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NEW ERA IN TURKEY

"The result is virtually foregone conclusion. With voters subject to intimidation and all criticism banned, the generals are likely to obtain an endorsement of their authoritarian constitution and, simultaneously and questionably, a seven-year term for their leader, General Kenan Evren..."

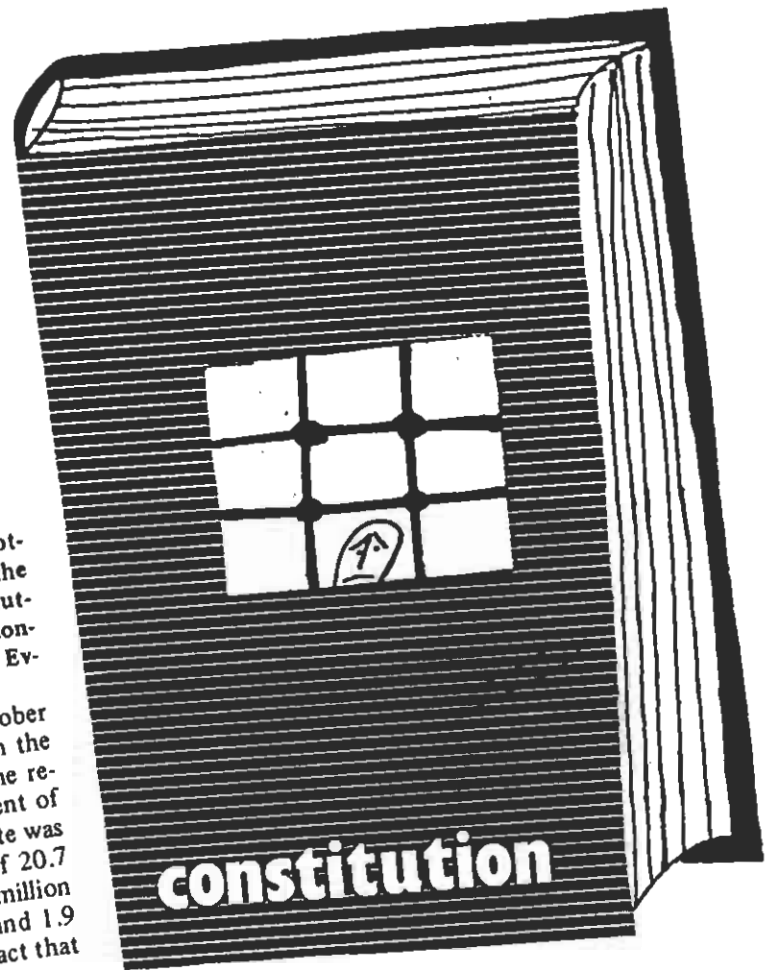
This comment appeared in The Guardian of October 29th, 1982, sharing the analysis which took place in the preceding issue of our Bulletin, was confirmed by the results of the 7th November referendum: 91.27 percent of 20.7 million voters cast their votes. The approval rate was announced as 91.37 percent. That is to say, out of 20.7 million Turkish citizens above 21 years old, 17.2 million voted for the "constitution", 1.6 million against and 1.9 million refused to cast their votes in spite of the fact that voting was compulsory.

Taking into consideration that the clandestine campaign against the "constitution" was carried out in two directions, "No to the Constitution" or "Boycott the Voting", 3.5 million out of 20.7 million have manifested their disapproval of the "constitution" and consequently the presidency of General Evren.

After putting on his tail-coat and top-hat as the "President of the Republic", General Evren thanked the nation, on November 12, 1982, for "demonstrating magnificent national unity and a high-level of political awareness and maturity in the eyes of the whole world."

The truth of the matter, as reflected by the world press, is diametrically opposed to the claim of General Evren. The expression of political awareness and maturity depends on a free process of voting. Some formal demonstrations such as secret balloting and open counting of votes are not enough to assure a democratic process. For a democratic voting, the elector should have at least two choices.

Whereas, at the 7th November referendum, the military junta did not permit the opposition to present an alternative project of constitution or another candidate for the president of the Republic. In his electoral campaign, General Evren forced the people to make choice between an authoritarian regime and the chaos reigned prior to the September 12th, 1980 coup d'Etat.



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Benefitting from the ban on propaganda against the constitution, General Evren, in his one-man show, presented himself and the actual military rulers as the heroes who halted political violence and as the only guarantee for preventing the repetition of it in future.

In the world opinion, this argument of General Evren has been interpreted as one of the most important factors to assure a 91.27 percent favorable vote for the constitution. It is true, but...

One should never forget that it was the same military who planned and organized political violence throughout Turkey with the purpose of creating necessary pretext for a military coup d'Etat. It was the Counter-Guerilla Organization situated at the headquarters of the Turkish General Staff who encouraged and protected the "Grey Wolves" of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party. Although this party and its side-organizations were the main author of the political terror in Turkey, thanks to this protection, the number of the arrested "Grey Wolves" do not pass over a thousand, while about 50 thousand progressive and democrat persons were being subjected to inhuman repression. The trial of Colonel Türkeş, chief of the neo-fascist party, and his fellows is but a manipulation aiming to persuade the world opinion of the "neutrality" of the junta. While thousands of distinguished intellectuals of Turkey are still being tried and condemned for their opinion, all chiefs of the neo-fascist party, except Türkeş and two others were already released.

Before the referendum, a British newspaper reported under the headline of "The Generals turn right":

"The military government in Turkey celebrated its second anniversary on September 12. The programmes on the state television clearly reflected the new-found ideology and the alliances of the generals. For the first time since the coup, the Left was presented as bearing the full responsibility for the near-civil war conditions which preceded the take-over. The Right were portrayed as nationalists who defended themselves under the attack from the Communist left. This view corresponds to a drastic shift in the politics of the generals. (...) This change of tone was presaged by other developments pointing in the same direction. At the end of July new chancellors were appointed to the universities, by the head of the state. The appointments were surprising from a Government whose declared aim was to establish social peace; for five of them were known to be active members of the fascist movement. Most of the rest had been committed to the right wing of the now defunct Justice Party, which cooperated with the fascists.

"Promotions and appointments within the Armed Forces took place in August. Those who were retired were the 'moderates' who had advocated a quick re-instatement of civilian rule, a more liberal constitution, and a clear stand against the fascists. It thus emerged that the new strong man was the commander of the Army, General Ersin. Simultaneously, martial law commanders known for their sympathy for the fascists retained their posts.

"The prime minister of the junta publicly lunches the 'organisation man' of the former Nationalist Action Party, the second-in-command, although Alparslan Türkeş, the 'leader' is still in prison. Official rhetoric becomes more nationalistic, militaristic and xenophobic. Repression grows, not only at the level of left-wing intellectuals and politicians but also aimed at the remnants of working class organizations at the local level." (*The Guardian*, October 29th, 1982)

This process relieved also Türkeş, although he is still in prison. In a petition given by him to the military court on October 8 Türkeş, indicating the resemblances between his pre-coup declarations and Gene-

ral Evren's speeches, said: "All demands formulated in the electoral manifest of the National Action Party have been put into practice today." And he added that his party supports all steps taken in the process of creating a "Powerful State".

The "constitution" and the presidency of General Evren represent the "powerful State" dreamed by Colonel Türkeş.

While Türkeş' party had not been able to obtain more than 6.4 pc at pro-coup elections, how could it be possible a 83 pc approval for the same party's ideas at the referendum?

It can be explained first by the unprecedented repression applied during the one sided propaganda campaign:

- The counter propaganda was officially banned. Those who dared to take no heed of this ban found themselves in prison. As a deterrent example, on October 27, 50 activists of three left and one right organizations distributing tracts against the "constitution" were arrested in Istanbul and this event was propagated through newspapers, radios and televisions. On the day of referendum, even a member of the Prime Minister's guard-corps was detained for having declared that he voted against. Later on, he was dismissed from his post. In Diyarbakır, another guard was arrested for not having apprehended those who tore in pieces the posters in favour of the "constitution". In Gaziantep, an employee charged at the polling-center was arrested for having suggested an elector to vote against.

- While the precedent elections was held under the surveillance of the representatives of the political parties, this time, only the state employees charged by the Junta controlled the voting and the counting of votes.

- In many booths, there were but "white" bulletins. Above the top of some booths, partisans of the junta placed inclined mirrors allowing to see the color of the bulletin used by the elector.

- The blue bulletin had a clearly darker reflection in the envelope, in addition these papers were thicker and could be perceived by the officials.

- It was announced earlier that the bulletins bearing signs would not be canceled. This measure was an artful manoeuvre to force the people to make known their choice.

Despite these repressive measures, if 9 percent of the voters refused to go to the polling-booths and 8 percent voted against, it is the result of a courage which deserves admiration.

This defy was registered in higher percentages in the Kurdistan of Turkey where the repression has been felt more strongly. In Diyarbakır, 14 percent voters refused to vote, 17 percent voted against, 69 percent said "yes". The percentages are respectively 13-19-68 in Bingöl, 21-14-65 in Hakkari, 22-14-64 in Tunceli and 12-13-75 in Elazığ.

Beyond all these factors, as said above, the principal reason of such a high vote for the "constitution" is the absence of a reliable alternative to the Junta's imposition. Unfortunately, the democratic forces of Turkey have not been able, within a 2-year period of repression, to constitute a democratic union with a concrete programme which can be an alternative to the military's imposition.

While the marxist left was leading, at the expense of a great deal of sacrifices, a resolute campaign against the military junta, the Republican People's Party of social-democrat Ecevit preferred to stay inactive and to follow a "wait and see" policy. In the international arena, Ecevit, instead of supporting the acts to isolate the Junta, appeared as one of the champions of the policy of keeping ties between Turkey and the Coun-

cil of Europe. Recently, he repeated this stand to Dutch deputy Van den Bergh who was in Turkey for observing the referendum on behalf of the Council of Europe.

As to the Justice Party, the big business who had always supported it during the pre-coup period declared their full satisfaction of the new "constitution" and prevented party leaders from leading a counter-propaganda.

The neo-fascist party of Turkes was naturally in favor of the new "constitution" for the reasons already explained above.

Beside the marxist left, the only political force who led a clandestine campaign against the Junta's im-

position was the fundamentalist National Salvation Party of Erbakan.

However, since the two major mass parties of Turkey could not make a resolute stand against the Junta the majority of the population was obliged to vote for the only choice. The allusion made by General Evren during his campaign to the fact that if the "constitution" is refused the military junta will not leave the power, also played a decisive role on the result of the referendum. The electors were obliged to vote for the "constitution" in the hope that only such a vote could assure replacing the actual military regime by a civilian one even if the latter will be authoritarian.

In brief, electors voted for the lesser of two evils...

----- ONE-MAN SHOW OF GENERAL EVREN -----

"If you do not wish a return to the pre-September 12th 1980, you should say 'yes' to the Constitution" (24.10)

"We have drawn up a new Constitution without feeling an inferiority complex, without copying other models in the admiration of the stranger... A new constitution which is compatible with our traditions..." (25.10)

"Do you have confidence in me? Do you have confidence in my friends of the National Security Council? If you do, I am the guarantee for the Constitution. You should say 'Yes' to it." (25.10)

"Let alone the refusal of the Constitution, even if only one Turk rests on these sacred lands, those enemies of the Turk, those brainwashed and sold traitors and degenerates can never touch even an inch of the lands of the Turkish fatherland." (25.10)

"Those who oppose this constitution have put on dark glasses and seen everything black. The good of the society always takes precedence over the interests of individuals, otherwise, anarchy emerges." (26.10)

"Those people are brainwashed. You cannot change their minds. Even if you cut their heads off you cannot separate them from their ill ideologies." (27.10)

"After 1970, some of the young army officers had been involved in activities very far from the direction of the democracy. And we had liquidated them without hesitation. If the same thing had been made in all State institutions, they would not have fallen in the pre-September 12 situation." (28.10)

"The master of the Constitution is the Turkish Armed Forces. The Turkish Armed Forces is an indispensable part of the Turkish Nation. Therefore, the Constitution will be the property of the society. It will belong to everyone." (30.10)

"Our aim is not to clean the dirty pots and pans and hand the country to them (former politicians)

so that they dirty the pots pans again." (31.10)

"Trade union 'fathers' dragged labor to poverty and hunger throughout the strikes period. Nowhere in the world workers dance and sing outside strike quarters, but in our country wherever there was a strike, the strikers used to sing and dance in merry atmosphere. Idleness is no accomplishment, people should not show jubilation because they are not working." (31.10)

"The leaders of the banned political parties secretly send messages to their old organisations. They still dream that the members will obey to whatever they say. A person who see everybody other than himself as a fly and is in belief that nobody else can lead the State, of whom one should be afraid." (31.10)

"If the presidential election had been held with the participation of two, three or four candidates, it would be necessary to permit an electoral campaign. But the actual situation of the State is not compatible with a propaganda campaign." (1.11)

"They say that Atatürk's eyes were also blue. Do you see those imprudents? They add that the colours of the sky and the sea are also blue... That is to say, one should use blue vote and say 'no' to the Constitution. Yes, the colour of the sky is blue, but that blueness is not of use. The fertility comes from clouds and rains. Now the eyes of Atatürk are on us. His spirit is with us. With his blue eyes, he looks indignantly at them. If it had been possible, he would break them to bits, be sure of it!.. (1.11)

"In our age countries are no longer fighting to shed blood, rather they are fighting with money. There is a secret ideologic and economic war. We have won the first round of this war. But the war is not over. Several other rounds will follow. It would have been impossible to win that war if we had kept the 1961 Constitution fully in effect." (1.11)

"Once the Constitution is ap-

proved, it shall make European countries shut up!" (2.11)

"Nobody will be permitted to organize rallies seeking abolition of articles 141-142 (barring communist propaganda and organization) of the Penal Code as happened in the pre-September 12 period." (1.11)

"We are receiving about everyday letters of threat, but we give no heed to them." (2.11)

"In a report they (trade-unions) claimed that NATO is an aggressive organization and urged the administration to withdraw from it. They, and the whole world, know that NATO is not an aggressive organization, but a defence organization." (2.11)

"If the Turkish Armed Forces had not taken over the administration and extremists had done so, this Taksim Square (of Istanbul) would have become Red Square." (4.11)

"The State could not remain a spectator while revolution has in preparation." (4.11)

"If a publication is sectarian, provocative or contains State secrets, those who wrote the news and articles and those who published them would be punished. Publications having such characteristics may be banned from distribution." (4.11)

"The associations were controlled by those who wanted to create turmoil in Turkey. An association cannot engage in politics. All associations that do not operate accordingly will be closed." (4.11)

"The only objective of our enemies is to suppress the existence of the Turkish nation and to wipe off Turkey from the map. You should never forget this fact." (5.11)

"Some skillful traitors, being aware of the success of the military regime say that if you wished the military stay in power, you should vote against the Constitution. Don't believe them and vote 'Yes' for the sake of the future of our country, State, our children and our nation. The question is whether we want to return to the chaos of pre-September 12 or not." (5.11)

WORLD PRESS ON THE REFERENDUM

The generals' constitution establishes an authoritarian presidential system, under which basic rights and freedoms are curtailed and the civilian cabinet and parliament are relegated to the background. The generals dissolved all political parties and proposed under the new constitution that some 100 political leaders—including ex-premiers Süleyman Demirel and Bülent Ecevit—be banned from politics for 10 years. The military did not allow other candidates to make a bid for the presidency and campaigning against the constitution was not permitted. (The Financial Times, 8.11.1982)

We can put the question to know if, in the long run, the regime will deem itself lucky of achieving such a result. The efforts made, by taking all the possible measures to achieve an evident majority seem to have missed their objective, because results of 90 pc or more usually bear in mind totalitarian regimes. Even the two referendums organized by the Greek Junta did not have yield such high results. The blue ballot paper had a clearly darker reflection in the envelope and, in addition these papers were thicker and, more likely to be made of carton. During the Sunday night till Monday, it has been told with laughter that in some voting offices, the content of the envelopes was so obvious, seen from the outside that they did not even open the envelopes in the course of the counting (...). At a polling station of a poor district located on the periphery of Ankara that I have visited later on, the official brought the envelopes which were given him nearer the light and then, he slipped them in the ballot-box. Although the presence of the police was a little bit more important near the entrance, here was also ruling an obvious threatening atmosphere. It was as if the electorate was submitted before this odd manner of doing which is unprecedented in the history of elections in Turkey. (NRC-Handelsblad-Rotterdam- 8.11.1982)

In as much as this one (Demirel) has kept the reporters waiting for about 45 minutes, the latter widely had the opportunity to ascertain the transparency of the envelopes. They could count the "yes" and the "no" which fell in the ballot-box. I, myself, could ascertain that in the ghettos of the district of Mamak in Ankara the responsible of the ballot-box brought the envelopes nearer the light before slipping them -and not the voters themselves- in the ballot-box. (Volkskrant-Amsterdam: 8.11.1982)

The dictatorship of General Evren: Serious limitations on the fundamental liberties in the text of the constitution. (El Pais-Madrid, 7.11.1982)

The false elections in the Turkey of generals. (La Republica-Rome, 7.11.1982)

A law which perpetuates the generals' dictatorship. The new constitution "largely authoritarian". Draconian restrictions were imposed on the trade union activity. (L'Unita-Rome, 7.11.1982)

20 millions of Turks voted without having the least choice. The Turkish military imposed its odd conception of democracy. The polling stations were supervised by only 2 or 3 policemen. (Belang van Limburg, Hasselt/Belgium: 8.11.1982)

We can never know with certainty whether the voters, by voting "yes", voted in the favour of the generals or in the favour of a return to the civilian regime and of an ending of the martial law as soon as possible. We can never know either what would be their attitudes if a democratic campaign could precede this popular vote. And the first reflection came in mind, regarding the peasants fulfilling their voting duties in some villages, the fact that this country has 40 of

its population illiterate and that in the absence of the public debate, a great majority of the electorate was not in a position to be of opinion with full knowledge of the cause of the proposed constitution.

All the rights and freedoms stated in the text are stocked with a "but" and there is no trade unionist, no university member, no reporter suffering from the military regime to think that this popular vote really constitutes a step forward to a return to the democracy and he will have his life easier in the seven years to come. The only consolation which offers itself to those is to think that, maybe, a larger percentage of "no" would only get on the military's nerves and harden the regime. The voters had nothing to gain by a negative vote and, this is, doubtlessly, the principal element which makes this popular vote contestable and, all prognostics about the future political behaviour of the Turkish people hasardious. (Le Monde, 9.11.1982)

The referendum campaign bore little resemblance to a democratic plebiscite. General Evren embarked on a fortnight-long-jet-stop tour, flanked by stern-looking military colleagues as he delivered blunt harangues on the evils of the politicians the army took over from in 1980. The speeches were carried on Turkey's television and radio night after night. The opposition was given no chance to reply. Its leaders are barred from making political pronouncements; and two weeks before the vote a ban was slapped on Turkey's usually fairly outspoken press, preventing it from criticizing General Evren's speeches or from objecting to the constitution. Many of General Evren's own supporters regarded this heavy-handedness as unnecessary. (The Economist, 13.11.1982)

The military rulers enjoyed a monopoly on propaganda, and General Evren, during his 10-day campaign tour before the referendum, had played expertly on the frightening memories of the pre-coup days. One of the main grievances of the opponents of the constitutional draft was that the referendum had been presented to the people as a "choice between terrorism and security or between betrayal and patriotism". Because of restrictions imposed earlier on political activities the former political parties could not come up with a cohesive programme to supplement their appeal to the people to vote "no". The people had therefore been "understandably" more responsive to choice offered by the military even if the opposition had been able to draft a persuasive programme. (The Times, 9.11.1982)

The overwhelming percentage in the favour of the new constitution submitted to the referendum by the Turkish Military Junta on Sunday has not shrug the shoulders. Because, if the prefabricated result of a parody of popular vote makes adopted, as foreseen, a constitutional text made to measure by the junta to legalize and to "civilize" its power, here, there is more than a simple operation of adaptation of the law to the accomplished fact. In reality, the question is not only to institutionalize the dictatorship but also to make it acceptable in the external world. (Le Drapeau Rouge, 9.11.1982)

The military in power in Turkey since the coup d'Etat of the 12 September 1980 won a magisterial victory. It does not put an end, as much, to the ambiguities of this vote: some observers have already minded that under the dictatorship in Greece, the colonels had also proved their "excessively wide popularity" on the occasion of a referendum. (La Libre Belgique, 9.11.1982)

The rate of participation -very large in town and in the country-side- is explained partly by the fear of

the voters of being banned from their political rights for five years (a sanction heavier than the ones applied in the countries where the vote is compulsory) and above all, of being designated as the target of a future repression. Nevertheless, the voting conditions (polling-booth, envelopes) allowed a negative vote and this possibility was used only by less than one voter out of ten. It is true that the referendum did not offer a real alternative: the military had announced that in the case of refusal the present system would be extended, so it remained to the Turkish voters only the choice between President Evren and General Evren... (La Cité, 9.11.1982)

It is true that, this time, the High Election Board had threatened absentees with fine. It is true that the envelopes in which the ballot-papers were cast were transparent and let one guess their color, white for "yes", blue for "no" which, in small villages where the muhtar (the mayor) who knows all the persons under his administration could arise strongly dissuasive for the eventual opposers. It is true again that since two weeks a rumour has been set afloat that a responsible from the Home Office would be present at each polling station and, he would registrate those who would declare themselves against the constitution and vote "no". And talking about the pressures exerted by the military authorities in the Eastern and South-Eastern regions with the Kurdish majority, threatened the population with the retaliation in the case of the negative vote. Finally, it is true that it was forbidden to go through a campaign for "no"...

The demonstration of the opposition has been reduced to their simplest voicing, sometimes spectacular. In a like manner, saturday night, the extreme-left organization Devrimci-Yol succeeded, with impunity, likely by broadcasting from a boat cruising in the offing of the Princes' Islands, in broadcasting at few minutes past nine p.m., a pirate TV broadcast calling to vote "no to the constitution of the junta" that the Istanbulers from the south-eastern suburbs could pick up for fourteen minutes.

Of course the censorship has immediately prohibited the publication of this news and the sunday papers did not mention it. They also passed over in silence, still because of the censorship, some flash demonstrations calling to vote "no" which passed off in several workers' suburbs of Istanbul.

On sunday, some small protestation actions were also registered at several polling stations: the voters strove to sweep off the packages of the white ballot-papers, leaving only the blue ones of "no" in sight. (Le Matin, 9.11.1982)

Referendum or plebiscite? Only communists and other ill minded people can propound such a question. It is a fact that the Turks had to betake themselves to the ballot-boxes. And who would venture to doubt that a return to the democracy which is in question indeed, since, General Evren -Evren Pasha as he is called- head of the military junta in power since the September 1980, himself, went and voted in lounge suit. Moreover, has it been ever seen a more carefully prepared vote? In two years, all the suspects of seditious opinions have been put in jail. According to the official figures 106,446 are still detained. One hundred and eleven capital punishments were pronounced, 21 were executed. The junta's prosecutors have demanded thousands of death sentences. Hundreds of cases are in trial. The one of the fifty-two leaders of the great progressive trade union central, the DISK, drags on since the long months. Scrupulous justice. It even takes the time to torture the prisoners and to indict their principal Counsel for the defence, the president

of the Bar of Istanbul. The press is censored, the political activities are forbidden. Who would claim that Evren Pasha does not make the order to reign and, thus he did not join the best conditions together for the yesterday's vote. What an admirable minute detail in his organization. Detailed as a barracks' regulation, a draft constitution was elaborated... (L'Humanité, 8.11.1982)

The vote is not compulsory, but highly advised. In september, the country has been consigned to allow some thousands of officials to draw up an exhaustive list of the voters. All the persons which were perceived in the street were summoned. The absentees will be banned from their civil rights for five years with the impossibility of voting at the legislative and municipal elections and, certainly, of standing at the elections.

Facing the president of the polling station, the voter takes an envelope. Not exactly transparent but when it is rested on a table, a colored ballot-paper may be visible on the inside. Here is the drama, because the printed papers which are unfavourable to the constitution have a pretty pale blue color. (Libération, 8.11.82)

But, these rebuffs, splinters raised here and there have never withstood the shock facing the huge electoral war machine launched by the generals.

U.S. and West European officials reacted Monday with a mixture of surprise and guarded optimism to Turkish voters' overwhelming approval of a new constitution. In Washington, a State Department spokesman, John Hughes, said "the United States has welcomed the effort of the military government in Turkey to return peace and stability." The restrictive nature of many of the constitution's 193 articles is expected to remain the key source of controversy both within and outside Turkey." (International Herald Tribune, 9.11.1982)

Almost every politician who was prominent prior to autumn 1980 has been banned for 10 years (which in practice means forever) from future activity. This means the elimination of an entire generation with experience in democratic government under very difficult circumstances. (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 15.11.82)

In the referendum held Sunday, voters had to take part under threat of going to jail. Turkey in its next stage will be a democracy in not much more than name. Meanwhile, American military cooperation with Turkey deepens. The latest development is a plan for the United States to build one new air base and modernize two others in eastern Turkey for, essentially, Gulf purposes. For the bases, the Turks are promised substantial extra military aid. It seems no less apt to say that Turks used the bases to induce Americans to pay less attention to the slowness of their move, and to their continued occupation of nearly half of Cyprus. Congress will have a chance to sort out the issue when the administration asks for the money." (The Washington Post, 15.11.1982)

The illiteracy (which affects the 38 % of the population) and the survival of a quasi-feudal system in most of the country-sides, more particularly in the eastern and the south-eastern parts of the country whose advantage had been taken by the traditional political parties before the coup d'Etat, also allowed the military regime to turn the passivity of the voters to its account, note the observers. (La Dernière Heure 9.11.1982)

Indeed, these results were achieved partly thanks to the monopolization of the propaganda campaign conducted by the president of the NSC and his refusal to set up any debates about the text. (La Lanterne -La Meuse, 9.11.1982)

STATE TERROR

In the preceding pages, the examples of the repression applied to those who led a campaign against the "Constitution" or revealed that they used blue bulletin were already given.

The state terror systematically applied since the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, was reinforced prior to the referendum and carried on with same brutality after the voting of November 7, despite the fact that a further step was taken in the direction of "returning to democracy".

NEW CASES AGAINST WORKERS

As the trial of 52 leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) was going on with the interrogation of the defendants, on October 6, 19 new defendants joined them. The military prosecutor requested death sentence for 10 of them and the total number of the defendants tried under the menace of capital punishment reached to 62.

Parallel to this principal case, the military prosecutor opened new mass trials against the officials of the affiliated trade unions. Within a one-year period, 28 from the Textile Workers' Union, 20 from the Metal Workers' Union, 27 from the Printers' Union, 24 from the Bank Employees' Union, 24 from the Progressive Chemical Workers' Union, 51 from the Food Workers' Union and 16 from the Rubber Workers' Union indicted with the request of 20 years for each.

The military prosecutor announced that 43 persons from the Textile, 8 from the Metal and 90 from the Bank Employees are subjected to a supplementary persecution.

Besides, 153 workers who carried out a resistance action against the mass dismissal at the Taris Komplexe in Izmir were brought before a military court with the request of prison terms up to 24 years for each. Earlier they had been condemned to shorter prison terms, but the Military Court of Cassation had overruled the judgement. The military authorities search 69 persons accused of being involved in the same resistance.

PEACELOVERS' CASE

The defendants of the process of the Turkish Peace Committee, composed of members of parliament, scholars, journalists and artists, were brought to the military court of Istanbul on November 13, in prison uniforms and hair shaven off. During their interrogation, the defendants protested against this humiliating treatment.

On the other hand, in relation with this process, the military prosecutors started a new legal proceedings against 160 intellectuals in Istanbul and 60 in Ankara.

REQUEST OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: 4,932

Despite the claim of returning to "democratic life", the military prosecutors continue to open new mass trials against the members of the left-wing organizations. With the new proceedings, the total number of the request of death sentences rose to 4,932. In the following list, the number of the request of death sentences are indicated between paratheses after the number of defendants:

- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): 8.10 in Istanbul: 58(5), 23.10 in Izmir: 179(66), 24.11 in Erzurum: 104(16).

- Marxist-Leninist Unity of Armed Propaganda (MLSPB): 10.10 in Istanbul: 14(5)
 - Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP): 8.10 in Istanbul: 49(-)
 - Communist Party of Turkey (TKP): 16.10 in Izmir: 42(-)
 - Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol): 3.11 in Istanbul: 385(86)
 - Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP): 10.11 in Adana: 52(-)
 - Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP): 10.11 in Istanbul: 21(-)
 - Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML): 11.11 in Diyarbakır: 105(24)
- A member of the Dev-Yol was condemned to death on October 28 in Izmir.

PRESSURES ON LAWYERS

The defence lawyers of whom the right to execute their profession at military tribunals are subjected to pressure by legal proceedings about them.

On October 3 in Konya, five defence lawyers were indicted on the charge of having insulted a military prosecutor during their intervention at the trial of their clients.

In Ankara, famous lawyer Halit Celenk was brought before a military tribunal on November 25, on the charge of inciting his clients at military prison to illegal acts. A 5-year prison term was requested for him.

EDITOR ERDOST'S TRIAL

Editor of Sol Publishing House, Mr Muzaffer Erdost is being tried at a military court of Ankara for having given the Dutch Television an interview in which he revealed how his brother Ilhan Erdost was killed under torture in military prison. Just after the military coup d'état, two brothers had been taken into custody and subjected to torture which resulted in the death of Ilhan Erdost, editor of Onur Publishing House. Muzaffer Erdost is accused of discrediting the Turkish State abroad.

NEW CONDEMNATIONS

In the period between October 6 and November 13, military courts have condemned to varying prison terms 24 persons from the Union of Revolutionary Communists of Turkey (TIKB), 4 from Dev-Sol, 4 from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP), 16 from Dev-Yol, 12 from different left groups and 3 from rightist groups.

Mir Dogu Perinçek, Chairman of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP) was condemned to a one-year prison term in Ankara and to a 1,5-year prison term in Istanbul.

MAN - HUNTINGS

On October 23, a militant of the MLSPB, Talip Yılmaz was shot dead by security forces while he was attempting to escape from the military prison of Hasdal in Istanbul.

It was announced on November 21 that 10 militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) were found dead at the skirts of the River of Tigris.

According to official communiqués, from October 7 to November 24, the security forces apprehended in different regions of the country 38 militants of the TKP, 6 of the Revolutionary Liberation, 13 of the Liberation, 21 of the Dev-Sol, one militant of the National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK) and 14 rightist activists.

Besides, on November 2 in Kayseri, 41 persons were taken into custody for not standing up during the national anthem was being performed.

POLITICAL MURDER IN HOLLAND

In the city of Utrecht of Holland, Nubar Yalimyan, a Turkish citizen of Armenian origin, was assassinated by a non-identified person in his home, on No-

vember 5. He was a militant of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) and was carrying a false name, Reso Yalim, for the reason of being subjected to a legal proceedings in Turkey.

In a press release, the TKP/ML announced that Yalimyan, 22, had been under threat of the MIT (Turkish National Intelligence Organisation) agents and he was assassinated by them.

GUNEY STRIPPED OF CITIZENSHIP

Famous movie-maker Yılmaz Güney who won the Golden Palm Award at the Cannes Film Festival was stripped of Turkish citizenship on October 28 by the decree of the Ministerial Council.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

- In Istanbul, the editorialist of the daily Milli Gazete, Mr Sadık Albayrak was put in jail for serving his 16-month prison term. (5.10)

- The military prosecutor indicted university professor Sadun Aren for his text-book entitled "Macro-Economy" and requested a 10-year imprisonment for him. (6.10)

- Editorialist of the daily Tercüman, Mrs. Nazlı Ilicak was incarcerated to serve a 3-month prison term.

- Three journalists of the daily Cumhuriyet, Okay Gönensin, Mehmed Kemal and Oktay Akbal were indicted by the military prosecutor on the charge of violating the bans imposed by the military. (12.10)

- Six academicians from the Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences of Adana were condemned to 8-month prison term each by the Martial Law Court.

- Editor of the weekly Savaş Yolu, actually banned, Mr Ibrahim Arık was condemned to 15-year prison term by the Martial Law Court of Izmir. (16.10)

- The Minister of National Education announced that 4,968 primary and secondary school teachers were dismissed by the administration. (22.10)

- A new process started against two journalists of the daily Tercüman, Mrs Nazlı Ilicak and Aydogdu Iltis, at the martial law court of Istanbul. (26.10)

- The introduction of the monthly Tek Cephe, published in Brussels, into Turkey was banned by the Council of Ministers. (6.10)

- The publication of the daily Yeni Nesil was banned by the martial law authorities of Istanbul. (6.11)

- The military prosecutor opened a new case against two journalists of the daily Cumhuriyet, Okay Gönensin and Oktay Akbal, and requested one-year prison term for each. (9.11)

- Assistant professor of the Social Sciences Faculty of the Aegean University, Tahsin Yılmaz was indicted by the military prosecutor. A 5-year prison term is requested for him on the charge of making communist propaganda in his text-book. (11.11)

- Journalist Akın Kıvanç received a ten-month prison term for degrading the State and was jailed after the judgement.

- The Chairman of the Higher Education Council (YOK) announced that 192 university professors were dismissed and 104 others resigned from their posts. The YOK launched a liquidation operation aiming progressive professors who are known as the opponents of the regime. Those who resigned left their posts protesting against anti-democratic practices of the YOK (10.11)

RESISTANCE/SOLIDARITY

17.10: The opponents of the Turkish Junta occupied the Office of Turkish Airlines in Stuttgart, Germany. The same day, a "Soirée for Protesting the Turkish regime and Manifesting Solidarity with its Victims" was held in Wien.

22-23.10: The European Trade Unions Confederation organized a two-day seminar in Brussels with the purpose of discussing the questions of the Turkish trade union movement in the face of the new constitution. The meeting was attended by the Turkish scholars and trade union officials as well as the representatives of the ICFTU, the ETUC, the WCL and their affiliate organizations. The participants declared that at least 27 articles of the new constitution are in contradiction with articles 5, 10 and 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

25.10: The Turkish activists put on the walls of the Turkish Consulate in Hannover banners of protest against the military regime.

31.10: The french trade union organization CFDT organized a day of solidarity with DISK in Paris. In the morning, the representatives of the CFDT and DISK held a common press conference and gave information on the violation of trade union rights.

31.11: Some militants of the Revolutionary-Left (Dev-Sol) occupied the Turkish Consulate in Köln with the purpose of drawing attention to the anti-democratic character of the referendum to be held on November 7. The same organization carried out similar acts by occupying the Turkish Tourism Office in Amsterdam on November 5, the Turkish Airlines offices in Münich and Paris on November 9.

5.11: During the football match between Austria Wien and Galatasaray in Wien, the militants of the Dev-Yol unfolded banners carrying anti-junta slogans.

6.11: Turkish democrats participated in a solrée organized in Freiburg for solidarity with oppressed peoples.

6.11: Radio Athens broadcasted a special programme on the referendum in Turkey with the participation of progressive Turkish artists and personalities.

Besides, the Turkish workers in Germany participated in mass rallies organized by the German Trade Union (DGB) for protesting against the anti-popular measures taken by the new German Government and carried banners protesting also the repression in Turkey.

Also in Denmark and Switzerland, a series of meetings were organized for making public the real nature of the referendum to be held in Turkey.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

TURKEY - EUROPE

- The European Commission for Human Rights has accepted a Turkish request to delay until the end of January 1982 its written reply to accusations of breaches of the Human Rights Convention by five European Governments, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. (6.10)

- The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution stating that the new Constitution of Turkey does not answer to the requisites of a real democracy and calling upon the Turkish authorities to revise it. The new constitution "should assure the pluralism of political parties and trade unions, the protection and equality of treatment of religious minorities, the pre-eminence of the law and the separation of powers and should respect the human rights and freedoms," declares the resolution. (DR-8.10)

- Three days after the referendum on the new constitution in Turkey, the foreign ministers of the "21" (Council of Europe), adopted a waiting attitude at their meeting in Strasbourg, avoiding any decisive position on the Turkish question. "Whatsoever will be the institutions in Turkey, it does not fall on us to judge the constitutional system adopted by that country," said to the press André Chandernagor, French minister charged with the European affairs. (DR-12.11)

- The Turkish Constitution was criticized in the report on the southern flank submitted to the meeting of the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly held in London. The rapporteur, Dutch deputy Ton Frinking said: "Some differences can appear between the constitution put in force and the future practices in political life. Anyhow, I am against the view tolerating differences between the concepts of democracy of Mediterranean countries." (M-19.11)

- On the accord between German Premier Helmut Kohl and US President Reagan for supporting the Turkish military regime, the German Foreign Minister, Mr Genscher, visited Turkey on November 19 and promised the Turkish authorities to ask the German Parliament to release an economic aid of 400 million DM within the framework of the OECD. It is reported that, in return, the Turkish authorities accepted the repatriation of 100,000 Turkish immigrant workers living in FRG. (DR-21.11)

TURKEY-USA

- More than 250 Turkish and American businessmen met in Istanbul on October 3-6 to discuss in panels the prospects of boosting Turkish-American economic cooperation. "Turkey is capable of becoming the breadbasket of the Middle-East," Burke McCormack, an American banker, said in an interview. "In-

vestors in a foreign country are primarily interested in the durability of the administration of that country." The President of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Ali Koçman announced that "Turkish businessmen offered the Americans numerous projects to develop jointly. American businessmen are considering using Turkey as an economic outpost to produce here and export to the Middle and Near East area". (DN-6/8.10)

- It is the first time that the US Rapid Deployment Force took part in the NATO manoeuvres code-named "Determination 82" carried out in Turkey and landed troops from the air in the area of Kesan of the Turkish Trace. (C-8.10)

- Director General of the AAFLI, a labour education institute sponsored by the CIA, Morris Palladino came in Turkey and held talks with the leaders of the pro-government labour organization, Türk-İs. It was announced that the AAFLI had granted 20 million Turkish Liras for financing the Education Complex of the Türk-İs. (M-15.10)

- Chief of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Mr William Casey made a 36-hour visit to Turkey and held talks with Turkish authorities. On a question, Turkish Prime Minister Uluşu declared that he could not reveal the subject discussed with the CIA chief. (C-16.10)

- The Turco-American Common Defence Group held a meeting in Ankara to discuss the development of military cooperation between the two countries.

- Turkey and the United States have reached an agreement to improve and modernize the facilities of an undisclosed number of Turkish air bases for use by US forces "in time of major crisis or war, Turkish Defence Minister Haluk Bayülken disclosed. (DN-1.11)

- In another interview to the Turkish press, Bayülken disclosed that cooperation in the military field is being contemplated with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Tunisia. (C-5.11)

- Egyptian Foreign Minister Kemal Hasan Ali, during his visit to Ankara, announced that Egypt is ready for a strategic cooperation with Turkey. (C-5.11)

- US Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe told the Turkish press that there are plans for stockpiling military equipment at Turkish airfields which are to be modernized under the new Turco-American agreement. At the same time, the Washington Post reported that two airfields, at Batman and Erzurum, would be modernized and a new one would be built at Mus, all located in eastern Turkey. (DN-15.11)

- President Reagan and Federal German Premier Helmut Kohl announced in a common communiqué in Washington that the two countries would support the Turkish Government's efforts to return to democracy. (M-18.11)