposition.

As explained above, the two "opposition" parties in Parliament, MDP and HP, lost 6.4 million out of 9.2 million votes that they had obtained in the general election and practically turned into phantom parties without basis.

While these two parties of parliamentary opposition are representing less than 16 pc of the voters on the basis of the local election results, the three non-parliamentary opposition parties which obtained 7.3 million votes represent 41.51 pc of the electors.

Leader of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), Professor Erdal İnönü, clearly has justification for considering himself the true leader of the opposition with his 4.1 million votes (23.40 pc).

As for the Correct Way Party (DYP) of Yıldırım Avcı, transparently the successor of the defunct Justice Party (AP) has come in a poor third with 2.3 (13.35 pc). Although Avcı claimed during the electoral campaign to be the rightful owner of most of Özal's support, his party hardly obtained one fifth of the conservative votes. As underlined by *The Times*, "this is an event of potentially historic significance: it means that Turkish conservatism, represented for thirty years by the late Adnan Menderes and then by his successor, Süleyman Demirel, has now at least provisionally accepted Özal as his leader, recognizing itself in his blend of neo-liberal economics and neo-islamic social values".

Another new-comer in the political life of Turkey, the Welfare Party (RP) of Ahmet Tekdal, which appeared during the electoral campaign as one of the inheritors of the conservative votes, hardly obtained 837 thousand votes (4.76 pc)

Had this local election been a legislative one, ANA-P would obtain again 212 chairs in Parliament, SODEP 120 and DYP 68, but the two present parliamentary opposition parties would gain none since they could not pass the 10 pc limit for being represented in the Assembly.

Following the elections, the biggest turmoil has been observed in the left.

It is a fact that these elections have resulted in favour of the right. While the two center-left parties, HP and SODEP were obtaining 32.18 pc of the votes, the four right-wing parties made a score of 66.48 pc. In comparison with the precedent local elections held in 1977, this result demonstrates a considerable weakness for the Left. In 1977, while five right-wing par-

ties were obtaining 6.2 million votes (52.26 pc), five left-wing parties could get 5.2 million votes (43.13 pc). Whereas in 1984, while the four right-wing parties were obtaining 11.7 million votes (66.48 pc), the votes of the two left-wing parties, despite open support by the out-lawed left-wing organisations, hardly reached 5,6 million (32.18 pc). This result shows that, after a 7-year interval, while the Right was doubling its support, the votes of the Left have been stagnant.

No doubt, one of the main reasons of this stagnation is the fact that the Left has been the main target of the repression and the slanderous campaign carried out by the State radio and television as well as by the press under censorship. Many electors were afraid that if they vote for the Left, their cities will be deprived of the aid of the State Treasury.

But it should not be forgotten that the Left itself, because of being in a state of confusion and in disarray, has failed to regain the confidence of the masses.

Despite the unprecedented repression that they have undergone, all political fractions labelled "communist", "socialist", "revolutionary" or "worker", still carry on quarreling even in the conditions of clandestinity. They have not been able to unite their forces and to present the masses a common political message.

As for the two legal center-left parties, SODEP and HP, during the electoral campaign they did not stop accusing each other instead of taking up a common struggle against the political power. Besides them, former premier Bülent Ecevit, leader of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP), has been trying to seize any occasion to discredit the new center-left parties and has called on his sympathisers not to vote for any of them.

Prior to the election, Necdet Calp, leader of HP had announced that if the votes of his party rest below those of SODEP, he would immediately resign. But after the elections, despite the fact that his party hardly obtained one fourth of the left votes, Calp appeared to be rethinking his pre-poll pledge to resign.

There are growing speculations that SODEP and the HP may eventually merge as both fall within the Turkish center-left, which would in theory give SODEP a parliamentary toe-hold.

But the leaders of HP do not seem very eager for this solution. In that case, some deputies of HP may resign from their party and shift to SODEP. Also some deputies of the MDP are expected to shift to DYP or ANA-P.

Even if the two new opposition parties can get a toe-hold in Parliament --thanks to these transfers-- their number at the Assembly will be very far from representing 41.73 pc of the electors. (The total of the votes obtained by the extra-parliamentary parties.)

It should be borne in mind that, the more the working people observe in their daily life the negative consequences of monetarist policies, the more rapidly will grow the number of the opponents of ANA-P, and Özal will lose his popularity.

Then the present composition of Parliament will no more be capable of reflecting the people's discontentment and an early election will be unavoidable under the pressure of the masses.

Therefore, it is too early for talking of a stabilization in the political life of Turkey. The political system which has been imposed by the generals and hampered by the restrictions on the participation in the past general election bears in itself the embryo of future political unrest in Turkey.

 STATE TERROR

STATE OF EMERGENCY REPLACING MARTIAL LAW

Prior to the local elections, the Turkish Government lifted martial law in five provinces on March 19, 1984. Instead, a state of emergency, under civilian administration, was proclaimed in eight other provinces.

The changes in martial law, made for the first time since the military coup of September 12, 1980, were adopted by Parliament early in March, but this military regime was extended for another four months in 54 provinces of Turkey.

Martial law was lifted in the Western provinces of Kırklareli, Bilecik and Kütahya, as well as in the southern region of Burdur, and in the east, in the province of Mus.

In the eight provinces where martial law was replaced by a state of emergency, the civilian governors became the administrators of martial law.

Parliament's decision was based on the recommendation of the National Security Council. Although the National Security Council, made up of the five generals, authors of the military coup, has been turned into the Presidential Council, meanwhile a new National Security Council has been set up for dealing with security matters. This new "advisory" organ is composed of five military commanders and four ministers. At its first meeting chaired by the "President of the Republic", the new NSC recommended the Government to lift martial law in 13 provinces and to replace it in 8 provinces by a state of emergency.

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, film and theatre performances. They are also empowered to seize all means of communication in case of need, to issue search warrants and close schools.

All able-bodied citizens between the ages of 18 to 60 have to report to work when requisitioned by the authorities in times of epidemics, natural disasters and economic crises.

STATE SECURITY COURTS

Justice Minister Necat Eldem announced on February 20 that preparations were nearly completed for setting up State Security Courts. They will start to function as of May 1st, 1984 in eight cities of Turkey: Ankara, Diyarbakır, Erzincan, Istanbul, İzmir, Kayseri, Konya and Malatya. 128 judges and prosecutors as well as 414 administrative staff will serve at these courts. Among the judges and prosecutors will be also military ones.

The State Security Courts will deal with the cases relating to State security, breaches of the fire-arms and smuggling laws.

NO GENERAL AMNESTY

While the international human rights organizations and European institutions have been requesting the Turkish Government to decree an amnesty for political prisoners, on February 8 Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal ruled out a general amnesty for them in the near future. The Premier declared at a press conference that "this is a very complex issue that we should think over not once, not twice but ten times. There is a proper time for everything." Chiding the opposition

parties for bringing up the issue before local elections, Ozal added: "If they were in power, in our place, they would have acted exactly as we did. Now, hiding behind us, they are trying to take a political profit from this issue. 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."

If the opposition parties were in power, would they have acted exactly as Ozal did? The reply to this question is included in a statement by General-President Evren. In an interview with the US magazine *Newsweek*, Evren said that he is against a general amnesty. He too claimed that all political prisoners amnestied in 1973 had been reorganizing themselves and had led the country to anarchy.

FULL LIST OF DISK TRIALS

With the opening of new cases against 43 members of Toprak-Is (Agricultural Workers), 20 of Maden-Is (Metal Workers), 5 of Sine-Sen (Movie Workers), 13 of Bay-Sen (Public Workers) and 14 of Taper-Is, all affiliated to the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK), the process of prosecuting the leaders and officials of this confederation and its affiliate unions has been completed.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 19, 1984, 1,233 trade-unionists are currently being tried by tribunals of the Istanbul Martial Law Command in 30 different cases concerning DISK.

Following the military coup, the leaders and officials of two other confederations, MISK (Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions), side-organization of the neo-fascist MHP, and HAK-IS, a fundamentalist confederation, had also been detained by the martial law authorities of Istanbul. However, after a few months, the military prosecutor had dropped the prosecution against them on the ground that they had not their headquarters in the Istanbul Martial Law Command sector.

While they have been set free since then, 3,694 officials of the trade unions affiliated to DISK have been prosecuted by the military. At the end of the inquest, 1,138 of them have been set free, the files of 1,379 others have been suspended because they were at large, and 1,177 officials were sent for trial by military courts:

104 of Maden-Is (Metal Workers), 60 of Oleyis (Hotel, Restaurant, Entertainment Workers), 18 of ASIS (Wood Workers), 37 of Fındık-Is (Nut harvesting Workers), 58 of Tekstil-Is (Textile Workers), 28 of Devrimci Yapı-Is (Construction Workers), 21 of TIS (Agricultural Workers), 56 of Limter-Is (Seaport and Dockyard Workers), 15 of Taper-Is, 78 of Bank-Sen (Bank Employees), 20 of Tümkä-Is (Doormen), 46 from Lastik-Is (Rubber Workers), 40 of Tek Ges-Is (Gas-electric Workers), 80 of Genel-Is (Public Workers), 21 of Sağlık-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 (Cera-

mic Workers), 12 of Ilerici Deri-Is (Leather Workers), 31 of Sosyal-Is (Social Security Employees), 42 of Nakliyat-Is (Transport Workers), 61 of Gıda-Is (Food Workers), 14 from Yeni Haber-Is (Communication Workers), 13 of Baysen (Public Workers), 43 of Toprak-Is (Agricultural Workers), 25 of Yeraltı Maden-Is (Miners) and 54 of Basın-Is (Printing Workers).

Out of these officials 37 are also in the dock at the main trial of DISK. All of them risk capital punishment.

As for the main trial of DISK, the total number of the defendants rose to 139, 74 of whom risk the death sentence, while 40 are still being tried under arrest.

OTHER NEW CASES

3.2, in Diyarbakır, the total number of the accused in the case against the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (KIP) and the Association for Progressive Culture in the East (DDKD) rose to 625 with the addition of new defendants.

9.2, in Istanbul, 8 presumed members of the Progressive Youth Association (IGD) were brought before a military court.

11.2, in Ankara, a new case was opened against Dev-Yol. Three defendants risk capital punishment.

17.2, in Istanbul, the trial of 52 presumed mem-

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HUNGER - STRIKE IN MILITARY PRISON: ELEVEN DEAD

After eleven of their inmates died following a 45-day hunger-strike, the surviving Kurdish detainees at Diyarbakır prison put an end to their movement.

The inmates of Diyarbakır prison did not obtain any real improvement of 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 are in a "dreadful state".

The movement had been started by the political detainees on January 5, after one of them, İsmet Karak, had been beaten to death in front of his cell, in the presence of several of his fellow inmates. Their families and even their lawyers, who are the sole information source, had been denied the right to visit them. Therefore, it was difficult to know under which conditions the detainees were being held. The military authorities did not give any explanation to the families and returned the bodies to them in sealed coffins, impossible to have opened for an autopsy without the military prosecutor's permission, on pain of being prosecuted. Besides, soldiers are said to keep watch over several cemeteries in order to prevent people from paying homage too loudly to the "martyrs".

The military authorities have forced the parents of the detainees of Diyarbakır prison, who died following the hunger-strike, to bury their children in a hurry and as discreetly as possible. Some mothers of detainees who went to the Turkish capital early in March to draw the authorities' attention on the inhuman conditions of confinement prevailing in that prison, were placed under surveillance on their return to Diyarbakır.

Evidence given by former detainees or parents has been piling up, adding new items to the list of "techniques" used in the military prisons: sham hangings, electrocution, soles beaten, sexual abuse and ill-treatment of women, beatings followed by long periods of standing upright, gathering naked prisoners outside in the depths of winter, etc, not to mention so-called "suicides", permanent humiliations or deplorable conditions of accommodation, especially in "the hell of Diyarbakır". (Le Monde, 8.3.1984).

On the other hand, several hundred political prisoners in Mamak military prison (Ankara) are making a hunger-strike since February 22,

in protest at acts of violence and torture they have suffered, according to what they said before the military court.

Many parents have not heard anything of their children who are on hunger-strike, because visits have been banned for prisoners.

In that prison, the detainees have repeatedly been gathered on a prison square where dogs have been set on them. The military authorities have seized their civilian clothes, ordering them to put on uniforms. Having refused to undergo this new humiliation, many detainees, only dressed in briefs and undershirts, have stayed several weeks in their cells and even on the prison squares, where they are forced to march past and to shout out military marches and slogans in praise of the Turkish State and its founder Atatürk. After about 1,500 political prisoners had went on a hunger-strike, the hearings of their trial have been deferred for a month, in order to conceal in this way the deplorable state of the protestors.

The families of the detainees and, especially, their mothers have repeatedly approached the military authorities and the political leaders, but none of the steps they took were effective.

On the other hand, in Istanbul, many political detainees who are being tried in several cases, have refused to wear prison uniforms and appeared before the courts in briefs and undershirts.

According to the Belgian daily Le Soir of March 8, 1984, "all testimonies agree with each other to expose in the Turkish military prisons 'destruction machines', both physically and morally. 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 has published on February 24, 1984, a story by a German tourist going under an assumed name, Wolfgang Simons, who was tortured in several jails in Istanbul, where he has been 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."

bers of the movement "Liberation" began before a military court. 5 defendants risk capital punishment.

CONDEMNATIONS

10.2, in Erzurum, two right-wing activists were sentenced to death.

14.2, in Malatya, at the end of a Dev-Yol trial, 5 members were condemned to life imprisonment and 22 others to various prison terms.

15.2, in Diyarbakır, 25 members of Dev-Yol condemned to prison terms up to 13 years.

17.2, in Izmir, the former chairman of the Chamber of Architects, Mustafa Arıkan was condemned to 5 years and three months on the charge of being a member of TKP. On the same day, in Malatya, two right-wing activists were given life-sentences.

19.2, in Istanbul, the trial of Dev-Sol ended with 7 death sentences, 41 other defendants condemned to prison terms up to 20 years.

21.2, in Izmir, two left-wing militants condemned to 16 years and 8 months each and another to 4 years and two months.

22.2, in Adana, one person was sentenced to death, three others to life imprisonment and 18 others to various prison terms.

29.2, in Izmir, three right-wing activists sentenced to death, one to life imprisonment and 28 others to various prison terms up to 36 years.

MAN-HUNTINGS

A presumed member of Dev-Sol, Ali Müseyin Avcı, was shot dead by security forces on February 15 during an operation in the district of Cemiskezek in Elazığ province.

The military authorities also announced that 57 left-wing militants had been arrested on February 16 in Erzincan and 13 presumed members of Dev-Yol on February 23 in Adana.

23,677 ASSOCIATIONS CLOSED

According to the daily *Milliyet* of February 29, 1984, the martial law commands have closed down 23,677 associations since the 1980 military coup, alleging that some irregularities had been found in their registers or that they had been involved in political activities. 30,029 associations have been allowed to function, but they will be subjected to a new investigation for checking if they have fulfilled the formalities stipulated by the new Law on Associations.

CHANGES IN THE BAR ASSOCIATIONS

The general assemblies of the Bar Associations of Turkey were held in December and January. According to a new law, all attorneys had to take part in the assemblies and to cast their votes for electing the new administrative boards.

The election of the administrative board of the Istanbul Bar Association was won by a list presented by right-wing lawyers, while the progressive attorneys were keeping under control the administrative board of the Ankara Bar Association.

As for the Union of Bar Associations of Turkey, the election was won by the list of progressive lawyers.

One of the first acts of the new-elected right-wing administration of the Istanbul Bar Association has been to deny Orhan Apaydın, former Chairman of the Bar, the right to exercise his profession, arguing that he had been condemned to 5 years' imprisonment by a military court for taking part in the activities of the

Turkish Fence Committee. Mr. Apaydın was also the defence attorney of the leaders of DİSK who are still being tried by the military and risk capital punishment.

JOURNALISTS QUESTIONED

The Istanbul martial law prosecutor has brought under investigation the chief editor of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, Nadir Nadi, 75, for a front page commentary. In that commentary Nadir Nadi attacked the concept of political "unity and togetherness" that prevailed in the country in the wake of the 1980 military coup. He said democracy is a system where the idea of "unquestioning unity and togetherness" had no place. This is a feature of totalitarian regimes such as nazism or fascism, he said. He was questioned by the military prosecutor on March 11. Nadi had already been condemned previously by a military court for another article, but this 3-month prison term was later overruled by a higher court.

The military prosecutor questioned also Mrs. Nazlı Hıncak, columnist of the daily *Tercüman*, on February 28, for an article concerning the electoral campaign.

FILM SHOWING BANNED

The public showing of a Turkish prize-winner film has been banned by the military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command.

The Association of Turkish-German Friendship had planned to hold a cultural soiree on February 24 in Istanbul and had announced that the film called "A Season in Hakkari" would be projected on this occasion. This film by Erden Kıral obtained the prize of the Silver Bear at the Berlin Film Festival earlier this year. While the spectators as well as the ambassadors of the FRG and the Netherlands were waiting for the projection of the film, martial law officers took over the hall and seized the film.

TRIAL OF TURKS IN KÖLN

10 Turkish democrats are being tried by a German court in Köln on the charge of taking over the Turkish Consulate in this city on November 3, 1982, prior to the referendum on the new Turkish Constitution. The prosecutor charges them with kidnapping and attempted murder. They allegedly occupied parts of the Consulate's building and held 70 persons hostage for 15 hours, exchanging gunfire with consular officials who were barricaded in a separate wing. Two hostages and a policeman were injured.

On 5 January, 1984, during the trial of the accused, two women were injured in a scuffle with police who refused to let a crowd of spectators into the courtroom to see the trial. One of the defence attorneys declared that she was slightly injured when police forcefully denied her entry to the court. Another woman told reporters she was slightly injured while about 100 police cleared corridors of spectators.

The 10 accused who had all requested political asylum in the FRG, are said to be members of the revolutionary Turkish organization Dev-Sol. If convicted, the defendants, aged between 22 and 31 years, face jail terms of three years or more.

NEW PROTEST ACTS ABROAD

Human rights violations and ill-treatment of prisoners in Turkey have aroused Turkish and Kurdish democrats abroad to protest, particularly by taking over some official offices in several cities:

ATHENS: A group of political refugees of Tur-

kish and Kurdish origin took over on February 10, 1984, the office of Turkish Airlines in protest at prison conditions in Turkey.

BERNE: About 15 Turks took over on February 29, 1984, for two hours the head office of the Swiss Socialist Party to draw attention to prison conditions in Turkey. A similar action was carried out on the next day at the office of Associated Press in Zürich.

ATHENS: On February 29, members of the Union of Democrats from Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan in Greece held a meeting at the head office of the Association of Accountants and announced that the Turkish fascist junta applies brutal methods on its citizens and threatens peace in the region, while cloaking itself in a so-called parliamentarism.

BRUSSELS: On the death of seven political prisoners in Diyarbakır, about 30 members of the Turkish Committee in support of Political Prisoners took over on March 5 the head office of the Social Christian Party and insisted that a Belgian mission be sent to Turkey to investigate prison conditions.

VIENNA: About 15 Turkish democrats went on a hunger-strike on March 13 at the center of the city in protest at ill-treatment in Turkish prisons.

ASYLUM FOR CEMAL ALTUNI

The administrative tribunal of West-Berlin announced on February 17 that Turkish citizen Cemal Kemal Altun had been granted the status of political refugee. This decision has been the epilogue of a tragic affair which caused the suicide of this young opponent of the Turkish regime.

Cemal Kemal Altun who had requested political asylum in West-Berlin following the military coup in Turkey, was kept under arrest for more than one year by the German authorities who gave to understand that he would probably be extradited, since he was wanted for murder by the Turkish security forces. As a result of a nervous breakdown, Altun committed suicide on August 30, 1983, by throwing himself from the sixth floor of the building where he was to be interrogated by the administrative Court.

Altun's death had provoked strong reactions in G German public opinion and opposition parties had accused the German government of giving more credence to the allegations of Turkey's military dictators than to the statements of democrat Altun. (See: *Bulletins* no. 81/82 and 84).

19 TURKS SUMMONED TO SURRENDER

Despite its claim of restoring democracy, the Turkish Government carries on the practice of stripping Turkish democrats abroad of citizenship.

On February 29, 1984, the Interior Ministry of the Ozal Government announced that 19 persons who were allegedly acting abroad against the internal and external security of the state would be stripped of Turkish nationality, unless they return to the country and surrender to the security forces until March 2, 1984. Among them are also two columnists of the opposition newspaper *Demokrat Türkiye* which is published abroad: Yüksel Feyzioğlu and Hüseyin Erdem.

YILMAZ GÜNEY TARGET OF PRESSURE

The Turkish Government demanded for the fifth time the extradition of famous movie director Yılmaz Güney from Greece. The prize-winner of the Cannes Film Festival had already been stripped of Turkish nationality after he fled from Turkey in 1981. The Turkish authorities have repeatedly demanded Güney's

extradition from France and Greece, whenever he made a public appearance on the occasion of the showing of his films there. But the French and Greek governments refused to extradite him. On the contrary, the British and West German Governments have made clear that they would hand over Güney to the Turkish authorities if he enters their territory.

NEW CASE AGAINST AGCA

As a result of a year-long inquiry by the Istanbul Martial Law Command into the murder of Abdî İpekçi, former chief editor of the daily *Milliyet*, in February 1979, the military prosecutor has opened a new case against Mehmet Ali Agca, author of the attempt on the life of the Pope, and his accomplices in Turkey.

The indictment says that Agca ran a small smuggling racket in Istanbul before his escape from Turkey.

Acting on "a need for further tackling of the İpekçi Case in view of new developments", two military prosecutors spent more than a week in Italy last summer, questioning Agca in his Rome prison cell on his role in the assassination.

The indictment named 11 people as Agca's accomplices in the İpekçi killing, providing shelter and weapons, arranging for Agca's jail break and bribing officials for forged passports and identity cards. At the top of the list were Zülfikar Aysan and Yılma Durak, two high-ranking officials of the new-closed rightist Nationalist Action Party (MHP).

Another prominent figure in the probe is Abuzer Uğurlu, who is charged with finding funds to arrange Agca's escape from Maltepe prison in November 1979.

CONTROVERSY ON WAGES

The Supreme Wage Arbitration Council decided on the extension of 18 collective agreements on March 1st, 1984 with an increase in wages above 25 percent plus an additional 2,000 liras.

This decision has given rise to bitter criticism both from workers and employers.

Türk-İs (Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions) declared that the "Government motivated" Council's decision is far from meeting the demands of the working population, "whose wages have been eroded by the high rate of inflation (about 50 percent in one year) and past practices of the Wage Council."

The representatives of Türk-İs in the tripartite Council who had demanded a 43 percent increase in wages, walked out from the meeting on the refusal of their proposal by the representatives of the Government and the employers.

According to a study made by Türk-İs, annual hikes in foodstuffs prices and in house rents were respectively 43 and 41 percent over the past year.

But such a harmful decision to the workers' interests has not been a surprise, if one takes into consideration the government's general economic policy. The daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 14, 1982 reported that in a letter to the IMF the Turkish Government gave a pledge to "keep wage increases at a level that will not lead to a climb in the rate of inflation".

With the additional 2,000 liras, real increase granted by the Supreme Wage Arbitration Council barely reaches 30 percent, which is very far from covering the hikes in prices.

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* of March 3, 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.

Besides, the situation of the Turkish workers who get minimum wages, is worse than that of those who are covered by collective agreements.

Last year, the monthly minimum free of tax wage had been set at 11,500 TL. The government has also decided to make an increase in the minimum wage without awaiting the end of the 2-year period, and announced that it would propose to raise it to 13,800 liras. But this raise will be very far from covering the deficit caused by the high rate of inflation. Furthermore, this sum equivalent to \$43 is not sufficient to cover the bare necessities of life, since a monthly rent of a house in the slums is over 15,000 liras and food expenses of a 4-person household amount to 40,000 TL per month.

A NEW BLOW ON TRADE UNIONS

Whereas trade unions affiliated to DISK are still suspended and their leaders are being tried before military courts, other trade unions, affiliated to Türk-İs, which have not been directly hit by the military, have undergone a different kind of pressure.

In accordance with the new law on trade unions, the Ministry of Employment has issued a list of those trade unions which are authorized to sign collective agreements with employers. The new law stipulates that a trade union, in order to be entitled to take part in collective bargaining, should prove that it represents more than 10 percent of the work force in the economic sector concerned.

On the basis of the member lists given by the trade unions, the Ministry of Employment announced that 35 out of 61 trade unions had fulfilled the conditions stipulated by the law and been authorized to take part in collective bargaining. So, 26 trade unions have practically lost their "raison d'être". Among them are also significant trade unions such as Teksif (Federation of Textile Workers) and Yol-İs (Highway Workers).

According to a statement issued by the Ministry, in 28 economic sectors there are 2,317,000 wage-earners, 1,248,000 of whom have been unionized.

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. The rest will have to survive —themselves and their families— with a minimum wage of \$43 per month.

PROSTITUTION WIDE - SPREAD

As a result of economic crisis and rapid urbanization, the number of victims of prostitution has increased by 100 percent over the past ten years. According to extensive research, 238,000 women have been forced to choose prostitution as a way of life. 1,724 of these women practice this "profession" in brothels licensed by the state, about 25,000 in illegal brothels and the rest as "call girls".

This survey shows that the period of prostitution in Turkey is, on the average, five times longer than in European countries. While the average period of prostitution in Europe is 2 to 5 years, in Turkey it can be as much as 17 years, and even 42 years in some cases.

"Prostitution has become a social institution" experts say. "This institution is based on the sexual service a woman can give. Go-betweens who bring in cli-

ents, the governors of the 'houses', the employers, 'pimps' and the 'friends' of the prostitutes have combined to create a unique sub-culture. In the language of this sub-culture, the brothel is called 'factory' and the prostitute is called 'capital'. For a prostitute it is very difficult and even impossible to revert back to leading a normal life."

ABORTION LEGALIZED

According to a new law adopted by the NSC before the election, abortion has been legalized in Turkey and pregnancies of up to 10 weeks may now be terminated by physicians as long as there is no danger to the health of the mother. The new law permits also sterilization of women and men on their own demand.

STATE ENTERPRISES FOR SALE

On February 29, 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 Özal 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."

Among the state enterprises to be sold are also Petkim (oil company), TKİ (coal mines), TCDD (State Railways) and TEK (electricity) which registered very high profits in 1983, respectively \$ 1,400 million, \$ 2,500, \$ 500 million and \$ 250 million.

WAR INDUSTRY

Turkish Air Force and the US firm Westinghouse Corporation have entered the final phase for the co-production of land and aircraft radars in Turkey. The US company offered an immediate cash inflow of 2.5 million and another \$ 1.5 million in equipment, spare parts and technical know-how.

The Turkish side wants Westinghouse to go into a partnership with Havelsan-Aydın, the 2-year old joint venture which was set up to start an aviation electronics industry in Turkey. Havelsan is an affiliate of the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force and Aydın is an American electronics company chaired by a Turkish businessman who is also involved in the "Turkish lobby" in the USA.

On the other hand, according to the Greek daily *Eleftherotypia* of December 24, 1983, a delegation of the Italian arms industry "Aeritalia" visited Turkey and had talks with the Turkish Government for the co-production in Turkey of the military transport aircraft G-22T.

On February 27, 1984, another Greek newspaper, *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. According to US sources, this base will be under NATO control and cost about \$ 16,000 million to the Alliance.