

Info-Türk

INFO-TÜRK AJANSI  
INFO-TÜRK AGENCY  
AGENTSCHAP INFO-TÜRK  
AGENCE INFO TÜRK  
INFO-TÜRK AGENTUR

# BÜLTEN BULLETIN

COLLECTIF TURC D'EDITION ET DE DIFFUSION  
SQUARE CH.M.WISER, 13/2 - 1040 BRUXELLES  
TEL: (32-2) 230 34 72 - DEPOT LEGAL 2198  
BANK ACCOUNT INFO-TÜRK: 310-0148714-02

Monthly periodical  
Year IV - September 1980  
English 47  
Price 20 BF  
Annual subscription  
Benelux 200 BF  
Abroad 250 BF

Reprints of our articles  
authorized with the  
mention of Info-Türk

## COUP D'ETAT OF THE NATO

On September 30th, 1980, the Turkish Radio announced at 3 p.m. that the newly formed government of Retired Admiral Bülent Ulusu had finally obtained the vote of confidence and its programme had been approved unanimously by the legislative body. Recalling the defeats of Ecevit or Demirel in the same colossal building of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, respectively in 1977 and 1978, this result seemed an unbelievable victory. Yes, the building was the same building, but the inhabitants were not same. Earlier, there were about 450 deputies in the grand hall of the National Assembly from different political formations. This time there were only 5 generals in uniform who seized the power and started to exercise the legislative functions while the political leaders were counting their days under surveillance. As for the prime minister, he was none other than the one who was just one month ago among themselves as the Navy Commander. He simply took off his uniform and was named as civilian prime minister when his comrades in arms failed to find a real civilian to this post.

./.

\*\*\*\*\*

APPEAL BY THE EUROPE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITY FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

To the democratic forces of the world,

September 12th, 1980, 1 a.m.

The military coup that had been prepared systematically for years by fascist acts of provocation took place in the frame of the plans devised by NATO and the Pentagon. It was announced by the State Department in Washington before the Turkish generals themselves announced it on the radio. In addition, NATO military manoeuvres began on the same day in Turkey with the participation of US and allied forces.

This is how Turkey and its 45 million inhabitants have been thrown once again into the abyss of dictatorship.

The Parliament is dissolved. The progressive organizations are banned. Among them are the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) and the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK).

Massive arrests have turned Turkey into a prison of 777.000 Sq. km. Among the arrested are Mrs. Behice Boran, president of the Workers' Party of Turkey, Bülent Ecevit, President of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and Abdullah Bastürk, president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions.

Strikes are forbidden and the junta has forced hundreds of thousands of strikers to work.

The National Security Council encourages members of the armed forces to go on man-hunting.

It is impossible to communicate with Eastern Turkey. The Kurdish people is being brutally repressed.

This is the utmost of the fascist escalation in Turkey.

The people of Turkey, who has undergone military coups successively in 1960, 1971 and now in 1980 will surely free itself again from the chains of fascism.

Today is the day for all the democratic forces of Turkey to unite and fight against fascism.

We call on the world's democratic forces to proclaim their solidarity with the rightful struggle of our people.

Correspondence: Comité de l'Unité pour la Démocratie en Turquie  
BP 1344 - Centre Monnaie - 1000 BRUXELLES

\*\*\*\*\*

This is the functioning of the "democracy" which the people of Turkey have been condemned to enjoy by the NATO and the IMF; and thousands of progressive politicians, intellectuals, trade union leaders enjoy this "democracy" either in military prisons or under the permanent menace of the bayonets and machine guns.

This new dark period started on September 12th, 1980, with the military coup d'état led by General Kenan Evren, Chief of General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces. When he appeared on the TV screen as the new "strong-man" of Turkey, he was flanked by the four other members of the junta, General Nurettin Ersin of the Land Forces, General Tahsin Sahinkaya of the Air Force, Admiral Nejat Tümer, commander of the Navy, and General Sedat Celasun, commander of the gendarmerie.

General Evren, who had hinted at a possible military move last January in an ultimatum addressed to the President of the Republic, said he decided to act now because "democracy couldn't control itself". Hence, a new era of "controlled democracy" started in the south-eastern flank of the Atlantic community.

/.

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

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

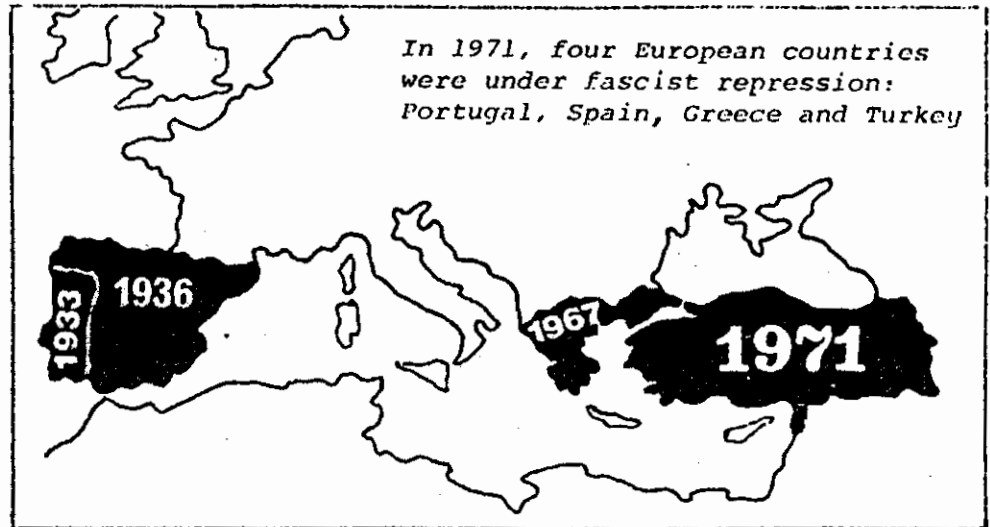
The International Herald Tribune of the same day added: "Military coups rarely contribute to international stability, but Turkey may prove to be the proverbial exception."

The same newspaper informed also that:

"One of the key leaders, General Haydar Saltık, who was named secretary general of the new ruling security committee, has attended numerous seminars and planning sessions of the NATO command and was described by one NATO source as a 'familiar figure'. NATO officials also said that manoeuvres in Turkish Thrace by 3,000 soldiers from six NATO countries would proceed as planned. The manoeuvres, code-named Anvil Express 80, are scheduled for later this month and are designed to test NATO response to a possible attack on Western Turkey from Warsaw Pact forces in Bulgaria". (IHT, 13th September 1980)

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

Then, it is an undeniable fact that the military coup d'état of 12th septembre has been a further step of the military escalation particularly in Turkey and generally in the Middle East area. This military escalation had already started with the conclusion of Turco-USA Defense Cooperation Accord at the beginning of this year.



It was not also a curious coincidence that the first ultimatum of General Evren came into scene just after the appearance of the news about the USA's plans to set up a new pro-American military alliance in the Middle East with the participation of Turkey, Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia. The developments in Iran and Afghanistan were used as a pretext of reviving the defunct pact of CENTO under a different name and with new partners. The only partner of the USA which existed in the earlier and was to be in the new planned one was Turkey.

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

Although, former Premier Ecevit reopened in October 1978 four key bases when the US Congress lifted the arms ban on Turkey, a permanent status for all US and NATO bases and installations in the country was confronted with a strong opposition of democratic forces including the left wing of the Republican People's Party of Ecevit.

Following the restoration the power of Demirel and just after the army's ultimatum, the representatives of the US Government rushed to Turkey and within a few days, on January 9, 1980, the Turkish Government concluded the defense cooperation agreement.

#### MILITARY ESCALATION+++++

- 1/1/1980: The Ultimatum of Army Generals says: "Our nation has no more tolerance for those who abuse the extensive freedoms provided by the Constitution...The developments in our region can suddenly turn into a heated battle in the Middle East...The Armed Forces have thus decided to warn the political parties."
- 4/2/1980: Teachers in primary schools have been charged to make their pupils sing military marches and hold military parades, according to a new decree published in the Official Gazette. In secondary schools, similarly, the course on "National Security" will be intensified with an aim of reinforcing consciousness of national security.
- 16/2/1980: General Evren intervened once more in politics and openly menaced the resisting workers and democratic forces: "Instead of external enemies we have been obliged to fight internal ones. Why we do not give them a smashing blow despite the existence of martial law? Because, we do not want to shed blood. If we decide, we can finish them off within one month." At the end of his speech he gave during the military exercises held in the Kurdish area, he raised his glass and said: "How happy are those who say 'I am Turk!'"
- 13/4/1980: Chief of General Staff of the US Armed Forces General David Jones, visiting Turkey, said: "Turkey is the most reliable ally of the United States. The efforts of the Turkish armed forces for safeguarding the integrity of the country and surviving the democracy merit felicitations."
- 20/7/1980: On the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, General Evren said: "I should say unfortunately that we combat against the traitors within the country. As the chief of the Armed Forces, I say that these traitors will be subjected to the punishment which they already deserve."
- 29/8/1980: General Evren lashed out at the politicians for failing to properly function the Parliament and elect the new Head of State and declared the Armed Forces are determined to strongly stand against terrorism.
- 12/9/1980: General Evren put in practice his coup d'état and seized the title of the chief of the state. The National Security Council started to function as the legislative body...

32 OUT OF 72 YEARS UNDER MILITARY REGIME+++++

Military dictator General Evren claimed that the military coup d'état of September 12th, 1980 was not a coup d'état, but only a measure aiming to defend the democracy. In fact, as to be seen below, since the bourgeois revolution of 1908, 32 years passed under the regime of martial law. During all periods of martial law, the Armed Forces have played the role of suspending fundamental rights and freedoms and of giving the bourgeoisie and rightist forces possibility of enjoying a regime against the working class and progressive forces.

YEARS	DURATION			PRETEXT OF THE MARTIAL LAW
1909-1912	3 years	2 months	2 days	Religious insurrection
1912			42 days	Anti-government activities
1912-1919	7 years		17 days	Balkan and 1st World War
1920-1922	2 years	6 months	19 days	National Liberation War
1925-1927	2 years	8 months	26 days	Insurrection in Eastern Anatolia
1940-1948	7 years	1 month	11 days	2nd World War
1955-1956		8 months		Anti-Greek riots in Istanbul
1960-1961	1 year	7 months	2 days	Military coup d'état of 27th May
1963-1964	1 year	1 month	28 days	Military insurrection
1970		3 months		Workers' resistance
1971-1973	2 years	3 months		Military intervention of 12th March
1974-1975	1 year		11 days	Cyprus Operation
1978-1980	1 year	8 months	23 days	Massacre of Kahramanmaras
1980- ?	?	?	?	Military coup d'état of 12th Sept.

+++++

After the conclusion of this bilateral military accord, the opposition leader Bülent Ecevit charged the Demirel Government with turning Turkey into a "lightning rod of the NATO". In fact, the new accord has permitted the United States to operate the below-mentioned military bases and installations in Turkey:

1. Striking bases and installations like air bases, navale bases, missile launching bases, etc.
2. Electronic intelligence bases and installations.
3. Communication installations.
4. Training and support installations.

All these bases and installations have gained greater importance after the tension in the Middle East and particularly after the battles between Iraq and Iran. Thanks to the military intervention of the Evren's cunta, the United States have guaranteed at least for a few years the functioning of these bases and installations in Turkey. So, the Turkish Armed Forces have assumed the mission of watch-dog of the interests of the United States in the area. (A detailed report on the US Bases: BULLETIN, June 1980)

#### From anti-imperialist position to collaboration with foreign capital

In the period of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Armed Forces was one of the principal motive forces of the Turkish society. For example, progressive "Young Turks" movement in the 19th century found its most ardent supporters and militants among the young army officers. This was due to the fact that the army officers represented an important section of the well-educated élite of the population and that they considered the "sick-man" position of the Ottoman Empire as a shame for traditionally conquerer Turkish Army. Their primary concern was to strengthen the state and to prevent territorial losses. This concern led them to an anti-imperialist attitude on the one hand, and on the other to a bourgeois-revolutionary stand.

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

Although the main burden of the National Liberation War was on the shoulders of workers and peasants, the military, with the purpose of granting ./.

all possibilities to the developing local bourgeoisie, took every measure to prevent the working class from gaining conscience, organizing in political parties and trade-unions and being represented in Parliament. It is the alliance of the military and the rising local bourgeoisie who made assassinated 15 leaders of the newly formed Communist Party of Turkey, outlawed this party and suppressed all trade-unions and democratic organizations. Besides, adopting a chauvinist ideology which was corresponding to the ambitions of the rising local bourgeoisie, the military put the Kurdish nationality of Turkey under national repression.

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

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

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

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

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

Under these circumstances that the Turkish Armed Forces, being encouraged by the popular mass resistance against the authoritarian regime of center-right Democrat Party, realized the 27th May 1960 coup d'état and put into force a new constitution guaranteeing human rights and fundamental liberties as well as some social security measures.

#### A well-planned trap: OYAK

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

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

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

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX-----

OYAK: As explained in the article, this mutual aid fund of army officers has turned into a mammoth finance-holding of which the assets has currently reached 35 million dollars. It has participations in 22 industrial and commercial companies and indirect participations in 8 other companies. It collaborates in the sectors of petro-chemical industry, canned food industry, tire industry and car industry with foreign companies such as International Harvester, Renault, Mobil. The OYAK holding now plans to establish a bank.

FOUNDATIONS:

One should also mention the creation of various foundations set up through military and civilian cooperation aiming to attract donations from the public to either establish national arms industry or to create funds for weapons purchase, especially in the wake of Cyprus crisis:

- o The leading among these is the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force (Hava Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı), the assets of which have now reached 20 million dollars. The foundation also plans to enter partnership in TUSAS (State owned aircraft industry company) and also participate in aircraft tire manufacture.
- o The Foundation for the Strengthening the Army (Kara Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı) with assets of 3.5 million dollars also accumulated thanks to donations. It owns ASELSAN (Military Electronic Industry) which is expected to shortly produce wireless equipment.
- o Though the first to be established, the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Navy (Deniz Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı), is handicapped with donations going to priorities (the Air Force). It still manages to manufacture naval crafts for the fleet.

\*\*\*\*\*

Considering that the compulsory cotisations of army officers had created enormous accumulation of capital, the generals decided to use these funds for profit-making investments in industry and commerce.

Army officers' turning into capitalists in uniform has also created an economic and social gap between them and the working class. The growing contradiction has reflected first during the mass resistance of industrial workers for defending their trade-union rights in 1970 and later during the repressive rule of the military between 1971 and 73.

PROGRAMME OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL

Immediately after the coup of 12th september, all the communiqués issued by the junta as well as the governmental statements showed that the junta gives a top priority to economic problems. Contrary to the coups that occurred in '60 and '71, the social and economic objectives of the military regime were clearly

MILITARY STRENGTHoooooooooooooooo  
 Total of the Armed Forces  
 is about 566,000 of whom  
 271,000 are conscripts.  
 Compulsory service: 20 m.  
  
 ARMY: 470,000  
 (210,000 conscripts)  
 ( 26,000 in Cyprus)  
 (400,000 reserves)  
 AIR FORCE: 51,000  
 (30,000 conscripts)  
 NAVY: 45,000  
 (25,000 reserves)  
 GENDARMERIE: 75,000 within  
 three mobile brigades,

defined. This clarity was quickly rewarded in the world arena; the first messages of support came from NATO circles, the USA, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Pakistan. Within the country, the junta obtained support from monopolistic groups and applies the economic policies imposed by them.

The search for a way out of the economic, social and political crisis which Turkey has been undergoing for a long time or a way of putting an end to political violence is the desire of millions of people in Turkey.

For this reason that the military junta which calls itself "National Security Council" can receive considerable support from many social classes for its certain political objectives, at least for the time being. This is by all means not the case for the economic issues. /.





The junta declared that the programme will be applied neatly from the beginning. The coup of September 12th is a NATO-Coup as well as of national and international capital.

Interrupting union activities and banning strikes have been alleged aims of big companies, banks and holdings; these demands, which could never have put forward by the Demirel Government, have been put into practice with incredible speed since the coup. Strikes involving 60,000 workers are banned. Giving notice for a strike involving 150,000 workers are also forbidden. The right to strike in general is suspended. The previous experiments of interrupting the democratic and progressive trade union activities *did* not succeed because of opposition of over 100,000 industrial workers during the demonstrations occurred in 1970. Now, the military junta put in effect the same policy and succeeded it, with a simple communiqué of martial law. Over 2500 workers' leaders on every level are imprisoned. Collective bargainings are delayed with an increase of wages that amounts to only half of the inflation rate. ./.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 THE TURKISH IMMIGRANT WORKERS' ANSWER TO GENERAL EVREN

The new "strong man" of the military regime in Turkey, General Kenan Evren, held a press conference on September 16th. In his declarations, he develops a very particular conception of democracy; he dares to assert that what has happened in Turkey is not a coup d'état, but a measure to save a democracy that is endangered. A number of newspapers and certain European circles have spread this information and attempt to present this situation as the lesser of two evils, or even as a positive intervention.

The Turkish immigrant workers affiliated to the two Belgian trade-unions, FGTB and CSC, vigorously assert that the head of the military junta is deceiving public opinion.

General Evren: "One cannot call this action a military coup."

Workers: "The Parliament dissolved, the Constitution is abolished. The political parties are suspended, their leaders are in prison as well as most of the workers' delegates. Union activities are suspended whereas the progressive organizations are simply banned. Another general called Pinochet wouldn't have acted otherwise."

General Evren: "The democratic system that we are putting into place won't allow this kind of intervention to happen again."

Workers: "In 1960 and 1971, the army used the same arguments when it took over. More than half of Turkey has been under martial law for over two years; since 1960, every president has been a product of the army. Moreover, the military men having been for a certain time already in the ministerial-military body called National Security Council, they have effectively been controlling the country for some time. In the framework of a certain "permissivity" granted by the army, something like democracy existed in Turkey, more as a show than anything else. What we are attending today is the setting of a different conception of "democracy".

General Evren: "The democratic regime is a regime of virtues. All we have done is to try to heal a sick democracy."

Workers: "No doubt that the democratic regime is a virtuous one. But we have every reason to doubt about the virtue of a putschist general when he holds all power in his hands and when he dares to advocate to the world a curbed democracy, with the sound of tanks and boots as a background"

FGTB/ABVV Committee of  
 the Turkish Workers  
 23, rue de l'Hôpital  
 1000 BRUXELLES

CSC/ACV  
 Turkish Section  
 121, rue de la Loi  
 1040 BRUXELLES

For a long time, Turkey has been described as a "very risky" country for investments of international companies because of political "instability" although foreign capital has large opportunities, e.g. (See: BULLETIN, May 1980). "Newsweek" declared that Turkey is the third most risky country among 60 countries that were chosen for the survey made by the administrations of international companies. In addition to this, the bosses of big companies, banks and holdings declared many times that the main problem of the country is the achievement of political stability; in order to achieve this, the democratic freedoms granted by the Constitution must be restricted.

Hardly a day before the fascist coup, Halit Narin, chairman of the Confederation of Employers Union sent a message to the press in which he says that the establishment of State Security Courts is the only solution to an economic revival and increase in production. These state security courts were kept from being reestablished by democratic forces (including the Republican People's Party) who declared these courts to be fascist institutions. Recent news from Ankara show that these institutions are about to be put into effect. The 12th September coup not only allowed the maintenance of status quo with a series of repressive measures, but also gave these circles the opportunity to put in practice almost all their demands. The economic programme presented by Turgut Özal (former chairman of the Federation of Metal ~~Workers~~ Employers and now deputy prime minister) is formulation of the alleged demands of big business.

Submission to the IMF and foreign capital constitutes the economic side of the coup d'état of the NATO. All the sectoral limitations on foreign investments are put aside and the state control which has always been very loose is completely removed. Foreign currency reserves are placed in the use of the private industries which have always been dependent with respect to basic inputs and technologies on the US and German capitalism. In recent years, the proportion of the capacity use in industry has already fallen to an average of 55 percent and the production of all basic industrial goods has considerably decreased. In such conditions, the government has resorted to every means for importing raw material and oil and for obtaining credits with very unfavorable terms.

Prior to the coup d'état, the annual foreign trade deficit was about 3,000 million dollars, while the foreign exchange requirements reached up to 1,000 million dollars. Besides, the total foreign debts were over 20,000 million dollars.

In spite of all measures of encouragement, the private industries have been in incapability of increasing exportation. Considering this fact, it will be too optimistic to hope that the new encouragement measures taken by the junta can serve to any purpose but to accumulation of capital in the hands of a few finance groups.

In addition to the deficiency of the existing social and economic order of Turkey, 20 percent of the state budget is devoted to the military expenditures, because this underdeveloped ally of the NATO has been forced to feed the second biggest army of the alliance which comprise of 566,000 men. Taking into consideration the annual deficit of 1,000 million dollars and the fact that the investments in general and the public ones in particular have practically stopped, the military expenditures constitute a heavy burden on the shoulders of the popular masses.

The inflationary trends in the capitalist world and the high percentage of unproductive expenditures, decrease in investments, under-capacity production result, within the frame of a monopoly capitalistic structure, in very high percentage of inflation which has already reached up to 140% during last year. Such a high rate of inflation has naturally brought within a short period the stagnation of the economy. The negative effects of the inflation have been felt not only by the working class and the poor peasantry, but also by the middle and petty producers who generally suffer from the shortage of credits. Especially after the liberalization of the interest rates, these layers have found themselves in the face of bankruptcy waves. The conditions of the farmers are even worse than them; the prices of agricultural products cannot race with the high speed of the price increasings of industrial products.

The strategic aim of the big capital has been declared as to apply a 5-year stabilization plan in economic and political fields. All the sources will be put in the use of the ruling classes, and the toiling masses will pay the price of this stabilization programme by undergoing drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF.

BEHIND THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS THE ARMY!

As declared in the communiqués of the military junta, the official pretext of the September 12th Coup d'état is to prevent the political violence which has claimed 5355 lives until the day of the coup d'état since 1975. Especially taking into consideration the amount of the political terror victims during the 10-month period of Demirel Government which had reached about 500 per month, one can find the armed forces completely right for this argument. But behind this violence has been none other than the Army itself.

The covert activities of an illegal setup within the army has always been focus of attention since 1973 in Turkey. This was the Counter-guerilla Department in the General Staff Headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces. The original name of this department is the "Special War Department". The US Military Aid Mission and the Special War Department are in the same building in Ankara. The training of the officers of the Counter-Guerilla Department is carried out by the United States intelligence services. The apparent aim of this department is setting up of resistance forces in case of "uprising" or foreign aggression. But the application and training directives show that the organization could function against the domestic movements of social awakening. In various written official regulations of the Department "uprising" is defined as "political and social opposition against the established order in the country".

Referring to this interpretation, during the period of military repression between 1971-1973, the Counter-Guerilla Organization planned and perpetrated man-huntings, tortures and accusations against anyone and everyone who disapproved the existing social order and military intervention.

The department has a "special bureau" under the name of "Bayraktarlık" (standard-bearership) in Cyprus which gives refuge to the extreme-rightist political murderers after having assassinated progressive people.

The Counter-Guerilla has always maintained close collaboration with the neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel Türkeş and provided it with all facilities with respect to armaments and conspiracy. (See: Massacre in Ankara, Why? Info-Türk Agency, 1978, Brussels).

It must be taken into consideration also the fact that the armed forces have been in a position of controlling most sensitive areas of Turkey because of the martial law proclaimed in 20 provinces, but the political terror has, instead of decreasing, showed a considerable rising.

++ POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS+++++			
FROM 16/8 1980 to 11/9/1980			
-----			
ISTANBUL	62	AMASYA	3
ADANA	61	ARTVIN	3
ANKARA	59	BALIKESIR	3
ORDU	47	TOKAT	3
İCEL	25	TRABZON	3
BURSA	18	AFYON	2
URFA	17	ANTALYA	2
ESKİSEHIR	16	BINGOL	2
İZMİR	15	HAKKARİ	2
SIIRT	13	KÜTAHYA	2
GAZİANTEP	12	NİGDE	2
DIYARBAKIR	11	ZONDULDAK	2
MARDIN	11	EDİRNE	1
MALATYA	10	ERZURUM	1
KONYA	8	GİRESUN	1
KOCAELI	7	KAHRAMANMARAŞ	1
SAMSUN	7	KARS	1
CORUM	5	MANISA	1
KAYSERİ	5	NUĞLA	1
AYDIN	4	RİZE	1
DENİZLİ	4	USAK	1
ELAZIG	4	AACHEN	1
-----			
TOTAL	3		460
10-MONTH PERIOD OF DEMIREL			2241
TOTAL OF 4-YEAR AND 8-MONTH			
(FROM 1975 TO THE COUP D'ETAT 5355			

After having attained the aim of pushing the country to a fascist regime, the Counter-Guerilla and its collaborators, "Grey Wolves", have naturally ceased their activities for a certain period. That is why within a few days after the military coup d'état Turkey has witnessed a tranquility everywhere. But this time, the new repressive measures put in practice by the military junta have provoked the armed resistance of certain political groups. Using these acts as pretext, the security forces have started a country-wide man-hunting, particularly in Eastern Anatolia where live the Kurdish people. The military teams carry out raids in houses, working places and massacre the people whom they consider "dangerous".

For example, within only one day, on September 28, the security forces shot dead totally 8 persons in the districts of Aybasti (Ordu) and Denk (Harran). With the purpose of intimidating the opponents of the regime who resort to armed acts, a leftist militant, Serdar Soyergil, was condemned to capital punishment in the course of only one session. He was accused of having participated in the assassination of an army captain.

It is reported that about 30,000 persons have been detained by the army since the day of takeover. Only within the province of Istanbul, more than 5,000 trade union leaders and representatives were summoned to surrender. Those who were detained are forced to wear the same type clothes and their hairs are cut off as criminals.

The 5-general junta has started to work as a "parliament" and issued many decrees aiming of restricting all democratic rights and liberties and extending the authorities of martial law commanders in such a way that they can act arbitrarily.

According to the new decrees, the martial law commanders can take anyone into custody without court warrant and can keep them in prison up to 30 days.

The first application of arbitrary detention was the arrest of political leaders. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Demirel, and the leader of the opposition, Mr. Bülent Ecevit, have been taken <sup>to an island in the Marmara Sea</sup> ~~into a military base near Izmir~~. The leader of the ultra-Islamic National Salvation Party, Mr. Necmettin Erbakan was transferred to <sup>a naval base near Izmir</sup> ~~an island in the Marmara Sea~~. As for Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş, chief of the neo-fascist party, he hid in the 28th Division near Ankara, expecting a new military intervention to be realized by his supporters in the Armed Forces. A few days later, seeing the fact that the junta of Evren established his authority, Ex-colonel Türkeş was obliged to surrender.

Left-wing members of Parliament too were arrested and the military declared that they would be tried before extraordinary tribunals for their political activities.

Mrs. Behice Boran, President of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) has been under home surveillance since the day of the coup d'état.

As mentioned below, the military attacked mainly at the beginning on the trade-union movement. The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) was closed and all documents and accounts in the seat of the organization were confiscated.

In order to create an image of impartiality, the junta has suspended also the activities of extreme-rightist trade-union confederation (MISK). But in reality, this confederation does not have any representativity in the working class. On the contrary, the pro-governmental trade union confederation (TÜRK-İŞ) has been left free and even the secretary general of this confederation was named Minister of Social Security. This choice too shows that the military junta aims to liquidate the progressive trade-union movement and to authorize the pro-governmental confederation to be the sole representatives of workers in the face of the employers.

But these pressures on the progressive trade union movement has caused a very wide reaction from international labour organizations. The General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions vigorously protested against the anti-democratic measures taken by the junta.

Besides, the World Confederation of Labour, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the European Trade Union Confederation have issued the following communiqués:

European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC):

Mr. M. Hinterscheid, General Secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation has sent an urgent letter to the Acting President of the EEC Council, Mr. G. Thorn and to the General Secretary of the European Council, Mr. F. Karasek.

The intervention of the ETUC was made on September 15, 1980. The reason of the intervention is explained as follows:

The Turkish trade union confederations -TÜRK İŞ and DISK- that had applied to the ETUC for membership have been having close contacts with European trade union movement. While discussing their applications last June, the Executive Board of the ETUC ascertained that it was in the interest of the ETUC to foster a prompt rapprochement between the Turkish trade union organizations and themselves. The political instability and lack of clearness in Turkey have kept the Executive Board from taking a decision so far.

In the letters he has sent, Mr. Hinterscheid expresses doubt concerning the Turkish Army's intentions; he believes that it could have fought against terrorism and political violence without banning the basic liberties and rights of the workers and their unions.

He appeals urgently to the European institutions, asking them to use every means they have at their disposal in order to reestablish immediately the basic liberties and democratic rules and to free at once the political and trade union leaders who have been arrested.

Letter to the President of the Council of Ministers of the EEC:

"Mr. President,

"The fact that the army has taken over in Turkey shows that so far, the basic liberties and democratic rights have not been guaranteed.

"For the first time in the country's modern history, trade unions have been banned and a great number of trade-unionists arrested. This, in addition to other cases of non-respect of human rights, proves that the situation in Turkey is a challenge to all the democratic forces in Europe.

"We insist that the Trade union movement refuses to acknowledge membership of EEC for a country which does not respect the liberties and rights mentioned above.

"May we remind you that we have written to the Turkish Government on June 3rd concerning these problems but that our message has received no reply. It is even questionable whether the EEC should, as of today, respect the agreements that have been drawn up with a democratically elected government.

"We were surprised to hear the arguments put forward by the Turkish army to justify the putsch since we know that in fact, the army has been effectively in power for years and that the civil governments have more or less been cover-ups.

"Why, then, hasn't the army been able to restore order and fight against rightist and leftist terrorism without having to suppress all the democratic rules and liberties.

"We therefore ask you to exert your influence and to make use of every means at your disposal to foster the return of both order and democracy in Turkey.

"In this context, we should also like to remind you of our general attitude concerning all economic aid granted by industrialized countries to impoverished ones:

"We support this aid, providing we are given a minimum of guarantee that the working masses of these countries will benefit by this aid. This appears to be impossible under an authoritarian and dictatorial regime.

"This is why we repeat our request that you act in favor of the immediate restoration of the basic liberties and in particular of the trade unions' and workers' rights and the release of all the political and trade union leaders who have been arrested." ./.

World Confederation of Labour (WCL):

"For the third time since 1960, the high command of the Turkish army assumed the responsibilities of power on the 12th of September 1980. According to the members of the high command, their action aims at "keeping and safeguarding the Republic".

"The WCL is convinced that we are attending a carefully examined plot in which one reached, in a direct or indirect way, a destabilization of the country in order to stabilize it better for social purposes connected with national and foreign economic interests and, simultaneously, for political purposes connected with ~~strategical~~ interests of the Western bloc.

"Curiously enough, the military leaders who come forward as the savers of democracy are immediately carrying out antidemocratic actions: Prohibition from going on strike, restrictions placed on the trade union activity, prohibition of the DISK, arrest and questioning of trade union leaders, going from militants and shop stewards up to confederal leaders, forced residence of some politicians and dissolution of Parliament.

"Türk-İş, a confederation that has always been close to the government in power and advised by the American trade unions, is allowed to go working. MİSK is prohibited, but this is in fact a branch of the fascist party which had a people's 'connection' but did not enjoy any representativeness and influence among the workers.

"Only the DISK confederation is really affected. After having paid a heavy tribute of terrorism and repression (even since the beginning of 1980), judicially threatened with suspension since the 25th of July 1980 for having exercised the right to strike, this is now the DISK Confederation pays for its determination to defend the workers, the democratic rights and the trust which the labour world was more and more putting in it. DISK is a friendly organization of the WCL and its representatives took part in various of our activities: among others, they participated in the meeting of the WCL commissions (February 1980 - Belgium), as well as in the colloquium on human rights (March 1980-Quebec)

"The WCL thinks that liberty is indivisible and it denounces the attitude of most of the political and economic leaders of the western bloc. Under the present circumstances, if one attaches a real importance to democracy and to the defence of human rights, this should come true:

" - for the European Community by freezing the negotiations and decisions of the EEC-Turkey Association Council, more particularly those defined in July 1980;

" - for the NATO, whose founder statues specify the task of defending liberty and democracy, by putting an end to co-operation with Turkey;

" - for the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD by freezing the outstanding loans;

" - for the western governments by stopping the arms deliveries.

"Democracy can only hold on and make progress through democratic practices, among others, the existence of the freedom of association whatever the political regimes may be. Democracy also means an equitable distribution of resources, of income as well as of the economic and political power. Without these, all other things are fiction."

This memorandum of the WCL of which certain parts are cited above was sent to the Commission of the ~~CEC~~, to the European parliamentarians, to the general secretaries of the OECD and the NATO. The WCL has also applied to the International Labour Office on September 17, 1980 for intervening in the violation of Conventions 87 and 98.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)

Otto Kersten, General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, has sent the following message to General Kenan Evren of Turkey's National Security Council:

"International Confederation of Free Trade Unions uniting seventy million organised workers in free world deeply disturbed by recent events and demands that under all circumstances the inalienable right to freedom of

association be upheld and particularly that trade union rights as enshrined in ILO international conventions be integrally respected. The ICFTU abhors political violence as enemy to democracy but we protest against arrests of trade unionists as only people proven guilty of crimes can be imprisoned. Democracy can be defended only by democratic means and we demand a speedy restoration of democratic process in Turkey."

#### REACTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

On these vigorous protestations and appeals of the trade union organizations, the European institutions have started to discuss the subject of the military coup d'état in Turkey.

During the meeting of September 17th of the European Assembly in Strasbourg, a resolution brought in by the groups of socialists, christian-democrats and liberals was adopted. This resolution demands the reestablishment of liberties in Turkey and estimates that "the prolongation of non-democratic measures" will be in contradiction with the Turkey's engagements in respect to the European institutions. However, the majority of the European Assembly refused the proposal for condemning the military junta.

Besides, the Communist and other progressive deputies brought in another resolution condemning the military junta and demanding the immediate suspension of the relations between Turkey and the EEC. But this resolution too was rejected by the majority of the European Assembly.

In Bruxelles, the Council of Ministers of the EEC discussed the situation in Turkey. Despite the appeals of the democratic organizations, the council, declaring that "it is rejoiced at the guarantees given by the military junta", announced that the ~~CEE~~ will maintain its cooperation with Turkey.

On the other hand, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted on October 1st a resolution demanding the military junta to reestablish rapidly a democratic system. The text states that if this demand is not answered in a positive manner, the process of the exclusion of Turkey from the Council of Europe will be started.

During the debates, communist and some socialist deputies have insisted on the immediate exclusion of Turkey from the Council, but their proposals were not taken into consideration by the majority of the European parliamentarians.

In the adopted resolution, the Consultative Assembly asks the respect of the European Convention on the Human Rights, the liberating of the detained politicians and the reconstitution of political parties and trade unions.

Despite the fact that the Parliament has been dissolved and many deputies have been arrested, the military junta has acted double-facedly and sent four puppet politicians, Turan Güneş, Cevdet Akçalı, Metin Teker and Besim Üstünel to the meeting of the Consultative Assembly as if they are still representing the Turkish Parliament. When they were at the hall of the Consultative Assembly, the leaders of political parties and many parliamentarians were in military prisons and five generals were acting as law-maker within the National Assembly building in Ankara. Unfortunately, the Consultative Assembly, without taking into consideration this fact, allowed them to speak at this international forum.

This is also a double-faced attitude for the European institutions.

It is the time to listen to the voice of the democratic forces of Turkey and Europe, not to the lies of the representatives of the fascist regime.

It is the time to condemn and isolate the military junta in international arena and to oblige it to reestablish the democratic system as quick as possible.

TURKEY IN FIGURES+++++

AREA: 779,452 Sq.km (Anatolia: 755,688 + Thrace: 23,764)  
Cultivated land: 234,780; Forests: 201,700 Sq.km.

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS:

Provinces: 67, Districts 572, Villages and settlements: 36,064

POPULATION:

Estimates in 1980: 45,442,000  
Urban: 48,6%  
Rural: 51,4%  
Density: 53 people per square kilometer

MANPOWER:

16,646,000 (15-64 years, both sexes)  
Employment: 15,006,000  
Agriculture: 9,070,000  
Non-agriculture 5,936,000  
Unemployment: 2,340,000 (14.1 percent)  
Agriculture 700,000  
Non-agriculture 1,640,000

Percentage distribution of the active population to sectors:

Agriculture 60.4%  
Industry 12.8%  
Construction 3.8%  
Commerce 4.5%  
Transportation 3.4%  
Services 15.1%

Employment status:

Employee 27.7%  
Employer 0.8%  
Independent 25.6%  
Family worker 45.2%  
Unknown 0.7%

Immigrants abroad: 1,500,000

About 8,000,000 persons can find only temporary or part-time work and they are generally jobless. Insurance against unemployment does not exist in Turkey.

NATIONAL INCOME:

GNP in 1980: 46,329,500,000 US \$  
GNP per capita 1,019 US \$ (885 US \$ in 1975)

Sectoral distribution of GNP:

Agriculture: 10,039,600,000 US \$  
Manufacturing: 10,952,600,000 US \$  
Services: 24,642,300,000 US \$  
Monthly wage: 50 \$

Income distribution:

	<u>% of Population</u>	<u>% of Income</u>
Big business	0.5	3.5
Merchants	2.3	11.0
Liberal professions	0.7	3.8
Managers	1.0	2.6
Employees	7.7	9.2
Small tradesmen	15.6	14.7
Farmers	49.6	38.8
Workers	22.6	16.4

FOREIGN TRADE

Exports 2,261,000,000 US \$  
Imports 5,069,000,000 US \$  
DEFICIT 2,808,000,000 US \$