BLACK BOOK

on the
militarist "democracy"
in
TURKEY

INFO-TÜRK

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INFO-TÜRK is a working group founded in 1974 by a number of progressive people with a view to informing world opinion of the political, economic, social and cultural life of Turkey and of Turkish immigration. Denouncing the repression in that country, it contributes also to the struggle for democracy in Turkey.

INFO-TÜRK has the honour of publishing the only bilingual periodical on Turkey which has been appearing abroad without interruption for more than ten years: The monthly newsletter INFO-TÜRК.
PREFACE
The Republic of Turkey today figures within the Western European family as the only country ruled by an authoritarian regime. After the collapse of dictatorships one after the other in Greece, Portugal and Spain, Turkey has remained the only worry to European democratic institutions and after the military coup of 1980 has become the scourge of the European democracies.

The state terrorism which turned this country into a huge concentration camp is mainly marked by:
- Arrest of more than 200,000 persons for political reasons,
- Systematic torture and ill-treatment of prisoners,
- Mass trials in which over 50,000 people have been brought before military tribunals,
- Execution of 27 political activists while more than 6,000 face the same inhuman punishment,
- Dissolution of all political parties existing prior to the military coup and a restriction on the new founded parties’ activities,
- Suspension of progressive trade unions and dissolution of all progressive associations,
- Censorship and self-censorship imposed on the press and systematic persecution of journalists, writers, translators, artists and all anti-establishment intellectuals,
- Ideological conditioning of cultural, educational and academic life,
- Discrimination, repression, extermination and deportation in the Turkish Kurdistan,
- Deprival of Turkish nationality for the regime’s opponents abroad,
- Suppression of all means of defending social rights that were previously obtained, causing a 50 percent fall in the wage earners’ purchasing power.

Adoption of a new Constitution which lay down the foundations of a constant repressive regime and enabled General Evren, who masteredmind the coup, to occupy the post of the “President of the Republic” for seven years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

If you lend an ear to some simplistic arguments raised to justify this benediction, the Turkish presence in these lands and consequently in the European family is a historical mistake, but also a de facto situation. No one should expect from this Asiatic-originated people a democratic regime entirely conforming to European standards, because “Turks are violent by nature and are not
entitled to democracy.' Since it is not possible to remove Turks from their lands or to adapt them to European standards, why should the Western World endanger its strategic and economic interests in the area by angering Turkish rulers for the sake of defending these standards.

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

"We wonder if anyone at the U.S. Embassy has ever interviewed Turkish torture victims, or saw, as we did, in rooms full of relatives of political prisoners, listening to their descriptions of prison conditions. If they had, they would realize that torture not only continues, which they now admit, but that it is widespread, which they deny. By coming face to face with torture victims, by witnessing the pain and outrage with which they recount their experiences, they would be able to determine, as we did, that these are not fabrications thought up by prisoners 'who know how sensitive we foreigners are to torture stories,' as we were told by one Embassy officer.

That recurrent abstraction about the 'violent nature of the Turkish people' would even irrelevant. To be sure, not every member of the diplomatic staff believes that torture is a national characteristic. An officer in Istanbul assured us that: 'Based on my experience, the Turkish people are not used to, or even resigned to, any use of torture.' Yet others, both in Washington and in Ankara, expressed the belief that Turks were violent by nature as if this somehow explained away the use of torture in Turkish society.' (Freedom and Fear: Human Rights in Turkey, March 1988, Washington-New York)

Such a Lombrosoan approach by U.S. diplomacy could be convincing for some readily made recce addicts. If U.S. history had not been filled with shameful episodes of witch-hunting, lynching, lynch mobs, Hiroshing Nagasaki, Vietnam, Chile, and if it had not been put in evidence that chief torturers of the allied countries such as Turkey are systematically trained in the United States with the most sophisticated methods.

And European adherents of this Lombrosoan approach could be assured on grounds that many painful souvenirs of the Turkish occupation lurking for centuries still remain vivid in collective memory. If European history itself had not been tainted with thequisition memories and atrocities perpetrated by European rulers against their own European subjects even in the last few decades in Germany, Italy, Sein, Portuguese and Greece. Whatever their origin, their historical background and their national characteristics, all peoples are equal before international conventions on human rights and should in no way be discriminated against.

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

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

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

Seljuk, a Turk of the Oghuz tribe, gave his name to the first of these Turkish tribes to win historical prominence. In 1068 the Seljuks took Baghdad, Christian Armenia fell to the Seljuk Turks in 1066. By 1070 they were moving through the area of Syria and Palestine. Armenia fell to the Seljuk's following the battle of Malatya (Manzikert) in 1071. Shortly thereafter, the Seljuks established the state of Rum (Turkey) with its capital at Kayseri. After a gradual decline, the Seljuk empire finally submitted to another Turkish tribe, the Osman Empire, in the late 14th century.

Founded in 1299, the Ottoman State turned into a three-concentric empire within a very short time. The process of Ottoman expansion was interrupted by the Mongol invasion of Anatolia led by Tamerlane in 1402, but restored again within a few decades. After the fall of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, Sultan Mehmed II and his successors guided the Ottoman Empire to its zenith.
The Ottoman Empire's expansion was carried out, without any doubt, at the expense of foes, welfare and liberties of the peoples of the occupied lands. The highest price was paid without a doubt by the Christian communities. But the Turkish peasants and handicraftsmen too underwent cruelty from the Ottoman dynasty when they revolted against the pillage of the cavalrymen and the Janissaries.

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

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

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

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

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

This process of "Westernization" or "Europeanization" is a very painful one. The Turkish bourgeoisie and its bureaucrat allies have taken this process as a means of capitalist development, closer collaboration with foreign capital and a fashionable way of living.

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

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

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

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

Since imperial ownership of estates did not give the sipahis the possibility of capital accumulation and the naysa the possibility of leasing the lands and becoming "free laborers," the very first
prerequisites of a capitalist development did not exist. Although big cities had manufactured and commerce, this centralized despotism prevented them from turning to capitalist enterprises.

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

On the other hand, all the privileges granted to Western countries during the growing period of the Ottoman Empire as a sign of friendship later became an impediment for the latter. In 1525 the Ottomans responded to an appeal from Francis I of France to aid him against the Habsburgs. Subsequent French influence in the Ottoman Empire was marked by a treaty in 1533. What began as a concession from an Empire at the height of its powers evolved into the extensive system of capitulations that was to trouble Ottoman-European relations. These capitulations gave the European powers commercial and financial privileges that in time were extended particularly to Great Britain (1790), Austria (1816), Holland (1806), and Sweden (1737). In 1830 the United States and Turkey signed a treaty containing a "most favored nation" clause.

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

In fact, in the second half of the 18th century, under the international affairs of Western industry and commerce, the Ottoman society began to change. As the financial crisis deepened, the system of tax-won completely altered and the system of public property of the estate collapsed. So, the timars turned into private estates and the bureaucracy happening to own the state-gained power before the Sultan's despotic rule. On the other hand, the young bourgeoisie rising in non-Muslim population of the Empire began to act more daringly thanks to its close collaboration with powerful Western capitalism.

By the second half of the 19th century, the changes of social structure and the succession of failures, primarily military, convinced the Ottoman rulers of the necessity for reforms with the Empire. Reforms in the Ottoman Empire really began with Sultan Selim III and his successor Mahmud II who instituted a number of innovations. The Western powers supported these reforms because they would prepare the necessary infrastructure and legal framework for exploiting the country's manpower and economic resources and would further the disintegration of the Empire, mostly thanks to national rights to be given to numerous ethnic and religious communities of the society.

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

This treaty was followed by the Gülhane Hattı: Milletler (Noble List of Gülhane) in 1839. Drawn up by Grand Vizier Mecit pasa, this edict promised the Western powers further reforms to guarantee western interests and to increase the immovabilities of the Christian minorities.

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

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


come of the western-type reforms. Referring to this discontent, Sultan Abdülmínit II abolished the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament and cracked down on the intellectuals sponsoring western-type reforms and parliamentary system. Yet, during his 35-year reign, the collapse of the Empire did not stop, but on the contrary, accelerated.

In 1881, Dûşünscî Umutçulu (Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt) composed of the representatives of six European states, acting like the IMF of our epoch, took the whole economic life of the country under its control. Just before World War I, Ottoman debts totalled more than 700 million dollars. In 1912, a third of the imperial budget was allocated to payments of public debts. In the same period, the Germans obtained a 90-year concession for Berlin-to-Baghdad railway construction.

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

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

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

Although the monarchy in Istanbul surrendered to western powers, the workers, peasants and tradesmen of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace, and young army officers organized guerrilla warfare in a short time against the occupation forces. This popular resistance was later supported by the national bourgeoisie with the hope of replacing the non-Muslim bourgeoisie after the victory. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, one of the heroes of the First World War, joined the resistance forces on May 19, 1919, and led them to the constitution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly in Ankara and to setting up a regular army. Thanks to material and diplomatic support from the young Soviet Republic, this popular army routed the occupation forces in 1922 and took back the territories which France in the present map of Turkey.

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

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

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

Already in 1921, while the Turkish socialist movement was active in the national liberation
war on many fronts and SovietRussia was supporting this war, the Ottoman pashas leading the National Assembly and the resistance forces claimed down on left-wing organizations, suppressed guerrilla units, assassinated 15 leaders of the new-founded Communist Party of Turkey. After eliminating organized social forces, the Economic Congress held on February 17, 1923, announced that the new state was to adopt a capitalist development line, and accordingly would grant full control of the country's economy to the alliance of the new ruling national bourgeoisie and big landowners. Such an economic policy attaching so importance to the nucleus of the working people led only to the enrichment of a handful of capitalists and the army and party chiefs who, thanks to the advantages granted by the Snap, became capitalists or managers of State enterprises.

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

The Kuriis, who had actively taken part in the liberation war and had never raised a national independence question, realized in a few years that the chauvinist stand of the new political power was to deprive them of most of their fundamental rights such as education in their mother tongue. As a result of this repression the Kuriis had to revolt against the Ankara Government several times: 1924 Nasturi, 1925 Raman and Raskoyian, 1925 Sheikhl Sal, 1926 Kousasyp, 1927 Bicer, 1930 Zilan, 1927, 1930-32 Agru and 1932-38 Derim revolts. All of them were brutally suppressed.

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

Even a fraction of the ruling classes opposing the Kemalist power could not escape from the repression. Two political parties founded by close friends of Atatürk, the Progressive Party (TFI) and the Liberative Party (SP), were closed down respectively in 1926 and 1930, for fear of seeing discontented popular masses reassembled around them.

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

In the 1946-50 period, the US influence over Turkey rapidly increased. On May 20, 1947, the Law of "Aid to Turkey and Greece" came into force and on July 12, 1947, the United States and Turkey signed the "Agreement on Aid to Turkey." One year later, Turkey was included in the Marshall Plan and the Economic Aid Agreement was signed on July 4, 1948, between Turkey and the United States. The aim of this agreement was to turn Turkey into a raw material and food resource for Europe and into a market for the industries established in Europe with US capital. For these reasons, the US economic aid foreseen only the development of the Turkish agricultural sector, not the industrial. So, Turkey fell this time under the economic, ideological, political and military hegemony of the United States.

Evolving the dissatisfaction of the peasants and workers, unconscious of their class interest, the DP gained an overwhelming electoral victory in 1950. During the 10-year period of DP rule, US hegemony on Turkey was consolidated. Just after coming to power, the DP sent a Turkish brigade to the Korean War, which cost Turkey 271 deaths and 2,246 wounded. A reward for this sacrifice, Turkey was accepted to NATO in 1952 and all the Turkish armed forces were placed under the Pentagon's control. More than a hundred US military bases and installations were established on Turkish territories.

Defending US positions in all international forums, participating in all pro-American treaties such as the Baghdad Pact, afterwards renamed CENTO, and the RCO, adhering to the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, allowing the US war planes to take off from Turkish airports to intervene in the Lebanon Crisis in 1968, Turkey became completely isolated from the Third World and entirely dependent on the United States.

In the ideological plan, anti-communism was adopted as a state policy. The Turkish press
and the state-owned radio provided most vulgar examples of McCarthyism. Not only socialists, but also liberal-minded citizens who dared to criticize the US hegemony were exposed to police terrorism.

"Foreign capital was given many concessions with the adoption of the laws for the Encourage-
ment of Foreign Capital Investment and for the Oil Exploration and Production in 1954.
Parallel to the capitalization, sharty towns began to appear on the outskirts of big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Adana. To keep the growing working class under control, the existing company unions were grouped within the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (Türk-
İş), subsidized and guided by the US trade union centers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

During the Cyprus crisis in 1964, President Johnson's letter to Prime Minister İnönü, remind-
ing him that Turkey had no right to use US given military material without US permission, gave
tooth to anti-American protests. The government itself, reacting against the US insouciance, made an
outrage to socialist and Third World countries and concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet
Union in 1964.

Concerned by this anti-American atmosphere in Turkey, the United States launched new mig-
nonvoted to replace Inönü's coalition government by a pro-American one. Just before the Congress of the Justice Party (AP), hair to the discerning DP, Engineer Sıleyman Demirel, contractor of the US Morislan Company, was put forward by the pro-American mass media as the main can-
didate for chairman. Demirel's photos with President Johnson was largely used during this cam-
paign.

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

When the flight came back to power, a well-planned trap to tame the Armed Forces had already been set. When the trees of its fruits and the army officers had already been integrated in the capitalist class. In addition to salaried advantages considerably higher than those of the civilian public servants, army officers were made shareholders of OYAK, a mutual assistance fund for the Armed For-

ces, which was swaying with foreign and local capitalists with a view to increasing officers' profit

shares.

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

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

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

After the 1961 military deputies' entry to the National Assembly in the 1965 elections and the CHP's adoption of a center-of-the-left policy in 1959, such an eventuality became a nightmare for the United States and its local allies in Turkey.

While the AP was enforcing anti-democratic measures one after the other and reinforcing police repression, another right-wing party, Ex-Colonel Turkeş Nationalist Action Party (MHP) began, for its part, to train para-military groups, Grey Wolves. When the country once again underwent an economic crisis in 1969 and the AP Government failed to apply the drastic measures imposed by the IMF and other international monetary organ-
izations, in the face of an eventual rise of the left-wing alternative, all subversive materials in the arsenal were pushed forth and Turkey found herself in the front of political violence triggered by Grey Wolves. While big business appeals for political stabilization and for restoration of law and order were coming one after the other, the army hierarchy intervened on March 12, 1971, and forced the National Assembly to institute a national coalition government charged with stepping political violence, restoring law and order, putting in practice the economic provisions of the IMF and the big business and modifying the 1961 Constitution.

Law and order was restored by the proclamation of martial law in 17 important provinces of the country and the subsequent arrest of tens of thousands of left-wing militants, intellectuals and trade unions officials. The Council of Guerilla Organization tortured many of them at special inten-
telligence centers. Thousands of people were tried and condemned by military tribunals for their activities, and three young socialist lawyer were executed though they had not committed any act punishable by capital punishment.

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

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

The background of this military intervention and the subsequent start terror were exposed in detail in File on Turkey, Manhunt in Turkey and Turkey on Torture, published in 1972 and 1973 by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey. These and other documents clearly showed that fundamental rights and freedoms were constantly violated by either "parliamentary" or military wings of the fascist rule in Turkey, although this country was one of the signatories of all interna-
tional documents for protecting human rights.
Despite these human rights violations, international bodies such as the Council of Europe and the EEC, which declared the protection of these rights and freedoms as their "raison d'être," never adopted any effective stand against the Turkish regime. Although a handful of socialist deputies raised the Turkish question at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the majority of the representatives preferred to remain silent. "The Council's problem (if it had one) would be to find whether or not there were people who wanted to drop Turkey as Greece had been dropped. Turkey was a young democracy and there were problems in maintaining such a position. It was impossible to demand that a young democracy behave in the same way as Nor-
way, Sweden or Switzerland," said Swiss representative Revaz in an October 23,1972, Belgian diplomatic note justifying this attitude by referring to his talk in Turkey between April 20-25, 1972: "In all the talks we have had with political leaders in Ankara we have been struck by the fact that practically everybody thinks that the intervention by the army chiefs was neces-
sary." "
According to an argument shared by right-wing politicians, as long as any parliament exists in a country, democracy also exists; if the army chiefs had intervened in politics, it was necessary to protect young democracy! However, before the undeniable reports and documents exposing constant violation of human
rights, 20 European deputees brought a motion for a resolution to form a sub-committee with the charge of investigating the allegations.
But this proposal was turned down at the Florence meeting of the Political Affairs Commit-
tee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on July 5, 1973, on the grounds that such an intervention at a time when Turkey was about to hold a general election would endanger the restoration of democracy in Turkey. The main factor leading to this decision was social-dem-
crat leader Ecevit's last-minute intervention in the debate. On his behalf, CHP deputy Mustafa Ustundag said: "The general election will be held soon. There is important progress towards the restoration of democracy. In such a period, it is not useful to form a sub-committee for Turkey. Bülent Ecevit, too, shares this opinion."
Although a general election was held in 1973 and Bülent Ecevit came to power twice with the promise of putting an end to the Counter-guerrilla Organization's subversion and the Grey Wolves' terrorism, and of establishing a new order based on national independence, social justice and full respect for human rights and freedoms, the situation deteriorated, rather than ameliorat-
ed. Ecevit himself, forgetting his promise, bowed before the IMF and the USA. When anti-democ-
ratic forces resisted against the reopening of the US military bases and the application of the IMF's drastic economic measures, Ecevit's Government did not hesitate in resorting to arrests and bans on organizations, trade unions and publications.
The failure of Ecevit's policies, the subsequent rising of fascist terror, and all the dirty me-
œuvres by the United States administration and its local collaborators leading to the 1980 Coup are expounded in a chronological order in the following pages.
After a new 10-year experience, it became evident that a return to true democracy depended on full respect to all criteria of the European Convention on Human Rights. The slightest excep-
tion leads to the end to suspension of all rights and freedoms. In 1973, Turkish social democracy and the Council of Europe committed an error which facilitated the preparation for a new coup d'état, more brutal than the previous.
There is no doubt that defense of human rights, struggle for democracy, national indepen-
dence and human dignity is first of all the task of the people of Turkey. The democrats forces of the country, at the expense of thousands of victims, carry on this lofty struggle. This is also a task for all democratic forces of the world, especially for those of Europe, be-
cause Turkey is member of the European family, and to defend democracy in this country with-
out applying double standards is a matter of defending democracy for the whole of Europe. If the Council of Europe or the European Parliament or other European institutions consider Tur-
key as a country deserving a "second-class democracy," this south-eastern country will remain as a shame in the family of European democracies.
This book is a documentary work edited with the purpose of exposing the reasons of the 1980 coup, the anti-democratic and inhuman practice of the military, the real truth of the so-
called "return to democracy" and the contradictory attitudes of European institutions vis-à-vis this militarist "democracy".

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

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

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

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

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

AREA: 779,452 Km². (Anatolia situated in Asia: 765,668 Km² - Thrace situated in Europe: 23,784 Km²). Roughly in the form of a rectangle: 650 Km. In width and 1,565 Km. In length. A natural passage between Europe and Asia.

BORDERS: 877 Kms with Syria, 610 with the USSR, 454 with Iran, 331 with Iraq, 269 with Bulgaria, 212 with Greece; Total: 2,763 Kms.

COASTS: Aegean Sea: 2,900 Kms, Mediterranean: 1,577 Kms, Black Sea: 1,595 Kms, Mar- mara: 927 Kms, other: 927 Kms; Total: 8,372 Kms.

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

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

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS:

Agriculture: Wheat, cotton, tobacco, raisins, hazelnuts, other cereals, pears and fruits; live- stock.

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


POPULATION (1985) ..... 51,400,000

Urban (47.5%) ..... 24,385,000

Rural (52.5%) ..... 27,015,000

Inhabitant per Km² ..... 66

Most populated provinces:

Istanbul (more than half in shanties) ..... 6,856,745

Ankara (more than half in shanties) ..... 3,462,885

Izmir (more than half in shanties) ..... 2,318,843

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

Manpower (15-64 yrs) 18,453,005
Working people 7,346,128
Unemployed people 4,024,174
Unemployment rate 21.5 nc

WORKING PEOPLE'S DISTRIBUTION TO SECTORS

Agriculture 904 nc
Industry 72.9 pc
Construction 3.0 pc
Trade 4.9 pc
Transport 3.4 pc
Services 13.8 pc

STATUS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Homework 45.2 pc
Wage-earners 27.2 pc
Self-employed 25.6 pc
Employers 0.8 pc
Unemployed 6.7 pc

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES 5,722,820

Proportion to the working people 31.0 pc

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Hope of longevity 82 years
Annual rate of birth 3.32 pc
Annual rate of mortality 1.28 pc
Annual rate of increase 2.64 pc
Rate of infant mortality 12.30 pc

ILLITERACY RATE 24.50 pc

SCOLARIZATION

Population at the rate of education 16,800,000
Those provided with schooling 5,910,000
Rate of schooling 1st primary 85.0 pc
Rate of schooling in secondary 90.8 pc
Rate of schooling in high school 31.9 pc
Rate of schooling in higher education 8.2 pc

INDICATORS OF LIVING STANDARDS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GDP per capita (in $)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FRG</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<thead>
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<th>Television sets per 1000 hab.</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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MIGRANT POPULATION

From Turkey (1983) 2,404,021

Most workers 1,015,564
Spouses 850,668
Children 759,474
Aged 65 years 107,455
7-16 years 548,968

DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT POPULATION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FRG</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>144,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>154,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>156,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>70,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>39,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>80,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>60,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,404,021</td>
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Prior to 1980

Background of the 1980 Coup

Turkey, in her modern history, has undergone military interventions three times. The first, in 1960, led to a relatively democratic regime. The second, in 1971, was a revenge of the ruling classes, but was not well prepared. Failing to establish an authoritarian regime, the military, after a 2-year crackdown on democratic forces, were obliged to hand over political power to civilians. During the six years prior to 1980, Turkey suffered from unprecedented political violence, instigated and tolerated by the military to justify a new coup d’etat which would lead to a well-planned militarist "democracy".
The new dark period started on September 12th, 1980, with the military coup d'etat led by General Kenes Ercan, Chief of General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces. When he appeared on the TV screens as the new "strong man" of Turkey, he was flanked by the four other members of the Junta, General Nurvitum Erim of the Land Forces, General Fahit Mustafa Sahinkaya of the Air Force, Admiral Nihat Tyan of the Naval Forces and General Sezai Cihan of the Gendarmerie.

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

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

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

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

The same newspaper reported also that "one of the key leaders, General Haydar Sultik, 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 maneuvers in Turkish Thrace by 3,000 soldiers from six NATO countries would proceed as planned. The maneuvers, code-named Arvok Express 80, are scheduled for later this month and are designed to test NATO response to a possible attack on Western Turkey from Warsaw Pact forces in Bulgaria."

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

In a statement given to Newsweek, Turkey's counselor at the United Nations, Coskun Kiran said: "Turkey contributes to the interests
of the West in the Middle East, and strengthen- the U.S. presence in the region."

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

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

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

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

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

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

The industry, which had undergone a rela- tive development throughout the years 1960- 1970 was confronted with the prospect of a double-nosed hang-over: a lack of finance sources and tightness of the market. The inte- rior market cannot absorb all the industrial produce. The great inequality in the distribution of revenues and the weak buying power of the masses did not permit this. Stead price increase rapidly cancelled out increases in salary and in the State's buying price for agri- cultural products. In matters concerning expor- tation, Turkish products given their quality and their cost could not compete on the inter- national market.

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

Turkey's own resources could not cover its industrial investments. For its part, the credit system favoured trade more than industry. Banks preferred short-term credit with high interest rates assigned to the commercial sector. The lack of bank credits specifically geared to industry incites the latter to resort to commercial credit, and this of course was reflected in the cost of industrial products and in the fact that it was one of the first sources of inflation. In 1979, and especially after the right-wing "Nationalist Front" Government's takeover of power, imports enjoyed a spectacular rise, a large portion of which served to finance speculative

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

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

As for exterior resources, they were far from capable of covering the needs in foreign currency. Loans from international institutions were plainly insufficient. The foreign currency thus obtained and the funds sent by the Turkish
workers abroad were far from able to cover the 2 and a half billion dollar trade deficit. In the 70s, workers and wage-earners were crushed under high inflation rates (10% in 1975, 74% in 1979 and 55% in 1980), declining real wages (which dropped 15% between 1976-78) and severe unemployment (about 15%). Turkey's annual trade deficit, which was $69 million dollars in 1973, reached 4.04 billion dollars in 1977, and the foreign debt, which was 2.62 billion dollars in 1973, exceeded 16 billion dollars in 1979 (exclusive of services).

At the beginning of 1978, the gold and convertible currency reserves were at an all-time low. As its repayment capacity was greatly exhausted by this outstanding debt, Turkey's creditors, among them all the major Western governments, international financial organizations and over 200 private banks, began a rescue-operation focused around IMF's "austerity measures". These "austerity measures" and the short- and medium-term economic plan, long advocated by the IMF and the 'Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Union (TUSIAD), were put into effect by the Demirel Government on January 24, 1980. It was designed to find a way out of the worst economic crisis in Turkey's history by changing Turkish economic policy from industrialization through import-substitution to development based on an export-oriented economy.

With import-substitution, certain labor-intensive consumer goods industries which provide low rates of profit in industrialized nations are adapted by underdeveloped nations. In such underdeveloped economies, production is geared to domestic consumption and the industry is heavily dependent on expensive intermediary goods and raw materials which must all be imported. As the revenue from exports often falls short of what is needed to purchase necessary but expensive imports, import-substitution results in chronic and sizable balance of payment deficits. In 1979, the share of intermediary goods in all imports was over 60% (2.8 billion dollars) and the deficit had grown to over 21% in comparison to 1978. This chronic deficit necessitated constant borrowing from European and American official and private financial institutions. Turkey's foreign debt surpassed 26 billion dollars in the first six months of 1980 (exclusive of services).

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

In the midst of this economic depression, the IMF had been pressuring Turkey to accept a series of "austerity measures" and liberalization of the economy along the lines of South Korea, Brazil and Chile. The January 24, 1980, economic plan of the Demirel Government, engineered by Turgut Ozal (who was the former president of the Metal Goods Industrialists' Union and a strategist at the World Bank), was designed to be a response to IMF's dictates to change the course of Turkey's economy from import-substitution to exportation. The internal logic of this export-oriented model was first to increase production and then to increase the amount of it that can be exported. To serve this purpose, all price controls were lifted to stimulate the supply side of the economy and create an exportable surplus. This would also eliminate double-procuring and speculation. However, given the dependent structure of the Turkish economy, production could only be increased by the injection of foreign capital and investments and the importation of intermediary goods. To secure this part of the plan, IMF and other banks have lent Turkey $2.76 billion dollars over the next three years and subscribed one billion dollars worth of debt. To attract foreign capital, all areas of the economy (including the hitherto state-provided sectors such as petroleum, mining and agriculture) were opened to foreign investment. Customs tax was reduced from 10% to 5%. Foreign banks were allowed to open new branches in Turkey and repatriate their profits.

The 50% devaluation put into effect on January 24 was the sixth in the past three years (the Turkish Lira has lost 76%) of its value against the Dollar since then and was designed...
to make Turkish exports more attractive. In order to reduce the effects of devaluation on the cost of production new arrangements in tax laws were being prepared. The plan also envisaged a long-term investment policy that would favor export-oriented sectors and increase their production capacity. New laws aimed to encourage exportation included raising all of export-license regulations, allowing a certain amount of foreign currency earned by exports to be kept abroad, increasing the amount of credits to exporters, and establishing an Export Encouragement Agency. The drive to increase the share of exportable production necessitated a massive reduction in domestic consumption. With the January 24 plan, price controls were lifted and prices were allowed to increase at astronomical rates—the wholesale price index rose by 29.3% during the month of February, 1980, alone. The base prices of agricultural products were also kept at a minimum as the expense of small growers.

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

The Turkish exporters, inefficient as they are in technology, management, quality control, and market research, could only become competitive in the international markets by artificially keeping wages and salaries very low, and, thus, lowering the cost of production the only way they could. Frozen and reduced wages would also help restrict domestic consumption. To "deal with the problem of wages," attempts were made to eliminate collective bargaining by proposing to tie the salaries of millions of State employer to a sliding scale arrangement (which would reflect bian- nual Consumer price indexes). *Single contract for every branch of the economy* became the motif of the majority of employers and industrialists. The establishment of a fascist type State-controlled union was proposed, and a Central Collective Bargaining Council was formed to exert pressure on the trade unions. The effects of the January 24 plan were felt very strongly by the circles outside the industrial and financial monopolies—which are at the root of Turkey's economy. The tight money control mechanism, the lifting of all control of interest rates, and the requiring of those who seek to benefit from the new export encouragement to have a minimum capital of 50 million TL forced (in the first six months of 1980) 515 businesses with a total capital of 50 million TL into bankruptcy. The number of defaulted promissory notes rose (in the first four months of 1980) by 74.2%, reaching 14 million TL. Despite all attempts, inflation hovered around 120% and production fell in most sectors.

After the initial period following January 24, threats of the provosts in the IMF-directed plan were put into effect. Since foreign capital was secured by new agreements, the remaining crucial link in the chain of necessary steps which would make or break the plan was to maintain wages and salaries at a bare minimum. A massive campaign was started against workers and wage-earners. Thousands of workers were sacked, thousands were forced to leave their jobs, and countless State employers were exiled to remote corners of the country. The placing of fascist militants and sympathizers into factories, workplaces and government offices simply to replace or intimidate democratic workers did not help raise production levels either.

During the first eight months of the Demirel Government, 77 strikes involving 122,140 workers were postponed (cf. during 1977-79 only 71 in total) and there were 54,000 workers on strike in 215 workplaces in August 1980. In addition to numerous popular protests in almost every city and town against inflation, anti-democratic measures and tortures, strikes and work stoppages all over the country were becoming increasingly political in motivation, and the strikers were beginning to join forces with nearby students and people in surrounding shanty-towns.
The TARSİS events in Izmir, which took the Armed Forces a whole week to subdue and in which thousands of workers were arrested, was the best example of this growing solidarity between the various sectors within the popular opposition. Progressive forces organized people in Shirez-towns and in rural areas in “democratic committees” on an anti-fascist and democratic platform. The success of these committees and the determined struggle of the people, armed in self-defense, made the fascist forces even more bloodthirsty. Many large scale massacres, including those in Kahramanmaraş, Çorum, Ordu, Tarsus, Izmir, Merzifon and Aybastı, followed one another.

It is just after the massacre of more than a hundred progressive people in Kahramanmaraş at the end of 1976, that the social-democrat government of Evren proclaimed martial law in the most important provinces of Turkey and ceded authority on security matters to the Army chiefs. But the martial law commanders, instead of pursuing extreme-rightist killers, launched an intimidation and persecution operation against the democratic and progressive forces of the country.

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

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

Prior to the military coup, the last large-scale military operation was carried out in Fatsa. In a war-like operation involving 10,000 troops, tanks and helicopters, this small Black Sea town (which had become the best example of local popular administration) was encircled and occupied by the Armed Forces in order to “bring the State authority” into the city. Despite the joint declaration of a broad spectrum of the townspople with various political con-

victions, including the official representative of the then ruling Justice Party, pleading that Fatsa was a town with no violence or political strife, the town was attacked by the military on July 11, 1980. The mayor, Fikri Sönmez, was tortured, 400 people were arrested, and in the days following, fascists were brought back to the town. After the operation, in two months, more than 20 people were murdered and an atmosphere of terror and intimidation was introduced into the region. The Fatsa incident is the most instructive example of showing the purpose and the scale of the civil and official fascist terror in the country.

On September 12, 1980, General Evren attempted to justify the military takeover as the means of preventing political violence which claimed 5,355 lives since 1975. Considering especially the number of political terror victims within the last 10-month period of the Demirel Government which had reached about 500 per month, one can say that he is right. But behind this violence was none other than the Army itself. The Armed Forces were already in a position of controlling the most sensitive areas of Turkey, thanks to the martial law proclaimed in 30 provinces since December, 1979. Yet, despite this direct control, the political terror, instead of decreasing, showed a considerable increase.

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

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

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

The bourgeois revolution of 1908 (Mouda- tiyel), the National Liberation War (1919-1922) and the proclamation of the Republic (1923) all have been led by army officers. Thanks to this leader position, the Army generals, after the foundation of the Young Republic, became the political rulers of the country and the most distinguished among them, General Mustafa Kemal, was elected lifetime President of the Republic and later on named "Ataturk" (Father of the Turks).

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

The dual character of the bourgeoisie progresiveness 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 commandes, in the internal plan, always kept their concern to strengthen the local bourgeoisie at the expense of the working masses.

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

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

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

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

It was under these circumstances that the Turkish Armed Forces, being enraged by the popular mass resistance against the authoritarian regime of the center-right Democratic Party, realized the May 27th (1960, coup d'état) and put into force a new constitution guaran-
teng human rights and fundamental liberties as well as some social security measures.

A WELL-PLANNED TRAP: OYAK

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

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

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

### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL INVESTMENTS OF OYAK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRMS</th>
<th>CAPITAL</th>
<th>OYAK's % in CAPITAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OYAK - Investment and Holding Co.</td>
<td>13,500,000 dollars</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYAK - Renault Automobile Co.</td>
<td>10,700,000 dollars</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOE - Automotive Industries Co.</td>
<td>5,700,000 dollars</td>
<td>86.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PETKIM - Petrochemicals Co.</td>
<td>100,000,000 dollars</td>
<td>9.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türkiye Petroleum Co.</td>
<td>130,580,000 dollars</td>
<td>3.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodosyer Tire Co.</td>
<td>5,400,000 dollars</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicles Production Co.</td>
<td>10,000,000 dollars</td>
<td>9.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicles Trade Co.</td>
<td>2,700,000 dollars</td>
<td>77.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cukurova Cement Industry Co.</td>
<td>4,400,000 dollars</td>
<td>46.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ines Cement Industry Co.</td>
<td>8,400,000 dollars</td>
<td>43.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordin Cement Industry Co.</td>
<td>11,700,000 dollars</td>
<td>48.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boku Cement Industry Co.</td>
<td>8,400,000 dollars</td>
<td>30.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heitas Trade Co.</td>
<td>2,000,000 dollars</td>
<td>39.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OYAK - Insurance Co.</td>
<td>400,000 dollars</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURAS - Turgutlu Canned Foods Co.</td>
<td>1,000,000 dollars</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>ANNUAL TURNOVER</th>
<th>ANNUAL PROFIT</th>
<th>EMPLOYMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. PETKIM - Petrochemicals Co.</td>
<td>143,000,000 $</td>
<td>21,400,000 $</td>
<td>2,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. OYAK - Renault Automobile Co.</td>
<td>142,000,000 $</td>
<td>470,000 $</td>
<td>2,686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Goodayser Tire Co.</td>
<td>38,000,000 $</td>
<td>1,740,000 $</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. TOE - Automotive Industries Co.</td>
<td>33,000,000 $</td>
<td>1,270,000 $</td>
<td>1,009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Economic Survey, Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Istanbul, April 1977)
to determine the strategy and to decide how to use their funds.

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

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

Army officers’ turning into capitalists in uniform has created an economic and social gap between them and the working masses. The growing contradiction was reflected during the mass strikes of industrial workers in June 15-16, 1976 and after the March 12th military intervention in 1971. The martial-law regime practiced brutal pressures on the working class and all democratic forces for the sake of safe-
guarding the interests of finance-capital.

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

The competition between the OYAK and the other companies very often reflected on governmental decrees. In 1977, when the Min-
istry of Industry and Technology, under the pressure of Koç Holding, refused a demand to introduce new models of Renault cars, OYAK did not hesitate to blackmail the government by threatening to stop production. Thereupon, the government, under the pressure of the military, had to cede and give the permission. Similar practices were witnessed when Renault demanded permission to increase the prices of cars, and the one who gained at the end was always OYAK.

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

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

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

After the adoption of this constitution, the Armed Forces seemed to have retired from politics; in fact the high commanders remained in the middle of politics. According to the Con-
stitution drawn up by the Army, the Chief of General Staff and the commanders of the land, air and naval forces are members of an advi-
sory body, the National Security Council, determining national security policy and coor-
dinating all activities related to national mobili-
tization and total defense.

At first, the NSC was just an “advisory body.” The commanders did not have any right to speak on the actual political problems. But in time the military members of the Council began to interfere in the function of the
government and parliament. Especially after the Justice Party(AP) came to power in 1965, Prime Minister Demirli established good relations with the high commanders and began to use them as a thicket against his opponents. The main target of this thicket was of course the growing left movement. After the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) gained 15 seats in Parliament and the democratic movements grew stronger, General Cemal Tufan, the Chief of General Staff, began to issue orders to the military units to undertake anti-communist education, and even published a book entitled "Handbook for Anti-communist Action" which accused all left-wing organizations and publications of being "enemies of the State".

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

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

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

The Special War Department had its headquarters in the building of the U.S. Military Aid Mission in Ankara. The training of the officers of this department was carried out by the U.S. Intelligence Services. According to the official documents of this department, unveiled later by a former military judge, Emre Deger, "the social development in its natural trend will lead to an invariable result. Thus it is necessary to infiltrate the ranks of social opposition and, through the activities of the provocateurs, had opposition to terrorism and end up in military take-over."

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

Unable to suppress the resistance of the popular masses defending their constitutional rights, the Turkish bourgeoisie had already started to organize paramilitary right-wing bands with a view to wiping out the resistance. Prime Minister Demirli even dared to say in his official speeches that he would arm 300,000 Justice Party militants.

As for the extreme rightist organizations, they had been founded on chauvinist and fundamentalist ideologies. First, more than 40 thousand mosques had been turned into cells of the fundamentalist movement. Second, the neo-fascist movement had been organized by the Nationalistic Action Party (MHP) headed by Ek-colony Turks. This party was tolerated by both the government and the Armed Forces and organized an armed and uniformed terror band, named pilek Ouakllar (Foes of idols). Aided and supported by the Special War Department, these armed bands, known as Grey Wolves, had already murdered 42 left-wing people during the 5-year period of Justice Party rule until 1971.

After preparing instability in the country, thanks to the political violence carried out by the Grey Wolves, the Armed Forces judged that it was time for directly intervening in politics and cracking down on all social opposition. The first direct clash between the Armed Forces and the working class occurred during the 1970 mass demonstrations in Istanbul where more than a hundred thousand industrial workers aimed to defend their progressive unions. Soldiers were brought in to crush the demonstration, and three workers were killed. Martial law was then imposed in the districts of Istanbul and Kocael; the leaders of progressive unions and workers were arrested and many of them viciously tortured. The economic reason behind this crack-down was only too clear because it was the army officers' OYAK which also was the employer of a certain number of the resisting workers. And ideologically, the Army officers were convinced that the workers' demonstration was a communist action.

The Armed Forces sought, in that period, to crush not only the working class but also the
THE MARCH 12, 1971, INTERVENTION

The year 1971 marked the beginning of a 2-year period of State terror in Turkey. The Armed Forces intervened on March 12, 1971, and forced Parliament to proclaim martial law in the most important industrial cities and Kurdish provinces of the country. This was also \textit{a coup de grace} to the last remnants of the progressive officers in the Army. The corruption, speculations, and collaboration of the high-ranking commanders also engendered opposition on the part of those officers who had not lost connection with their own poor backgrounds and who remained imbued with the ideals of national liberation. Hundreds of such officers had been liquidated from time to time, even before the coup's\textit{ fait accompli} of 1971. But in spite of many liquidations, the ruling circles were not able to annihilate all resistance within the Armed Forces, and on March 12, 1971, the radical Army officers issued a communiqué announcing the corrupt order and the hegemony of the United States and demanding radical reforms. This action by the radical Army officers dealt a heavy blow to the United States and its Turkish collaborators. All the secret intelligence services were immediately mobilized to play their traditional role or intrigue. Urged by them, the military members of the National Security Council, presenting an ultimatum to the President of the Republic on March 12, 1971, forced Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel to resign and the National Assembly to set up a "reformist" government. Thus they took the initiative into their own hands, pacified and later liquidated all radical officers. The military-backed government, under the pretext of putting an end to political violence, cracked down on the Left, and arrested, tortured, condemned or dismissed from their posts more than a hundred thousand progressive people; suspended the right to strike, banned left-wing publications and amended the democratic Constitution of 1961 so as to suppress or restrict many fundamental rights and freedoms.

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

Although the 2-year State terror allowed big businesses to increase their profits, the military junta of that period was not well prepared for establishing a long-term dictatorship. Moreover, personal ambitions of some commanders led to contradictions within the commanding corps. For all these reasons, in 1973, the military was obliged to hand over power to politicians. In this new and relatively "liberal\textit{ period, the Progressive Trade Union Confederation (DISK) consolidated its influence position within the working class while all other democratic forces began to reorganize. Since amendments to the Constitution banned State employees from unionizing, striking and officially engaging in any political activity, they reorganized in the alternative \"democratic mass organizations.\" In addition to these, the formation of student organizations was accelerated. In time, all these organizations began to exert their political and ideological influence in the political arena, forming one of the basic building blocks of the popular opposition.

What is more, the results of the legislative elections of 1973 showed that the center-left opposition appeared as a "hope" for the masses
while the right-wing parties were losing their popular support.

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

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

After the elections of 1973, although failing to obtain absolute parliamentary majority, Bilal Ecevit, leader of the CHP, formed a coalition government with the moderate National Salvation Party (MSP). But after the military operation in Cyprus in 1974, which increased the CHP's popularity, Ecevit and Erbakan, chairman of the MSP, could not get along well.

Thereupon, three other right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Action Party (MHP) and the Republican Reliance Party (CIKP) drew the MSP to their side and formed a "Nationalist Front" Coalition with a government program inspired by the big bourgeoisie.

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

In order to illustrate well the atmosphere which prepared the military coup of 1980, we are reproducing in the coming chapters the extracts of the weekly columns from 1977.

**MARCH 1977**

**ESCALATING TERROR OF "GREY WOLVES"**

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

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

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

Deputy Soymanın Genç said: "Multi-national companies and the CIA have used paranoids as a legal indicator in continuing their activities and protecting their interests everywhere in the world. Turks is, stuck to war democracy, national peace, the future of our society, to the young bodies, like a vice to keep growing."

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

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

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

This summer, the MHP was called on to testify at Turkey's Court of Constitution in connection with the party's activities among Turkish migrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany. The MHP informed the
COURT that its branches and side organisations abroad were closed.

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

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

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

**MAY 1977**

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

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

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

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

On the contrary, these incidents are a new link in the succession of armed attacks provoked and supported by the Nationalist Front Government who does everything to prevent the development of the working class movement and the constitution of a democratic government following the June 5, 1977, elections.

Eye-witnesses of the bloody incidents affirm that:

- Unknown persons shot the demonstrators from the roof of the municipal Water Works Administration Building and the Intercontinental Hotel.

- Following these shots, a common panic started and two cars were seen to pass through the Taksim Square shooting at the demonstrators. Many people were crushed in this panic.

- On the other hand, the pro-governments press had already started provocative publications before May 1st, affirming that the 1st of May would be the occasion for bloody incidents. The responsible State authorities also made statements it the same line during the incidents.

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

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

It is possible that certain people were carrying arms, but it is completely normal in such a country where about two hundred people had been assassinated by the fascist commando
units and where public order could not be assured by the state forces.

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

From April 1st, 1975, the date when the Nationalist Front Government was formed, until May 7, 1977, within 27 months, more than 3,000 raids were made on meetings or on university campuses. These armed attacks have caused 228 deaths and wounded more than 3,000.

Leader of the CHP also under armed attacks

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

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

The followings are extracts from the tape recording:

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

(To the scattering gendarmersie soldiers): "Commander... Your duty is to prevent those who are throwing stones. Do not let a handful of kids crush the Turkish soldier. Are you going to let the soldiers be crushed by a handful of kids?"

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

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

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

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

JUNE 1977

GROWTH OF THE MHP'S ELECTORATE

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

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

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

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

The final results of the general elections announced by the Supreme Election Council showed that of the total 21,207,383 voters, only 15,358,210 went to the ballot box to submit their votes. The ratio of participation was determined to be 72.42 percent.
The comparative results of the elections of 1973 and 1977 show that both the Justice Party (AP) and the Republican People’s Party (CHP) managed to increase their votes, while the religious National Salvation Party (MSP) lost some of its vote and saw its seats in Parliament decrease. Two minor rightist parties, Democratic Party (DP) and Republican Leftist Party (CIP), both saw their votes and seats in Parliament decrease. A surprise in the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) is their significant increase in both the number of votes and seats in Parliament.

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

Therefore, Turkish capitalists such as Vehbi Koç, Sakıp Sabancı and Feyyaz Berk were all supportive of the one-party CHP government.

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

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

A military coup d’état attempt averted

Seeing the unavoidable progress of the democratic forces during the electoral campaign, certain army officers attempted to stage a military coup d’état just before the elections. The Commander of the Turkish Land Forces, General Namık Kemal Ersoy, was among those officers. General Ersoy is known as a fascist-minded officer and an ardent supporter of the neo-fascist MHP. During the military repression 1971-1973, as a martial law commander, he had exercised the most brutal methods: tortures, solitary confinement, etc.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Valid Votes</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Seats</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REPUBLICAN PEOPLE’S PARTY (CHP)</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>3,870,083</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>6,117,282</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>4,387,500</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>149</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>4,557,649</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>192</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUSTICE PARTY (AP)</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>1,265,771</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1,271,620</td>
<td>8.6</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1,467,526</td>
<td>13.2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>1,564,343</td>
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<td>273,625</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>271,759</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>282,319</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>2.4</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>361,172</td>
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<td>WORKERS’ PARTY OF TURKEY (TP)</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>INDEPENDENTS</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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TURKEY AGAIN UNDER THE REPRESSIVE RULE OF THE “ NATIONALIST FRONT”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Salvationist leader Nevaradin Erbakan and neo-fascist chief, Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş each received deputy premships.

AP took 16 portfolios while it holds 189 seats in the National Assembly. Just after the formation of the new “Nationalist Front” Government, there has been a significant increase in violent acts all over Turkey. Attacks on home-coming buses, pulling passangers down and shooting them dead, raiding coffee-houses and opening fire on people are the highlights of the last two months.

55 more political assassinations have been committed in one month, and the total number of murders since the formation of the first “Nationalist Front” Government in May 1975 has reached 334. Even the Interior Minister of the “NF” Government, Korkus Özlü, was obliged to admit that the total number of political assassinations within the “NF” period is 286.

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

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

The increase in political assassinations committed by the neo-fascist and religious elements also has provoked retaliatory acts of ultra-leftist groups.
MHP: A MENACE ALSO TO ITS OWN RIGHTIST PARTNERS

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

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

Since the “Grey Wolves”, the side organization of the MHP, is still carrying on political assassination, the peace calls of Ex-colonel Türküs, who Vice-premier of the 3-party NF Government, is very far from being convincing.

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

For example, a 26-year old “Grey Wolf”, Faisal İnceöl, who is still being tried for having borne fire-arms, was appointed chief advisor of the Ministry of the State Motor-spots and Customs, held by a CHP-member minister.

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

LOCAL ELECTIONS LEAD TO A GOVERNMENTAL CHANGE

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

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

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

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

Totally, of the 1,717 settlement centers in Turkey, CHP won 715 mayorships; AP, 710; MHP, 58; MSP, 46; three minor parties, 12, and Independents, 172.
### Comparative Results of the Local Elections of 1973 and 1977

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Republican People’s Party</td>
<td>3,708,687 (67.1)</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>5,065,753 (64.2)</td>
<td>715</td>
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<td>Justice Party</td>
<td>3,236,385 (63.4)</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>4,477,018 (64.7)</td>
<td>771</td>
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<td>Nationalist Action Party</td>
<td>133,099 (2.4)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>811,757 (11.7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leftist Salvation Party</td>
<td>620,140 (11.3)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>819,338 (11.3)</td>
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<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td>1,076,342 (19.5)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1,215,537 (16.0)</td>
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<td>Republican Alliance Party</td>
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<td>64,042 (9.0)</td>
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<td>Workers’ Party of Turkey</td>
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<td>75,746 (1.0)</td>
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<td>Union Party of Turkey</td>
<td>26,900 (0.5)</td>
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<td>28,820 (0.4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socialists’ Party of Turkey</td>
<td>2,862 (0.0)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2,862 (0.0)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>1,014,378 (18.8)</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>5,055,663 (64.0)</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

While this election was at a deadlock, the MHP said that it would support a CHP candidate for National Assembly Speaker as long as the nominee was an “anti-communist.” Surprising all his left-wing supporters, Evëvit accepted this proposal and presented the names of 15 deputies whom he considered “anti-communist.” From this list, Mr. Cahit Karatay was picked by Türkes and then, with the votes of CHP and MHP parliamentary groups, this “anti-communist” was elected the Speaker of National Assembly. Evëvit’s new conciliatory attitude was criticized by the left-wing of the party. For example, İzmir Deputy Süleyman Genç criticized the “cooperation” between the CHP and the MHP, saying “we formerly legitimized the MHP, now it is the MHP’s turn.”

The answer has been positive and, in addition to other reasons, thanks to the credit granted by Evëvit, MHP succeeded in obtaining 58 mayorships all over Turkey and increased its votes to 811,757 (11.74), from 115,069 (1.3). Anyhow, the fact that the CHP emerged with increasing gains from the local elections and the MHP won certain votes from the AP had an impact on the arithmetic of Parliament, with successive resignations of some AP deputies from this party. Seeing the
1977 IN BRIEF

March,
• Despite the escalation of fascism, the CHP continues to report a long-term cooperation with other left-wing parties against fascism.
• In one year, the NF Government banned 94 journals under the pretext of “harming the interest of the country and the national security.”
• A well-known fascist-minded person, Sabah Karasu, was named Director-general of the Turkish Radio TV Corporation (TRT).
• Since the beginning of the year, 7 journalists have been assaulted by rightist assailants.
• A university professor, Serif Tarlak, was tried before a criminal court of Istanbul for his book entitled “The History of Chtehvistan.”
• A fascist-minded professor, Hasan Tavil, was appointed the head of the Middle-East Technical University (ODTU) in Ankara.
• Lawyers in many Turkish courts boycotted trials in protest against the government’s failure to execute the high court’s decisions.
• Chief of General Staff Smith Scocar was accused by a parliamentary investigation commission of having obstructed the prosecution of the suspects of the Lockhead bribery affair.

April,
• 101,000 Turkish citizens are deprived of the right to travel abroad. They are classified in name at every passport check-point.
• Four journalists are tried before a military tribunal for “having defamed the Turkish Armed Forces.”
• President of the People’s Party of Cyprus (KHP), Mr. Ali A. Orhon, said that the Grey Wolves had started to organize in Cyprus as well.

June,
• Turkey’s leading industrialist, Arif Kon, says: “The major task is to build a powerful government, not to talk about the future.” The future government should repair relations between Turkey and the United States and the EEC.
• CHP leader, Enver, warned parties and organizations that they should not approve any left-wing groups. To gain the confidence of the ruling circle, he put the Navy Commander and a mortal law commander on the party list, during the period of the State terror (1971-75).
• Chiran military school ship, “Tavanda”, faced a bomb attack on June 14, at the Antalya sea-port, and some Chiran sailors were wounded by the explosion given by the people.

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

October,
• After the Nationalist Party’s announcement, in an An Greeting on Turkey issued in March, 1977, has stated. “In the years following the military intervention of March, 1971, AI received hundreds of allegations of torture from Turkey. AI forwarded (1977) to receive allegations that political prisoners in Turkey are tortured.” The Association of Solidarity with Detained and Prisoners (TUMAD-DER) stated that within the year of 1975, only 270 detainees were tortured in police centers and prisons.
• The ministry of the interior launched a “book-hunting” all over Turkey. More than 300 political titles are being confiscated by police whenever they see them. In Siyhav, 4,000 volumes of a book in the Kurdish language were confiscated.
• An editor was condemned to prison term.
• The new government issued a new decree aggravating the censorship of titles.
• Chairmen of the teachers’ association (ITOS-DER), Mr. Gulek Avcioglu, was prevented from traveling abroad.

For this, Ecevit submits two excuses:

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

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

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

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

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

The Left anxious, the Bourgeoisie contended

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

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

FEBRUARY 1978

CONTROVERSY ON "COUNTER-GUERRILLA" ORGANISATION

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

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

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

Former Prime Minister Demirel, actually leader of the principal opposition party, the Justice Party (AP), tried to exploit the controversy with the purpose of provoking the Army against the new government and left forces. Remembering that Ecevit too had included the claims about counter-guerrilla organization in the CHP's electoral platform, Demirel said Ecevit should either refute his former statements and allegations involving the Armed Forces is claims of political assassinations or come forth with definite proof backing his position.
As a matter of fact, since the latest general elections, Ecevit has seemed to forget his earlier statements and he did not even say anything in the government programme about the illegal activities of the Counter-guerrilla organization.

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, in Parliament, General Fuat Tutku, infamous martial law commander of the past and presently Justice Party deputy, claimed that, with these charges against the Counter-Guerrilla Organization, the Left started a total war against the Armed Forces and went on to provoke the Army by reminding of the late of Allende, assassinated President of Chile. Thereupon Prime Minister Ecevit held another press conference and repeated that the Army should not be spoiled and drawn into politics.

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

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

MARCH 1978

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

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

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

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

With foreign exchange drying up, Turkey presently faces the most pressing $500 million dollar repayment obligations with another $340 million coming next month.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Just after the devaluation, price hikers began, and, first of all, prices of petro-chemicals and iron-steel products were increased 47-70 percent. Since these items are raw materials, many consumer goods immediately began to be marketed at prices about 79 percent higher than the regular.

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

APRIL 1978

"GREY WOLVES" PROVOKE A CIVIL WAR

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

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

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

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

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

That same day, three leftist students, Ozcan Turskiier, Naci Erguvanli and Sadi Hacar were tortured and killed in Malatya and their bodies were found later on the railroad track. Since Malatya has always been one of the places with frequent incidents between two sects of Islam, Alevis and Sunnites, the assassination of Fendoglu, a comitee, also provoked the Sunnites to attack the Alevis who are generally considered near to the Left.

As a matter of fact, ex-coloured Turks, leader of the neo-fascist MHP, said in a speech...
at a party rally in Adana on March 9 that Turkey was on the eve of a Civil War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAY 1978

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

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

The new illegal terror organization of the neo-fascist party carry on their provocations and aggressions under the names of "Libera- tion Army of Enslaved Turks" (ETKÖ) and "Turkish Thunderbolts Commandos" (TYK). Many members of the "Payers of Ideal" also participate among the founders of these new organizations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On April 22, the fascists armed with iron-bars and hatchets attacked a group-distributing
NEW TACTICS OF THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE: “HIT AND RUN”

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

On September 3, 1978, the Sugar Holiday, which is supposed to be an occasion for Mus- lims to reconcile differences, turned into a nightmare for the citizens of the Central Anatolian provincial center of Sivas as a simple fight among children in the marketplace first turned into a political brawl and then was further to end up in sectarian clashes leaving 10 dead, 60 injured and 68 in custody.

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

On September 1, 1978, in Ankara, police forces raided a house where three progressive workers were hiding themselves and shot them to death without any grounds. Ibrahim Uzuz, Sali Okcuoglu and Mahmut Celal were members of the Association of Fighting Against Expen- siveness and Unemployment (PIM). The neighbours who witnessed the massacre claimed that the police shot them while they were sleeping.

Terror has reached its utmost with the assassination of seven members of the Workers’ Party of Turkey (ITP) on September 6-9, 1978. So, since the formation of Ecevit’s Government, in the course of 9 months, the total number of the victims of political violence, including the 108 of last month, has reached 556.

As declared by Prime Minister Ecevit in- self, the political terror is being provoked by “obscure” forces to halt the process of demo- cratization in Turkey and to instigate the Armed Forces to stage a coup d’état. At a briefing on August 28, 1978, Minister of Interior Yilmaz said terrorist opera- tions have now taken on the form of “Hit and Run” attack aimed at “assassins.” He added that the training of the police will be changed and discipline will be the main factor in training.

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

POLITICAL TERROR ENCOURAGED WITH GROWING US HEGEMONY

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

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

The bases were shut down by Demirel's
Government is retaliation for the United States' arms embargo imposed against Turkey following the Cyprus Operation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOVEMBER 1978

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Germany, on October 10, 1978, the Turkish neo-fascists, using as a pretext the 55th anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, organized a meeting in the sports hall of Dortmund.

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

DECEMBER 1978

1978: YEAR OF ACCELERATION OF THE FASCIST TERROR

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

Unfortunately, after one year, the prospects are again disappointing because they have not enjoyed the promise that Ecevit had given them before coming to power.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. The foreign debts of Turkey rose to 19 billion dollars as compared to 12.7 billion dollars a year ago. Instead of decreasing the military expenses and following a foreign policy of neutrality and peace which can ensure the national security of the country, Ecevit's Government has maintained Turkey's dependence on NATO which caused the Turkish people to make heavy sacrifices. After concluding new military agreements with the USA and reopening military bases in Turkey, Ecevit recently agreed to give NATO another base in the province of Konya for the AWACS flying
1978 IN BRIEF

January
* Political violence flared up throughout Turkey with new "Gray Wolves" attack bombings and bank robberies on the eve of the conference vote in the new Ecuit Parliament.
* The total number of victims of the violence within the 32-month period of the 1st and 2nd "Nationalistic Front" government had reached 448. Within the same period, 8,728 persons were wounded, 13,619 persons detained and 1,286 brought before tribunals for political reasons.
* The public prosecutor initiated a legal proceeding against the administrative board of the Turkish Writers' Union (TVS), Chairman Aziz Nesin, Turkey's world-renowned humorist, and the members of the board accused of having violated the Law on Trade Unions by organizing a vote of no confidence against Nesin, the great Turkish poet who died in Oslo after a 3-year imprisonment.

February
* Foreign Minister Günter Ömer defined the foreign policy principles of Ecuit's Government: "Our relations with the USA which have been stagnant in the last three years have not only adversely affected our relations with other countries but also have left our national security..."
* As Ecuit's government was being bungled by its US President Carter and British Premier Callaghan, Norwegian Foreign Minister Trygve Haavelmo said at a conference that it was necessary for the Western European states to support Ecuit's Government economically and politically so that Turkey's problems could be overcome.

March
* Ecuit's government was the target of a lively private meeting among European social democrats held in Switzerland and Mr. Vally Brandt more improved their solidarity with Evanpictures.
* Socialists and intellectuals are still being persecuted in Turkey. The prosecution of the two socialist prophets in the "Battle of the Labour Front of the Ecuit Party of Turkey" (CPT) were interrogated and held for their declarations of "cultural communism";
* ASR political prisoners in Adana City Prison and 150 in Bouza Prison of Ionite staged hunger-stakes, demanding a general amnesty.

April
* Protest at the continuation of massacres was taken by the "Gray Wolves" about 15 million workers, teachers, students and civil servants staged a 2-hour strike on the call of the DISK. Ecuit-branded DISK's action "Raging," thereafter, the public prosecutor started a legal proceeding against DISK officials.

* A 3-week Anti-JATO campaign by a socialist party was repeated with violence by police, and a party militant was shot dead by "Gray Wolves."
existence of 15 military bases in Turkey was not harmful. "The defense agreement is a clear indicator of Turkey's commitment to the NATO," he said.

**May,**

- Eréndor, during his trip to European countries, said: "Our new defense doctrine will be compatible with our status as a NATO member." He added: "Our strategic cooperation with the US likes the situation in the military alliances."

- Some political prisoners, who were condemned to life in prison during the March 12 military regime and are held in the courtroom trials in Turkey.

- Erdogan's government is preparing to present a new bill to the parliament to increase the number of members of the parliament to 1,000. The bill is expected to be discussed at a special session of the parliament on Tuesday.

**June,**

- Erdogan's government has announced plans to import Russian military equipment to the country. The import of Russian military equipment will be increased from 10% to 20% of Turkey's military budget. The plan is expected to be discussed at a special session of the parliament on Tuesday.

- The Justice Ministry is preparing a new bill to restrict the use of phone taps and wiretaps. The bill is expected to be discussed at a special session of the parliament on Tuesday.

- The Interior Ministry is preparing a new bill to increase the number of police officers. The bill is expected to be discussed at a special session of the parliament on Tuesday.

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MARTIAL LAW IN 13 PROVINCES: A STEP TOWARDS MILITARY RULE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The events in Kahramanmaras developed as an ostensibly sectarian conflict between the

Alevite (Shiite) and Sunni Moslems, with the rightists Sunnis reportedly in the role of aggressors.

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

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

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

Press reports said many members of the riot-
ning mobs were masked and led by Yusuf Obrus, deputy of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party: the "Grey Wolves" instigated the Sunni people to kill the Alevites and the leftist.

It is also significant that Ex-general Fuat Türım, deputy of the Justice Party and one of the former chiefs of the sinister Counter-Guerrilla Department had visited this area one week earlier.

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

Grey Wolves change their tactics

With the proclamation of martial law, the neo-fascist party has apparently attained one of its objectives.

As in inciting the military against the setting up of the Martial Law Coordination Command under the control of the Prime Minister, the Nationalist Action Party does its best to create the image of being helpful to the martial law command.

As a first step, the Forces of Jihad, side-
organizations of the neo-fascist party, declared that they had suspended their activities with the purpose of facilitating the implementation of martial law.

In fact, this is a new manoeuvre to avoid
any danger of being closed down by the martial law commanders. The evidence concerning the criminal acts of the Grey Wolves is so abundant that it would be very difficult for any martial law tribunal to keep the Foyers of Ideal open.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A recent example: Just after the Kilrmanmaras riots, in order to escape the responsibility of the massacre, the neo-fascist party leaders claimed that the incidents were provoked by the leftists who "planted a bomb in a theatre where an anti-communist film was being projected".

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

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

In accordance with the 3rd paragraph of article 111 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, any party which pursues objectives contrary to the principle of a pluralist democratic regime can be closed down by the Court of Constitution.

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

FEBRUARY 1979

TURNING POINT: ASSASSINATION OF JOURNALIST ABDI İPEKCI

Being unable to control acts of political violence throughout Turkey within a 2-month period of martial law, the Turkish Government asked the Parliament to extend this emergency period to two months. Martial law was originally imposed for two months at the end of December 1978 in 13 of the country's 67 provinces. It was prompted by the bloody events in the south-eastern city of Kilrmanmaras which resulted in 107 deaths.

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

After the proclamation of martial law, Premier Ecevit had set up a Martial Law Coordination Command at the Prime Ministry
with the purpose of keeping martial law commanders under political control and had clearly stated that he did not favor restrictive mea-
sures. To thwart Ecevit's plans, the rightist oppo-
sition encouraged political terror, and the "Grey Wolves," paramilitary commanders of the neo-fascist MHP, played a major role in the application of this sinister plan.

The political terror recently took as target one of the distinguished journalists of Turkey. Abdülfettah İlgezi.

In the last months, the political terror which has claimed 58 lives also took as target the editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper, a prosecu-
tor of the republic, a police chief and an ex-
general, among others. Abdülfettah İlgezi, editor-in-chief of main circu-
lation daily Milliyet and one of Turkey's leading columnists, was assassinated on Febru-
ary 1, 1979, by an unidentified terrorist.

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

İlgezi was considered as a defender of plu-
ralist democracy and a critic who always contribut-
ted to maintaining the equili-

brum in Turkish political life.

It is evident that the real targets of this assassi-
nation seek to further the atmosphere of poli-
tical violence, pushing the martial law authori-
ties into taking more repressive measures against the democratic forces and weakening the position of the actual government.

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

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

Going further, the new Minister of Interior Hasan Fehmi Güneş said the military's national way to combat terrorists is to crush them, while they are trying to organize and added, "Crush the head of the snake before it grows."

DOCUMENT

DISCLOSURES ABOUT THE COUNTER-GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION

In the previous pages we have been referring repeatedly to the existence of a covert organization within the Turkish army which over the last two years has sought to provoke bloody incidents with the view of shifting the ground for a military coup. It is, the Counter-Guerrilla Organization, officially called the Special War Department. Prior to the September 12, 1978, military coup, many democratic organizations in Turkey had called for dismissing this illegal organization, replacing it with an organization into all its activities such as terrorist provoking bloody incidents and supporting fascist groups. The very existence of such a covert organization has for the first time been admitted by a military known for his close links with the military, in a book published in 1984. Even though several details on his subject have been removed by the military, the facts disclosed in this book are sufficient evidence to confirm the bloody part played over the past years by the above-mentioned organization operating under the Turkish army's umbrella. Nevertheless we have reprinted some excerpts from this book.

Another reason why relations between Ecevit and the Army commanders were deteriorating, was the conspiracies on the Counter-Guerrilla Organization launched by the People's Republic Party (CHP) from July to September 1979. For this reason the General Staff viewed Ecevit apprehensively. The Special War Depart-
ment was charged with the task of counter--basketball teams, which was in line with the army's order to form special guerrilla forces in order to use it in war, behind the lines.

Did such an organization really exist? If it existed, was it used as an internal affair? The consensus focused on both these questions and the General Staff was very sensitive to it. Besides, it was generally known. As those involved developed the army commanders felt increasingly uneasy. They were convinced that Ecevit, as head of the government, had been in interfering too much in the command...

Moreover, they got the feeling that Ecevit deliberately delayed his incorporation with the view of weakening the

As a matter of fact, this same Ecevit caused for it. In 1974, after the People's Republic Party came into power, the General Staff was asked called for covert negotiations to secure state funds. On the other hand, as the Special War Department had headed quarters of JS/5/4577 (the US military mission) in Turkey, it had been in contact with American intelligence.

The Prime Minister did not understand anything at all. He had an impression in mind. Officially, there was no such organization. In the state budget its expense had been provided for this end. It ordered his cabinet to hold a briefing on this subject. The briefing took place at the Prime Minister's office in the presence of Ecevit and Defense Minister Hasan Fehmi Güneş. Prior to the meeting, the whole office had been searched with electronic devices in order to find out whether a microphone had been installed in it.

The Special War Department had been set up under a bilateral military agreement concluded in 1949 between Turkey and the United States. Concerned with
As a further step, the government presented to Parliament the second part of the "package of measures" to curb political violence. In addition to these measures and other bills on taxation and social benefits, the National Assembly plunged into marathon sessions. But despite the absolute majority of the pro-government deputies in Parliament, the rightist opposition headed by the Justice Party (CVP) was still applying obstruction tactics and the government would not manage to pass all these bills through Parliament in February.

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

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

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

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

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

MARCH 1979

MARTIAL LAW EXTENDED; ECONOMIC AUSTERITY MEASURES IMPOSED

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

The extension of martial law was opposed by progressive circles who observed that martial law authorities have not taken effective measures against the fascist terrorist circles, but clamped down rather on left-wing forces. Another opposition to the extension of martial law came from the Justice Party of former premier Demirli. But the motive of its opposition is quite different. The Justice Party accused the government of implementing martial law inefficiently and declared that this situation may cast "doubts on the prestige of the Armed Forces." The parliamentary group of the Justice Party voted against the "watered-down version of martial law."

Nevertheless, the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party voted for the extension of martial law, with the hope that if the Premier avoids interfering with the efforts of martial law commanders, then commanders will be able to clear the country of his enemies. Therefore, the Chief of Staff, General Kenan Evren, issued a communiqué saying that martial law commanders do not get their orders from the "Martial Law Coordination Council," a body which was created by Prime Minister Evren with the purpose of keeping martial law commanders under his own control.

So, the rightist parties succeeded in instigating the Armed Forces against the authority of the government. However, General Evren stressed also that the martial law commanders would never implement illegal measures such as torture and arbitrary searchings and would exercise their authority within legal limits.

In his statement after the weekly extended Martial Law Coordination Meeting, held on March 9, 1979, Prime Minister Bouktar Evren claimed that there was a decrease in the terror incidents in the previous weeks. However, the list of the political assassinations of the last one month claiming 71 lives contradicts this optimistic statement of the Prime Minister.

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

Recently, among other arrested suspects, two terrorists, Yeliç Oduncu and Mustaf Simsek, both 17-years-old each, confessed that they had Assassinated 7 and 8 progressive persons respectively.

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

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

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

Mustaf Simsek, who murdered Prof. Noelčel Bulut, a member of the Workers' Party or Turkey (TIP), as well as 7 other victims, confirmed before the Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara that he was armed by the members of the neo-fascist party and itside organizations.
Although some of those who fire the pistols are being arrested, those mainly responsible (or providing them with pistols and pushing them into shooting dead progressive people) have not been touched yet.

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

**APRIL 1979**

**FASCIST TERROR HITS THE LEADERS OF SOCIALIST PARTIES**

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

Recently, on April 17, 1979, dentist Yasar Duygaş, local chairman of the Workers Party of Turkey (TIP), was shot dead by the “Grey Wolves” in the district of纪委监委.

Earlier, on March 27, 1979, the seat of the Socialist Workers’ Party of Turkey (TISP), was raked by “Grey Wolves” and Mr. Aydogan Gecer, Secretary for organization of the party, was wounded with automatic rifles.

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

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

The Turkish Democrats Association (TÖDER) Renal Unur dismissed that within the last 2-year period, 42 teachers, members of this association, have been assassinated in political violence.

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

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

**Proclamation of six independent ministers**

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

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

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

On this unexpected scission within his own cabinet, Mr. Ecevit was obliged to hold a 17-hour marathon meeting with the council of ministers meeting, and, at the end he gave again
some new concessions. According to Mr. Evet's declaration after the meeting:

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

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

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

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

MAY 1979

MASS ARREST OF WORKERS LEADERS ON MAY 1ST

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

"Considering the information recently published in the world press about the imprisionment of patriots, democratic trade unionists and workers on the evening of May 1st, does the Prime Minister of Turkey considers that these decisions constitute democratic behaviour?"
"THE GOVERNMENT STABBED IN THE BACK" BY THE RIGHT

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

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

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

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

But that is not all. Prime Minister Süleyman Ecevit also has problems with the labour movement, for barring the May Day Rally, jailing workers leaders and putting in practice restrictive measures menacing mainly-working people.

As a result of this growing dissatisfaction, the Ecevit Government stated that "we cannot abolish..." as some independent ministers in his cabinet quit the team and some independent deputies who once supported the present government joined the Justice Party of Demirel.

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

there is growing discontent with his policies, and this was reflected in the party congress held at the end of May 1979. Although he was re-elected chairman of the party in the Convention, three separate opposition groups challenged him or issues rather than the government. They advocated a change in the party charter which would reintroduce a 40-member party assembly instead of a 20-member central executive board and so enlarge the representation of different regions in the supreme organ.

In the three-day convention, the works were marked with faults between opposing blocs of delegates and the audience. Although Ecevit took a firm stand against the amendment in the party charter, 571 of 1,540 delegates voted in favour of the change.

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

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

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

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

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

The CHP Convention proved that Prime Minister Ecevit has lost his prestige not only before the Turkish public opinion, but also within his own party. It is possible that in a coming convention, the opposition will challenge him also on the chairmanship.
AUGUST 1979

NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY IN FLAGRANTE DELICTO

According to the 2nd paragraph of Article 11 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, any party which pursues objectives contrary to the principles of a pluralist democratic regime and resorts to armed acts by forming paramilitary groups is liable to be closed down by the decision of the Court of Constitution and its leaders to receive heavy imprisonments.

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

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

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

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

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

The paramilitary command units and execution squads of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party have assassinated more than a thousand people within the 30-month period of Prime Minister Evren's rule. Among the victims are also a public prosecutor, Dogan Öztürk, a famous editor, Ahmet İpek, and two university professors, Bedrettin Cömert and Neçet Bulut. Another university professor, Server Tancılı, was already shot by the commandos and completely paralyzed. In the night of October 8, 1978, the "Grey Wolves" massacred in the capital of Turkey seven members of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP).

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

The party chief is ex-colonel Alparslan Türkes who was an ardent supporter of the Nazi expansion all over the world in the 40s. He participated with the army officers who realized the May 27th, 1960, military coup d'etat, but a few months later he was exiled abroad because of his authoritarian tendencies.

After returning from exile, he seized a minor party and turned it into a neo-fascist party in 1965. He proclaimed himself "Bahşığ" (fitter in the Turkish language) and is so called by his militants whom he addresses as "my Grey Wolves."

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

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

The actual aim of the MHP is to provoke political violence in the country and, also instigating reactionary army officers, to seize political power by force and establish a fascist dictatorship. As its ultimate aim, the MHP calls for
the liberation of all peoples of Turkish origin in the USSR and other countries and wants to unite them under an ethnos to be founded on racial bases.

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

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

**Grey Wolves caught red-handed**

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

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

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

- 19 members of the General Administrative Council of the MHP are being tried before the military tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Command for having issued a declaration claiming that political power should be handed over to the Armed Forces.
- The President of the MHP Youth Section in Istanbul, Kılıç Ayaydın, was arrested by the military prosecutor of the Istanbul Martial Law Command for having assassinated Ali İhsan Örgütlü, editor-in-chief of the progressive daily newspaper Politika.
- Nine "grey wolves," Ibrahim Çiçek, Ahmet Diclemest Göklik, Duran Demirkiran, Ömer Yavuz, Haci Ömeroğlu, Ahmet Sabit, Mehmet Kundakçı, Kadır Femir and Ömer Özcan are being tried before the military tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Command on the charge of having assassinated 7 members of the Workers’ Party of Turkey (ITP).
- Mehmet Ali Ağa and Yavuz Ceylan were arrested in Istanbul by martial law authorities for having assassinated Abdil Ipekçi, editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper Milliyet. During their interrogation, they admitted their crimes.
and said that after the murder they went to the Aksaray Section of the MHP. Other evidence showed that they got the pistol to kill İpekçi from a member of the MHP.
* The murderers of university professor Necdet Bulut were apprehended. The public prosecutor stated that Simşek who shot dead Bulut is a member of the MHP and he was instigated by the MHP Youth Section President in Trabzon.
* During an investigation at the headquarters of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (MISK), a side-organization of the MHP which was destroyed with an explosion, it was realized that the militants of this organization produced the explosives and one of them exploded accidentally. Besides, the police found some secret lists showing the sums distributed to the terrorist militants of the MHP and its other side-organizations. Thereupon, the chairman and six other leaders of the MISK were arrested on the charge of forming armed gangs.

- The military prosecutor of the Istanbul Military Law Command found a lot of arms and ammunition at the Bakırköy Section of the MHP and appealed to the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic to proceed against this party.
- A rightist lawyer who defends the MHP members at military tribunals was apprehended while trying to carry arms into the prison. It was revealed also that this lawyer, Ceylan Özbey, is an agent of the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT).
- At the steel mills of Seydisehir, another side-organization of the MHP, the Steel Workers Union (Çelik-İş) is accused of having hired professional killers to shoot dead progressive trade union leaders. On this accusation, the chairman of the Çelik-İş is disappeared.
- "Grey Wolf" Refat Yalırım, who shot dead university professor Bedrihan Çömez, was apprehended in the city of Burdur.
- Another "Grey Wolf", Veli Can Oduncu admitted at the military tribunal of Martial Law Command that he had assassinated eight progressive people. At the military prison of Istanbul he confessed to a member of the progressive Metal Workers Union (Maden-İş).
- During the trial of those accused in the Khamanmara massacre, which resulted in 114 deaths, the survivors gave evidence having seen them bearing the MHP flags on the scene of the massacre.

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

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

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

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

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

Later, the evidence obtained from the investigation into the facts of the Egyptian Embassy showed that the four Palestinian "guerrillans" had been in contact with an arms smuggler, Haci Ferdi Erden, who is known as one of the most ardent supporters of the Nationalist Action Party in the district of Gebze, and that the arms used at the siege of the
embassy were provided by this fascist-minded person. So, the siege of the embassy harmed not only the just cause of the Palestinian People, but also the democratic struggle of the Turkish people against fascism.

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

OCTOBER 1979

ESCALATION OF THE RIGHT IN PARTIAL ELECTIONS

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

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

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

In the Senate, of the 50 seats at stake, the AP won 33 and Mr. Ecevit's Republican People's Party (CHP) only 12. The National Salvation Party (MSP) of Islamic fundamentalist Necmettin Erbakan won four. As for the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), it won only one. The percentage of its votes rose from 5.20 to 6.60.

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

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

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

First of all, the “Left”, for the unscioncious majority of the electors, is represented by the Republican People's Party. Since the 23-month power of this party brought them only more violence and more economic problems, they were discouraged from voting for another “left” party. Secondly, the Social candidates run on five separate tickets (Workers' Party of Turkey, Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey, Union Party of Turkey, Socialist Revolution Party of Turkey and independent candidates) supported by the coalition of Communist Party of Turkey, Labour Party of Turkey and some other left groups). This fact caused many electors not to vote for a divided Left.

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COMPARATIVE RESULTS IN 29 PROVINCES
DECEMBER 1979

REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE NEW RIGHT-WING GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Interior Minister Mustafa Gülcügil has already made it clear that the target of these new measures is the Left. After a briefing organized by the General Directorate of Security, Gülcügil declared that there were currently 47 underground terrorist organizations or fractions in action in Turkey. He claimed that the number of underground organizations fighting for the establishment of an independent Kurdish State in Eastern Anatolia has reached 10 while there are 34 "terrorist organizations" which aim to establish rule of socialism or communism through armed struggle and 11 organizations which want to bring about the "shariat order" (rule of religion). As to the extreme-rightist organizations, the Interior Minister mentioned only two: The Army for the Liberation of Enslaved Turks (ETKO) and the Turkish Vengeance Brigade (TTT).

However, the principal instigator and executor of the political terror in Turkey has always been the extreme-rightist organizations such as the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) of fascist-minded Ex-colonel Türkcs and his side organizations: besides the ETKO and the TTT, the Turkish Thundershock Commandos (TYK), Foyers of Idear (İÜ) and the Idealist Youth Association (İDD). Although the underground leftist organizations resorting to armed terror are numerous, they are completely dispersed due to inner conflicts or provocations. On the contrary, the extreme-rightist terror organizations are directed and oriented by a single chief: Ex-colonel Türkcs.

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

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

Another source of support for the new bills
Mustafa Üstündag said on December 10, 1979, that the party would support the bill on the establishment of state security courts as well as other measures against "terrorism," if the government takes into consideration some observations of the CHP. One of these reservations is on the procedure of the nomination of the civilian and military judges for the state security courts.

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

On the other hand, the Workers Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSP), the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DUSK) and other democratic organizations have already manifested their opposition to new oppressive measures and disclosed their will to resort to all democratic resistance roads with the purpose of preventing the enactment of new law projects.
Yavuz, University of Edinburgh (June 21, 1977), Bedretin Cömert, University of Hacettepe (July 11, 1978), Bedri Karabalıkoglu, University of Istanbul (October 20, 1978), Nicos Kulius (November 26, 1978), Fikret Ünal, University of Adana (Sept. 12, 1979), Ummit Doganay, University of Istanbul (Nov. 20, 1979).

Besides, university professor Server Tanilli was shot by the "Grey Wolves" on April 6, 1979, in Istanbul. As a result of this attack, Prof. Tanilli has been paralyzed and is still under treatment in Federal Germany.

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

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

According to the news appearing in the daily Cumhuriyet on November 26, 1979, the Interior Ministry had sent all governors a circulat letter dated September 24, 1979, and transmitted Em 6953, 135173 stating the Nationalist Action Party officials had prepared a "Black List" of 120 names, with the purpose of shooting them dead one by one.

The newspaper claims that among the authors of the "Black List" was also Sadı Somancıoğlu, actual vice-president and parliamentary of the Nationalist Action Party.

1979 IN BRIEF

April

1. The government on April 10, 1979, made a foreign currency operation and devaluated the Turkish lira against the US dollar by 5.7 percent. After yielding to the pressures of the IMF, Esen's Government now expects about 1,500 million dollars foreign debt.

2. Invitation for the "donations" of the United States administration to enter into the ongoing efforts of the existence of the US bases in the country.

3. The US Embassy's Second Secretary Mr. Robert A. Kuzel was seen again visiting the district of Sultansahat to explain the situation of the US troops in Turkey.

4. On April 9, 1979, the military tribunal of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff condemned a former Turkish intelligence chief to a 15-year prison term for activities against the country.

5. In this decree, Mr. Sazabnchι Savaşan said: "Providing these foreign services with secret information is the daily practice of the National Intelligence Agency (MIT). Within the MIT there are 200 CIA experts. Besides, the American personnel in the US bases in Turkey are always in contact with more than 30,000 Turks. If I am guilty, it means that the MIT is guilty as well."

6. According to the daily Cumhuriyet, the number of the editors of different newspapers who were condemned to imprisonment rose to 17.

July

As Turkey is entering in an animated electoral campaign which may lead to a governmental change in November 1979, the Western powers pledge a 1,700-million-dollar line of credit to Esen's government. Some 900 million dollars have been pledged by the members of the OECD, and 400 million dollars by a syndicate of banks. A sum of 300 million dollars was also furnished by the IMF. The aid, however, is conditional on the Government's abiding by the IMF's economic guidelines, and Esen concluded his second meeting with the IMF after bowing to Western pressure. He decided on the 3014 turkish lira against the dollar by 1.7 percent to meet the demands of the IMF.

The IMF, Esen attempts also to convince the public not to demand wage increases during collective bargaining. These measures, which consolidated the second six-package in 17 months, delivered a serious blow to Erdogan's popularity.

November

1. Following the defeat of the center-left party of Esen, political power was overtaken by the Democrats' rightist Justice Party. At an extraordinary session of the National Assembly on November 25th, 220 out of 446 deputies voted for the program of the minority government, while 208 voted against.

2. On November 21, 1979, just three days prior to the electoral assembly, the Esen government expired the one-year temporary status of four key UI appointments which monitor the Soviet Union.

3. The results of the October 14th partial elections led the CHP to one of the most crucial crises of its history. At the extraordinary session held on November 4th, the race for the new General Administration Board was run very close. At 729 delegates voted for the list of those proposed by Esen, 654 delegates manifested their choice for the list of opposition.
UTLIMATUM
OF THE TURKISH ARMY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turning Turkey again into a springboard for the US

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

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

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

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

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

Demirel - Ecevit Collaboration for Anti-Terror Measures

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

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

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

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

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

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

Government adopts drastic measures imposed by the IMF

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

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

- Stemming inflation by cutting down the workers' spending power.
- Raising interest rates in order to boost saving.
- Developing exports by granting low interest rate credits and by other incentive measures.
- Enforcing law and order in the country for draining foreign investments and credits.
- Mr. Turan Oral, Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office, who had conducted all negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank has come forward as the new "economic czar" of the country to apply all these unpopular measures.

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

FEBRUARY 1980

POPULAR RESISTANCE AGAINST NEW ECONOMIC AND REPRESSIVE MEASURES

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

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

However, it was a legitimate defense of the workers who were subjected to a three sided offensive by the government.
1. Replacement of all progressive workers and employees of state-owned institutions and enterprises with the militants and sympathizers of the rightist Justice Party (AP) and the fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP);  
2. Putting into practice new economic austerity measures which hit the workers and employees;  
3. Passing new repressive laws aimed at restricting and even suppressing fundamental rights and freedoms.  

The replacement of progressive elements with reactionary ones was already started within the ministries and other state departments just after the formation of the Demirel Government. All governors, police chiefs, directors and administrators have been subjected to replacement. Later on came the turn of the lower levels, and the new administration of the state-owned agro-industrial complex TARIS in Izmir announced through newspaper advertisements that 11 thousand workers of the three factories of this complex were sacked.  

In Turkey, a social security system for the cases of unemployment does not exist. It means that if a worker is fired from his job, he (she) and his (her) family will be condemned to total misery. It should be kept in mind also that the proportion of full unemployment has reached 20 percent in 1979. Considering the underemployment which hits another 20 percent of the active population, about 4 out of 10 Turkish citizens are practically deprived of minimum living standards. The second element which provoked the workers to resist the government forces was the new austerity measures proclaimed on January 24, 1980, by the government under pressure from the IMF. As a result of the new 35 percent devaluation and the approximately 100 percent price hikes in essential consumer goods and public services, the unrest and anger among the working population had already reached a point of explosion. Furthermore, on the proposal of the Demirel Government, Parliament had started to pass anti-democratic laws aimed at restricting fundamental rights and liberties. For these three reasons, the masses of workers and peasants resorted to passive and even active acts of resistance everywhere in Turkey. The trade unions affiliated with the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) and even those which are members of the pro-government trade-union center went on strike. The peasants occupied public work places and passengers got on public transport without paying for tickets. It is under these circumstances that the 11 thousand workers of TARIS occupied the three factories from which they were dismissed. Supporting this resistance, the DISK announced a general strike and organized a mass rally in Izmir. The students of the Aegean University also resorted to a boycott to show their solidarity with the workers of TARIS.  

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

Thousands of workers and students were detained in the city stadium of Izmir. This was not the first Chile-style practice of the Turkish Armed Forces. Last year, thousands of progressives had been detained in the city stadium of Istanbul for not respecting the Army curfew which was to prevent the celebration of May Day. While the unrest was continuing in Izmir, Premier Demirel furthered his provocations saying: "The happenings had nothing to do with workers problems and rights. The only answer is to crush these people and to put an end to their actions."

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

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

It was also the first lesson to be taught in the military education imposed on every Turkish citizen from 7 years old on. This first lesson
implied that unhappiness awaited those who dare say "I am Kurd".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARCH 1980

MASS STRIKES THROUGHOUT TURKEY

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

At the beginning of February 1980, following a joint meeting of its administrative bodies and the executive council of the affiliated trade unions, the DISK had reached the decision to stand against the recent economic and political measures of the Democrat Government. Expressing their determination to fight in the most effective and massive manner against the exploiting class’ attack on the working people, the leaders of the DISK announced that, if necessary, a general strike would be waged throughout Turkey by member workers.

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

Parallel to this resistance of Izmir, three trade unions affiliated to DISK announced that they would go on strike in their sectors, covering
71,500 workers. The Metal Workers Trade Union (MADEN-IS) decided to strike on March 3, 1980, in 153 working places for 35,000 metal workers, and the Textile Workers Trade Union (TEKTİŞ) started to strike from February 17 in 77 working places employing 30,000 workers. Meanwhile, the strike of 4,500 employees of the Turkish Airlines, members of the Airline Workers Union (HAVAYIS), hit all flights on Turkey's national airlines.

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

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

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

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

**Apxril 1980**

**TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY MAKERS ON A TIGHT-ROPE**

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

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

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

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

Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann told the Israeli weekly Yediot on March 23, 1980: "Turkey is the greatest power against Soviet expansion in the Middle East, but the US should assure that this..." Israeli Prime Minister Begin said on March 30, 1980, in an interview with the weekly: "Israeli and Turkey serve today as an efficient and reliable buffer against Soviet expansion in the area..." The Turkish daily Hurriyat had already disclosed on December 27, 1979, that the US worked out a plan to build up a new pro-Western military alliance in the Middle East with the participation of Turkey, Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

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

On April 6, 1980, a 5-member US Senate delegation came to Turkey and got in touch with the country's main political figures. They said that before coming to Turkey they visited the USS Coral Sea patrolling in the Indian
Ocean and added: "Our plots in the ship were very inadequate to bomb the selected targets in Iran."

A very expensive credit for Turkey

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

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

Following the Turkish Government's concessions, the major industrialized members of the OECD put together at the pledging session held on April 16, 1980 in Paris, a 1.16 billion dollar aid package "to restore Turkey's ailing economy". The shares of the rich countries in this package are as follows: USA, 295 million; France, 235 million; Germany, 155 million; Japan, 115 million; United Kingdom, 100 million; Italy, 100 million; Sweden, 75 million; Switzerland, 60 million; Canada, 60 million; Belgium, 50 million; Australia, 15 million; Denmark, 10 million; Norway, 10 million; and Luxembourg, 10 million.

However, the 1.16 billion dollar OECD assistance is not likely to improve Turkey's economic situation in the short term. Because, with the addition of these new OECD credits, Turkey's total external debt has reached 18 billion dollars. Of the new credit, only a 650 million dollar part can be used freely and it is not enough for paying a 3-month oil importation to Turkey.

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

General offensive against the working class

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

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

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

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

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

Under these circumstances, the political parties represented in Parliament try to gain time with rounds of the Presidential election. The Sixth President of the Turkish Republic Fahri Korutürk completed his 7-year term in office on April 6, 1980, and the Senate Speaker İhsan Sabri Çağlayan became Acting President according to the Constitution. Any candidate for the President of the Republic should get 315 out of 625 votes in the Grand National Assembly, composed of the upper and lower houses of Parliament. None of the two main parties, the Justice Party (government) and the Republican People’s Party (opposition), which respectively have 264 and 266 votes, is able to have elected its own candidate. Ecevit’s CHP named the former Air Forces Commander General Mühsin Barar, but he managed to get only 263 votes, 72 short of the necessary vote to be elected. As to the candidate of the Justice Party, Saadettin Bilge, he managed to get 185 votes, 150 short of the majority.

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

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

Terror escalated by the government

Being unable to find long-term solutions to crucial economic and social problems of the country, the Demirel Government searches for short-term credits from obscure personalities on the one hand, and, on the other, to resort to repressive measures for cracking down on the progressive opposition. The “Green Wolves”, tolerated and even supported by the Government, have recently intensified their bloody attacks; and the monthly rate of political assassinations approached 300. Among the terror victims of the last month are also Lüm Küçükoğlu, writer and a producer of the Turkish R-TV (Ankara, 11/4/1980); public prosecutors Nuhban Aksu (Turgutlu, 15/3/1980) and Nihat Gerek (Niksar, 9/4/1980); a rightist journalist, İsmail Gerekçi (İstanbul, 4/4/1980); an army captain (Mardin, 20/3/1980); a progressive lawyer, Aytekin Olçay (Konya, 23/2/1980); an army lieutenant (Diyarbakir, 20/3/1980) and an agent of the National Intelligence Organization (İstanbul, 29/3/1980).

On April 4, 1980, the “Green Wolves” attacked a peaceful demonstration of progressive associations in Eskitöbe and shot dead four persons with machine-guns.

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

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

New repressive law projects

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

- A draft bill which allows martial law courts to function and complete court cases even after
marital law was already approved by the Justice Commission of the Parliament.

- A new law project is being prepared by the government for proclaiming an emergency regime in the case of war or crisis. If this is adopted, the security forces can be authorized to massacre groups of opposition considered "internal enemy".

- Another bill prepared by the government stipulates authorizing private enterprises to recruit special security forces with uniform.

- The Interior Ministry authorized the security forces to shoot dead at sight any person who was put on the "wanted list".

- The same ministry started to deliver licences for carrying fire-arms to the officials of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP), neo-fascist organization of the "Grey Wolves".

- Finally, the National Security Council asked the government and Parliament to recast the extraordinary "state security courts" which had once been annulled by the decision of the Court of Constitution.

**JUNE 1980**

**CENSURE MOTION FOR OVERTHROWING DEMIREL GOVERNMENT**

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

According to the motion, which also bears the signature of former premier Bulent Ecevit, individual and organized terror turned to mass terrorisms, killings increased, and cities and state institutions as well as streets and quarters turned into "liberated zones" under the occupa-

tion of militias, Sectaritarianism, divisionism and hostility had turned into civil war and the government was not capable of dealing with the situation except by increasing the prohibi-

tions and curfew orders, thus paralyzing life.

The censure motion says that inflation had reached frightening proportions. Development had stopped. Regression had set in, with a greater proportion of the masses being impov-

erished and capital being increased by capital holders.

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

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

No measures had been taken to guarantee Turkey's future, and attempts were being made for a full membership to the EU. The eco-

nomic model adopted was against the Turkish democracy and constitution and did not agree with the social principles of the Turkish Constitu-

tion.

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

Now at the end of the debates on the cen-

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

**Massacres committed by "Grey Wolves" and security forces**

Despite the claim of rest-

ering law and order in Turkey, since the proclama-

tion of martial law, the rate of political assas-

sinations committed by the "Grey Wolves", para-

military commando units of the neo-fascist party (MHP), has grown steadily and now more than 337 per month recently. In addition to this escalation, the security forces under the com-

mand of martial law authorities have started to resort to political violence and to murder even the persons not involved in terrorist activities.

The most spectacular of these massacres was committed on June 13, 1980, in Izmir. The security forces surrounded a student dormitory when the students were celebrating the end of the educational year and opened fire on them.
with machine-guns. Five students were killed immediately and about 20 students were gravely wounded.

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

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

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

August 1980

**EARLY ELECTIONS: A STEP TOWARDS PARLIAMENTARY FASCISM**

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

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

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

The explanation of this conflict lies in the following facts:

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

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

Demirel is hopeful that the rightist parties will obtain an absolute majority in early elections for the following reasons:
1. During the month of holy Ramadan especially, the Demirel Government wasted all exchange gains obtained which will now international credit and remittances of Turkish migrant workers abroad in order to make abundant some consumer goods which had disappeared during Ecevit's era. So, it gained advantageous position at least for a few months.

2. By encouraging and protecting the rightist terrorists, the Demirel Government led the masses to an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. The "Grey Wolves" of the fascist party took under their control the mayor provinces of Central Anatolia. Even the local chiefs of this party declared in newspapers that law and order is maintained not by the state forces but by the militants of their organizations. Under these circumstances, it will be impossible for progressive electors to go to polling-booths in many provinces. Benefitting from this atmosphere of intimidation and fear, Demirel hopes that if the Justice Party and its ally, the Nationalist Action Party, will obtain absolute majority.

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

1. Amendment of the Constitution in an antidemocratic sense which will increase the power of the government and reduce the authority of the institutions of democratic control such as the Court of Constitution and the Council of State.

2. Direct election of the President of the Republic. Actually, the President of the Republic cannot be elected by Parliament because of the balance of power between the governmental and opposition parties. Since the acting president of the Republic is a member of the Justice Party, Demirel prefers a deadlock in presidential elections. However, if an early legislative election ends with the absolute majority of the Right, by changing the Constitution, a right-wing politician can be elected to this post.

3. Re-establishment of state security courts which had been abolished by the Court of Constitution, on the grounds that they were unconstitutional.

4. Enactment of the law providing powers and authorities of Martial Law Commanders.

5. Amendment to the Military Penal Code and the law on the procedures at postal courts.

6. Amendment to the laws on trade unions and collective bargaining.


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

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

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

Rightist terror encouraged by the NATO Meeting in Ankara

Even before the installation of an open fascist regime, parliamentary or military, the rightist terrorists have accelerated and the rate of political assassinations within the last two months. With 904 assassinations between June 16 and August 15, 1980, the total number of the terrorists' victims of the 9-month period of the Demirel Government rose to 2,085, and the total number of the 4-year and 7-month period to 4,899.

Alongside the encouragement and protection granted by the Demirel Government, the rightist terrorists were encouraged also by the ministerial meeting of NATO in Ankara on June 25-26, 1980. In fact, since 1960, the NATO Alliance dared not have any meeting in Turkey because of the anti-NATO and anti-US resistance of the country's progressive forces. But after the proclamation of martial law at the end of 1979, the pre-NATO and post-US Urs lost their gain and influence in the state apparatus and started to use the extreme-rightist elements placed at the key posts of the Armed Forces or the Police to eliminate anti-imperialist and anti-fascist elements.

The NATO Meeting in Ankara has been a
manifestation of this pro-US/salvation in Tur-
kev. It is not astonishing that just a few days later, on July 5, 1980, the military troops, on the order of the Martial Law Command, RAIDED the Congres of the Ankara Federation of the Workers' Party of Turkey (ITP) and detained 58 party members.

Parallel to the terror practiced by the state forces, the fascist gangs murdered first a cooperative leftist parliamentarian, Elkizabeth. That was fol-

lowed by another mysterious assassination: Former Prime Minister Nahit Erim was mur-

dered by unidentified persons in apparent reta-
lion for the murder of the Republican dep-
y. On July 22, 1980, acting in defiance of extra
tional security measures taken for Mr. Erim's funeral, fascist gangs shot and killed Mr. Kemal Türkiler, President of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, as he was leaving his home in an Istanbul suburb. They then escaped.

In fact, the murder of Mr. Türkiler, also a former president of the Confederation of Pro-
gressive Trade Unions (DISK), was aimed at dragg-
ing the working class into the current cycle of violence.

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

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

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

1980 IN BRIEF

January
• Encouraged by the military's ultimatum, Velitli Kor, Chairman of the King Holding Board of Directors, called on Turkish political leaders on January 6, 1980, to freeze for a certain period all wages, rents and profits "to save the country from the current economic crisis." The top capitalists of Turkey drew a gloomy picture of the Turkish economy and said that if a strong government were not formed soon, the country would enter into a "no return situation.

• Seven trade union leaders have been assassinated by the military tribunal of Istanbul, on the charge of "having made propaganda for communism" by singing the International at the opening of the 23rd Congress of the Metal Workers' Union (Mersin).

• World-famous Turkish humorist and Chairman of the Turkish Writers' Union (YTS) Veci Nesi was killed. Many labor of the organization were under threat of being killed. "Under these circumstances, defending democracy has become identical with defending our lives," he said.

February
• General Eren intervened once more in politics and openly threatened the existing workers' and democratic forces. "Instead of external enemies, we have seen up to date internal ones. Why do we 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 trim them off within one month."

April
• Chief of General Staff of the I'tt Armed Forces General David Jones, visiting Turkey, said: "Turkey is the most reliable ally of the United States. The Turkish Armed Forces' efforts to safeguard the integrity of the country and the survival of democracy merit full confidence."
May

As the way of all countries were celebrating the May Day with rallies and shouting the slogans of unity, solidarity and struggle. Turkey's biggest city, Istanbul, saw a huge crowd gathering. It was a momentous day in Turkey's history.

The Grey Wolves have started to take an active role, too, officials of the CHP of former prime minister Erdogan. Last month, two provincial presidents of the party fell dead from the bullets of the Grey Wolves. They fought against the government of adopting a policy to prosperity, the economy.

June

An investigation team of Amnesty International visited Turkey from May 13-30 and found that "Turkish authorities are using widespread and systematic torture against political dissenters." At least three police are alleged to have died during interrogation under torture. Referencing to the Turkish press, at least three police are said to have died during interrogation under torture.

The Turkish government has suspended in only seven months 65 airport, energy, transporta
tion, metallurgy, glass, communication, public services, cement, railways, petro-chemical and shipping sectors. The number of the police who are suspended within a 17-month period amounted about 250.

As the speculations on the Turkish affiliation to the EEC are continuing in the Community and in Turkey, the European Trade Union Confederation has informed the Turkish Government that a "preliminary condition of such affiliation is that one must accept the elementary democratic and trade unions rights." The press like the arrests of Turkish trade union leaders on April 30 can head the European trade union movement to be opposed to a possible demand from the 'MHP' for affiliation to the EEC.

On the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, General Eren said: "I have to say honestly that we fought against the people, we fought against the Armed Forces, I say that these trials will be subjected to the punishment which they have already deserved."

August

The left-wing members of the parliament of the CHP addressed an open letter to the Chairman of the Party, Ercan, on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the foundation of the party. According to Ercan, most of the left-wing groups have been excluded from the party leadership and the party's policies have been biased towards the right.

September

As the left-wing President of the Republic and the left-wing Armed Forces have expressed their determination to stand strongly against terrorism.
Grey Wolves (above) and the May 1st Massacre in Istanbul
One of the last images of the personal suffering and political violence prior to the 1960 Counter-guerrilla Operations, which was initiated by the para-military bands. These horrible images were to be seen on September 12, 1960, by the military to justify their patch.
1980-81

THE 1980 COUP AND MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

September 12, 1980. The coup that had been systematically prepared for years was announced to the world by the U.S. State Department in Washington before the Turkish generals themselves announced it on the Turkish Radio. "Law and order" was immediately restored. While all democratic forces of the country were undergoing an unprecedented state terrorism, the IMF's drastic economic measures and new military accords with the USA were put in force without opposition.
BIG BUSINESS CALLS FOR POLITICAL STABILITY

In the days before September 12, 1980, reports published about the Turkish economy in the first seven months of 1980 were rather grim. In this period, the exports of $1.4 billion, below expectations, fell far short of imports which totalled $3.1 billion. Production levels did not increase; indeed, of the 113 basic goods mentioned by the State Planning Organization (DPT) the production of 68 fell by 5.9 percent. The Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TUSSiAD) emphasized, in Turkish Economy Annual 1980, that "unless exports are increased, stability measures will not succeed." The industrialists and businessmen were in union in calling for immediate and drastic measures. TUSSiAD would indicate later on, in Turkish Economy 1980, that when contract dates were approaching for 122,140 workers (whose strikes had been postponed by the Demirel government) "wage increases should be restrained." The same voice was voiced also in the publications of organizations such as the Confederation of Turkish Employers' Union (TISK), the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO) and the G. Cholm's Union of Turkey (TOB). The president of TOB claimed that "the biggest obstacles to raising the level of production were instability and anxiety" and asked for the implementation of "labour peace." TISK, in a letter of advice to its affiliate employers' union, asked them "not to extend the existing contract benefits and to conduct collective bargaining in groups and, gradually, in terms of the various branches of the economy instead of on the level of individual enterprises." With increasing militancy, Rafat Naci, the Secretary General of TISK, said in a publication of the Union of Textile Employers that "raising production levels depend on the re-establishment of State Security Courts (to be dropped with judicious anti-State crime); he added, "I do not think anyone has a better solution."

As Naci succinctly expressed above, all economic decisions involving production levels had to be political as well. While the fundamental changes in the Turkish economy did not materialize in the first half of 1980, the entire State mechanism was rapidly losing its "authority." It was a rare day for the Parliament to convene with a quorum; in fact, after countless rounds of voting, the election for President of the Republic could not be completed for many months. The State was unable to take necessary steps to implement new arrangements concerning taxation and wages (which were demanded by industrialists and employers) and also to pass new laws to strengthen its own authority. In short, Parliament was "not working." "The failing democratic mechanism" and the "vacuum of authority" were warning indications that "the State needed to be repaired."

The State mechanism's inability to function effectively reflects the acute political crisis which has been building up since the early 70's. As the electoral laws and the parliamentary system in Turkey allowed small parties to be represented in the National Assembly out of proportion to their actual social and political support, countless short-lasting governments ruled the country since 1972. These short-lived coalitions and governments were unable to offer anything or last long enough to implement any coherent economic and political programs. The January 24th plan can thus be characterized as the ruling class's most daring program in many decades. However, this program, radical as it was, could not be fully applied, given the delicate balance of power in the Parliament. In fact, the Demirel government (after surviving by several votes of confidence) was about to fall at the beginning of September 1980.

In the past few months, the right-wing press was pointing to the "weakened administrative and executive powers in the State." In April, the daily Todayekim, the common voice of the Turkish right, organized a large-scale seminar on "How to Revitalize the Political Regime: the Constitution and the Electoral Laws" and concentrated its attacks on the "inefficiencies and the limits of the current Constitution." The seminar concluded that the necessary measures to be taken should include: securing political stability through instituting a parliament elected by majority vote, adopting a "Presidential system" which would elect the President of the Republic by popular vote, and changing the nature of the executive power from "arbitrary function of fulfilling orders" to "a real power based on the will of the Turkish nation."
On September 2, reflecting the preoccupations of the lending countries and institutions, Turgut Ozal indicated that "political stability is a prerequisite for receiving foreign capital and investments." The Western press in general was writing about the possibility of military rule in Turkey to secure stability. The Economist asked, "is the military losing patience?"

A U.S. REPORT ON A POSSIBLE COUP

A report drawn up just before the military coup d'etat for the Subcommittee on Europe and Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives considered a military coup d'etat as the first of future alternatives in Turkey's internal political system, if the warning by the military could not be sufficient to inspire the party system to greater responsiveness:

"Opposition to the United States is ideologically based, and the perpetrators of anti-American crimes are generally from politically and socially isolated groups. The most recent episode occurred on December 14, 1979, when four Americans were murdered by a group calling itself "The Marxist-Leninist Unit for Armed Propaganda of the Turkish People's Liberation Front and Party."

"During the Iran crisis, an anti-American demonstration took place in front of the general consul's residence in Izmir. But unlike similar events in Libya, Pakistan, and Thailand, there were no casualties or property damage. Turkish troops dispersed the crowd, estimated at 1,500.

"The U.S. Government does not consider anti-American violence to pose serious danger to American tourists, and no travel advisories have been issued. The American community in Turkey, predominantly diplomatic and military personnel numbering less than 5,000, is concerned and has taken precautions against being targeted as American symbols.

"Officials of the United States and Turkish Governments are quick to point out that the general public attitude toward the United States in Turkey is still highly favorable. One reporter covering anti-Americanism for a U.S. paper in 1979 found in random sampling of American visitors that they encountered no hostility and found Turks to be friendly and helpful. It appears that heightened awareness of isolated incidents of anti-Americanism has been fostered by the events in Iran. Comparisons of the American presence and of political instability being channeled into anti-Americanism in the two countries reveal that strong parallels do not exist, the general public in Turkey does not associate its government or its economic problems with the United States."
THE COUP OPENS A PERIOD FOR DICTATORSHIP

This is not a military coup one would read about in history books. This operation has been carried out by the military according to the will of the nation to put an end to assaults on democracy.

Such was the way Chief of Staff General Evren characterized the coup of September 12, 1980.

In his first press conference four days after the coup, General Evren explained that "the purpose of the operation is to protect national unity; guarantee security of life and property by eliminating anarchy and terror; re-establish and protect the State's authority; maintain social peace, national will and unity; restore the validity of the republican regime based on social justice, individual rights and freedoms, human rights and secularism; and, finally, to return to civilian administration in a reasona-
ble period after necessary measures are implemented... Our guiding light will be Kemalism and its principles.

In the same press conference, General Evren's remarks that the coup was carried out to end the atmosphere of terror and anarchy in the country and to re-establish the national unity had an extremely positive effect on the middle classes which until then had been terrorized to an unprecedented extent. In its initial phase, the military intervention thus gained the support of these middle classes.

Except for a few curtatory remarks, he did not mention any of the long list of bloody massacres planned and executed by the well-organized fascist forces. In this repainted panorama of the political forces on the eve of September 12, General Evren restricted the label of "right" to the fundamentalist rhetoric of the National Salvation Forces (MSP) and concentrated his attacks mainly on the left, those who "occupied the innocent Turkish workers" by forcing them to carry "red flags and portraits of foreigners."

As for the measures to be taken, General Evren said: "To the extent that no similar intervention will ever be necessary in the future, the National Security Council (MGK) is determined to eliminate all obstacles which so far prevented the democratic order and the regime from functioning properly... We will not tolerate the germination and spreading of anarchy in the name of freedom and independence in schools, universities, and unions."

The actions taken by the MGK in the first 15 days of the coup clearly indicated how "democracy will be restored."

The 5-general MGK started to work as a "parliament" and issued many decrees to restrict all democratic rights and freedoms and to extend the authority of martial law commanders in such a way that they can act arbitrarily.

The first application of arbitrary detention was the arrest of political leaders. The overthrown Prime Minister, Mr. Demirel, and the leader of the opposition, Mr. Bülent Ecevit, were taken to an island in the Marmara Sea. The leader of the ultra-Islamic National Salva-
tion Party, Mr. Necdettin Erbakan, was transferred to a naval base near Izmir. As for Ex-colonel Alpaskan Türkes, chief of the neo-fascist MHP, he led in the 28th Military Division near Ankara, expecting his supporters in the Armed Forces to bring about new military intervention. A few days later, seeing that Evren’s Junta had established its authority, Türkes was obliged to surrender.

Left-wing members of the Parliament were also arrested, and the military declared that they would be tried before extraordinary tribunals for their political activities. All municipal administrations, legally elected, were changed and taken over by military personnel.

All organizations and organizational activity were indefinitely suspended also; responsible officials were arrested. All trade union leaders and about 2,000 union officials were arrested. While the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) with more than 660,000 members throughout Turkey was defunct, the yellow trade union center, the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TTK-İS) was left virtually untouched. Furthermore, Sadik Sıdıkoğlu, the Secretary General of Türk-İş, was appointed as Minister of Social Security in the new cabinet.

The new repressive measures that the military junta put in practice provoked the armed resistance of certain political groups. Using these acts as pretext, the security forces started a countryside manhunt, particularly in Eastern Anatolia where the Kurdish people live. The military teams carried out raids in houses and working places, and massacred the women whom they considered “dangerous.” For example, one day only, September 28, the security forces shot dead a total of 8 people in the districts of Aybastı and Deniz.

Although the first declaration of the MKG announced that “the press is free, the newspapers and news agencies can function freely,” three daily newspapers, Aydınlinik, Devekapık and Hayat, were suspended from publication indefinitely without any declared reason or public announcement. The coup had such a shock on the Turkish press that the establishment pressed again to practice very strict self-censorship. While most columns writers decided to write about things unrelated to the coup or current political developments, those who did refer to the coup usually ended their columns reminding their “readers” that Atatürk once said that “the best care for the problems created by the freedom of press is still a free press.”

On September 22, twenty-six new ministers that the military appointed were sworn in. Including the Prime Minister, five key members of the cabinet were former military officers. Prime Minister Bilal Vatan was the former Commander of the Naval Forces. Six members had already served in various anti-communist cabinets during the 1971-73 military coup period. The Prime Minister of Culture was a right-wing journalist. The Minister of Social Security was the Secretary General of the yellow trade union confederation. One of the Ministers of the State served in the very first above-parity cabinet formed following the military takeover in 1971 and was the Head of Operations at the Istanbul Martial Law Headquar ters. Finally, two of the ministers were well-known advisers of the monopolies in the country.

A total submission to the IMF and the NATO. What is most striking is that Turgut Özal, the economic brain behind the austerity government of toppled Prime Minister Demirel, was the sole political survivor and was named as Vice-premier of the military-backed government. Just after the military coup, The Financial Times of September 13th, 1980, published the following note from its Washington correspondent: “Both the IMF and the World Bank negotiations had been conducted very closely with a small number of former Prime Minister Demirel’s advisers, in particular Mr. Turgut Ozal, the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister’s Office. Mr. Özal’s fate will be a pointer to whether IMF and World Bank relations will continue smoothly with Turkey.”

The new government drew up a program conforming to the directives of the IMF and the World Bank, and it was approved by the 5-man junta.

All the first communiqués issued by the MKG as well as the government program showed that the military gave top priority to economic problems. Contrary to the coup that occurred in ’80 and ’71, the social and economic objectives of the military regime were clearly delineated.

At an FMT public declaration the MKG
announced its adherence to the previous military and economic international agreements and to NATO. Philip Kaplan, a general at NATO's Southeast Headquarters, said (as reported in the daily Gunesdogu) "I think the political change in Turkey was expected by NATO and by all other countries," Indeed, the Commander of the Turkish Air Force, General Sahinkaya (a graduate of a U.S. Air Force School and a member of the 5-man junta), had left for the United States only a few days before the coup. After consulting with U.S. officials, General Sahinkaya returned home on the 11th, and, a couple of hours after his press conference at the airport in which he related his "very positive meetings with U.S. officials", the coup operation began. In a statement to Newsweek, Cevdet Kizil, Turkey's counselor to the United Nations, said: "Turkey contributes to the interests of the West in the Middle East, and strengthens the U.S. presence in the region.

All Western countries and the United States welcomed the coup. West German Chancellor Schmidt and the U.S. Under Secretary of State Warren Christopher agreed to continue the aid-lean program to Turkey and were joined by George Bush, the Chairman of the EEC Council, who expressed very similar feelings. The Times said the RDC claimed that "Turkey and the Turkish Armed Forces do not fit the Latin American model."

In his press conference, General Evren stressed that "the stability measures already included in application will continue." The presence of Oral, the engineer of the January 24 plan, in the new administration with a high level of authority was most welcomed by the West.

The Daily Milliyet reported on September 14 that an official of the consortium of lending banks said, "We respect Oral very much. It is not possible to replace a man responsible for the job he started to another team... Oral in his capacity as the chief economic advisor will guarantee the continuity of the economic policy." Similarly, a high-level IMF official said (as reported in the daily Harriet), "In order for the economic plan engineered by Turgut Oral to succeed, it was necessary to be cautious about the flexible exchange rate policy, domestic fiscal balance, keeping wages at a minimum level and the tax reform. Turkey followed a successful economic program after reaching an agreement with the IMF. However, because the now-abolished parliament was not functioning, two of the principles above were not put into application. We hope that the present administration will solve the problem of wages and tax reform."

A few days after his appointment as the Vice-president, the Associated Press presented Turgut Oral as "the economic brain behind the austerity measures." His ability to stay aloof
is a credit, observers say, both to his economic wizardry and his political savvy. He did post graduate work in the United States and served two and a half years with the World Bank in Washington, D.C. The A.F. later quoted Oral as saying: "I told them (the generals) very clearly I will not work with you by other choice. This is the last chance for Turkey. I know only one thing: the present foundation is not strong. The whole system has disintegrated. If this movement does not succeed, then Turkey is in great danger. Maybe we will lose Turkey. Maybe a different regime will be established in Turkey."

As the economic crisis of Turkey, Oral, just after the formation of the new government, flew to the United States and satisfied the IMF and the World Bank by declaring that "stability measures would be applied without any concession at least for the next four to five years." Turkish capitalists' satisfaction was at the highest when General Evren ordered an increase in production and a ban on all strikes and collective baghdagis. Mehmet Yazlar, Chairman of the Union of Commerce and Industry Chambers (TOBI), termed the decision to suspend strikes "most appropriate" and said that the collective agreement system should be revised.

On September 22, at the meeting of the Union of Metallurgy Employers (MESS), it was declared that "the workers are now under the influence of the fear of war. We should orientate them to the moderate trade unions." On September 26, the Military and Command of Istanbul announced that the slowdown of work would constitute a crime.

While the progressive trade union leaders and officials were being arrested, the military-backed government decreed a restriction on the seniority-compensation rights of workers and began to prepare new law projects to restrict all other social and economic rights of the working people.

Within one month following the military coup, production increased about 90 percent. Oral's prediction that "extraordinary measures would be in force at least for five years" satisfied Turkish business as well as the IMF and the World Bank. In order to accelerate the process of foreign participation in the Turkish economy, representatives of the private sector on October 16 founded an association called "Association of Coordination of Foreign Investment". A golden period started for capital. The Cmman of Istanbul Chamber of Industry said: "We have great confidence in General Evren."

In the military plan, the first consequence of the military intervention was the accomplishment of NATO Manoeuvres, codenamed Avril Express 1980 without any trouble. So, the military junta proved that all anti-American forces in Turkey were suppressed at least for a certain time.

Benefiting from the stability, General Rogers, Chief Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, visited Turkey twice, on October 7 and 18, and had a series of talks with General Evren. The immediate result of these visits was Greece's return to the military organization of NATO. Although the Rogers' Plan gave rise to protests by the opposition in Greece, the pro-American majority of the Greek Parliament approved it. As for the Turkish side, the Foreign Minister stated: "By Greece's return to the military structure of NATO, solidarity within NATO's defensive structure will be strengthened and the vacuum in the southern flank of the alliance will be eliminated. Under prevailing world circumstances, the present development is in conformity with Turkey's interests."

Another consequence of the "stabilization" in Turkey were the high-level talks within the framework of the complementary agreement connected with the Turkish-US Defense Cooperation Accord. The communiqué issued after the meeting of October 17 concluded: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of the Turkish defense industry through mutual efforts and that progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as multilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO Alliance."

Having all this support from international and local business as well as from NATO and the USA, the military took a series of steps on the road to the "institutionalization" of the dictatorship.

After giving a "vote of confidence" to the military-backed government in the colossal building of the dissolved Grand National Assembly, the 5-man junta, acting as the legi-
ative body, enacted "The Law on the Constitu-
tional Order" on October 27, 1980.

According to this law, the 1961 Constitu-
tional Order remained in power, but some of its articles were suspended indefinitely. For example, legislative and executive powers would no longer belong to the elected National Assembly and its government, but to the "National Secu-
rity Council" and its government. So, de facto situation was "constitutionalization".

Although this law did not bring any mea-
sure against the presence of some juridical
organs such as the Constitutional Court and
the Council of State, these organs' constitu-
tional powers were totally suspended... powers such as controlling and even annulment the
laws and decrees adopted by the legislative and
executive organs.

So, the Five generals rendered themselves
the absolute rulers of Turkey and accumulated
all legislative, executive and juridical powers
in their hands.

First European reactions against
the coup

Although the military in-
tervention was enthusias-
tically appraised by US
and NATO circles, Euro-
pean democratic institu-
tions, especially the trade
union centers, reacted vehemently against
the installation of a repressive regime in
Turkey.

The European Trade Union Confedera-
tion (ETUC) sent an urgent telegram to the Acting
President of the EEC Council and to the Secre-
tary General of the Council of Europe on Sep-
tember 15, 1980. In this letter, Mrs. Rieber-
Schiedt expressed doubt concerning the Turkish
Army's intentions and appealed urgently to
European institutions, asking them to use every
means they had at their disposal to reestablish
immediately basic liberties and democratic
rights and to free at once the political and trade
union leaders who had been arrested.

"We are surprised to hear the arguments
put forward by the Turkish Army to justify the
putsch since we know that in fact, the Army has
been effective in power for years and that the
government simply has been covering up.
Why, then, hasn't the Army been able to
reserve order and fight against rightist and left-

ist terrorism without having to suppress all
democratic rules and liberties?" he asked.

The World Confederation of Labour
(WCL), in a memorandum sent to the EEC
Commission, to European parliamentarians,
to the General Secretaries of the OECD
and NATO, said:

"Under the present circumstances, if one
attaches a real importance to democracy and to
the defense of human rights, this should come
time:

- for the European Community freeing the
discussions and decisions of the EEC-

Turkey Association Council, more particularly
those defined in July 1980;

- for NATO, whose founder statutes
specify the task of defending liberty and

democracy; putting an end to cooperation with
Turkey;

- for the IMF, the World Bank and the
OECD; freeing outstanding loans;

- for the Western governments: stopping
arms deliveries.

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

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

"International Confederation of Free Trade
Unions unites seventy million organised
workers in free world deeply disturbed by
recent events and demands that under all cir-
cumstances the inalienable right to freedom of
association be upheld and particularly that
trade union rights as embodied in ILO interna-
tional conventions be integrally respected.
The ICFTU abhors political violence as an
enemy to democracy but we protest against arrest
of trade unionists, as only people proven guilty
of crimes should be imprisoned. Democracy can
be defended only by democratic means and we
demand a speedy restoration of the democratic
processes in Turkey."

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

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

The European Parliament has debated the situation in Turkey. Despite appeals from the democratic organizations, the council, declaring that "it rejected at the gravestones given by the military junta", announced that the EEC will maintain its cooperation with Turkey.

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

During the debates, some communist and socialist deputies insisted on the immediate exclusion of Turkey from the Council, but their proposals were not taken into consideration by the majority of the European parliamentarians. In the adopted resolution, the Parliamentary Assembly calls for the respect of the European Convention on Human Rights, the liberating of the detained politicians and the reconstitution of political parties and trade unions.

Despite the fact that Parliament was dissolved and many deputies were arrested, the military junta acted in a double-faced way and sent four former politicians, Tunan Günen, Cevdet Akca, Metin Teker and Besim Ùstünlü, to the meeting of the Consultative Assembly, as if they were still representing the Turkish Parliament. When they were at the hall of the Consultative Assembly, the leader of political parties and many parliamentarians were in military prisons and five generals were acting as lawmakers in the National Assembly building in Ankara. Unfortunately, the Consultative Assembly, without taking this fact into consideration, allowed them to speak at this international forum.

**DOCUMENT**


Although General Eren, the author of the 1980 military coup, claimed during his first public declaration that the Armed Forces had been obliged to intervene in politics because of the inability of successive governments to halt political terror, this argument does not seem so convincing for many observers, because prior to the coup, the Army was indeed in power in the most sensitive areas of Turkey for 20 months and the martial law commanders had all the authority to curb the political violence.

Mr Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister at the time of the coup, finds it suspicious that the military brought aboutstown peace within a matter of weeks after taking power, while it had been apparently helpless to curb the violence for two years. According to Demirel, who was interviewed by Arthur Miller five years later, the generals deliberately allowed the chaos to expand until the intervention would be gratefully accepted. (The Nation, May 1983)
A book published five years after the military coup made many revelations about the preparation of the country and the coup. This book, written by Mehmet Ali Biralan, the Bursa correspondent for the daily Milliyet, is based on [name redacted] General Evren's red-covered personal diary and the author's conversations with those people who were somehow involved in the actual de facto government. Some excerpts from these articles are reported below:

"The Army commanders, their headquarters and above all the Chief of Staff were dissatisfied with the situation. The discontentment of the top of the hierarchy was caused by increasing terrorist actions throughout the country and by the inconsistency and partisan practices of the Ministry of National Defence (Ministry of National Defence) government. Besides these complaints which were shared unanimously, another source of discontentment was the actual state of the Armed Forces. For, as pointed out by General Haji, SACEUR (Supreme Commander of the NATO Armed Forces) - the Army's weaponry and equipment were in a state of ruin. Although a special bill had been adopted in 1972 providing for an additional expenditure of 5 trillion dollars over the next 75 years, only one million dollars was assigned for implementing the Army's reorganisation and modernisation program (REMO). At the end of 1977, the Chief of Staff was compelled to warn the then government: 'Don't ever bring about any situation that could result in an armed conflict with Greece, in view of the fact that our nationalisation capacity is gradually decreasing.'"

"When he started governing the country, Evret raised the Army's hopes. He was thought to be able to change the situation. But after the first half-year of 1978, certain measures taken by the Evret government gave cause for increased anxiety and the general opinion was that the situation was becoming even worse than before. As it opened up, Evret had already disappointed the hopes of the Army. In the autumn of 1979, a special two-member team was set up by the Army to find an answer to the following question: At this stage of developments, is an intervention by the Army necessary? Unfortunately, this team was enlarged and its activities continued until 1980."

"After the Kahrımanmaraş massacre, the martial law was proclaimed early in 1979. Chief of Staff Kemal Evren and the Army units embarked on a series of raids with the Army commanders."

"While General Evret was staying in Brussels to attend the NATO military committee meeting, a message reached Turkey on December 2 (1979): The Chief of Staff was to leave tomorrow bound for Turkey. This was merely a clarification of something already known. But for some people it was a sign that some very important meeting was to take place. On the same day, all commanders of the Armed Forces, the commanders of the four Armies and of some Army corps headed for Istanbul."

"The subject of the meeting was the situation prevailing in the country and the Army's stance in the face of this situation. For several months they had been in agreement on the necessity of an intervention by the Army. Now both the timing and the form of this intervention would have to be determined. But a discussion on going on, it appeared that no general agreement could be reached on these points. Evret said: 'There should be general agreement on the fact that the intervention by the Army was the ultimate chance and that there was no other solution left. Before intervening, let us give the politicians a last chance and send them a warning letter.'"

"Nobody attending this meeting believed that this letter would result in forging the unity of all politicians with a view to improving the situation. The talk of a letter was merely postponed."

"Chief of Staff Evret, after handing the warning letter to the President of the Republic (Fahri Koçluk) on December 27, 1979, began writing down all his observations every day. He used to note down current events along with the ancient writings (Arab alphabet) in a red-covered medium-sized diary. On the evening of Thursday, January 5, he wrote down the following lines:"

"At 5 p.m. I paid the President of the Republic my regular weekly visit. I told him that Demirel (the then Prime Minister) would get very angry over this letter and he added 'he thinks about resigning'."

"We did not hand over this letter with a view to changing the Government,' I answered. 'It is not solely meant for the Government. We have attracted the attention of all political parties and constitutional magnates, including the Government.'"

Subsequently, Biralan gives a detailed account of Demirel's talk, first with the Chief of Staff alone on January 4, 1979, next with all commanders twice, on January 7th and 10th 1979. During these conversations, the commanders are said to have put their concepts in a 6-page report, briefly:

- Reinforcing the powers held by the martial law commanders,

- Maintaining the policy of the government,

- Resuming the activities of the army units,

- Preparing for the military campaign.
- Extending the powers of the martial law courts
- Reviewing the Penal Code and the Law on Associations
- Prohibiting the duration of police custody from 15 to 30 days
- Reinforcing the state intelligence network
- Satisfying the needs of the Armed Forces as a matter of priority
- Including armed traffic trials in the category of those trials which fall within the competence of martial law courts.

"When the talks subsequent to the warning letter came to an end and after the upsurge caused by this letter subsided, the Chief of staff embarked on a series of visits to the military units. From February 15 to May 15 (1960), he made a tour of all armies and all major army corps. (...)"

"With the army there was a general agreement about fighting terror:"

"It is not possible to manage successfully this task if one is concerned about having regard for democracy and human rights. Have a dozen of them liquidated and you'll see them stop straight away."

"There is only one solution left: Courts should be set up passing judgment straight away on people who are apprehended, and condemning them if they were found guilty."

"Behind the rampart terror there is the Left. With a view to dividing this country, they talk about "corridors from Moscow. It's quite clear. Those on the right are not so important. A part of them are sincere and guided by nationalist feelings. The head of the Left must be crushed."

"In Washington there was a growing feeling that the warning letter was the first sign of a military intervention. But, although several months had passed since that letter was passed over, no movement could be observed within the army. From Washington, the necessity of a military intervention had appeared early in 1979. The first overtures of this intervention had been noted during 1979. Furthermore, by September of that year, when Paul Henre, in charge of Turkish affairs at the White House, came to Istanbul at the conference, he had not denied it necessary to go to Ankara. He was aware that in any case the Army was to seize power."

"But, given that the warning letter was not causing a stir, both the CIA and the Pentagon began to envisage a hypothesis, at some forthcoming meetings in Washington, that maybe the Generals were afraid of seizing power. In their view, such a situation might leave the field clear for an attempt by the colonels. However, the consequences of such an attempt might degenerate into any direction. During the first few months of 1980, all these fears and anxieties had been brought to the U.S. Embassy's attention in Ankara, but the Embassy was always relying in the same way: 'Our contacts inside the Turkish Armed Forces inform us that there is no movement nor meeting taking place outside the supreme commanders' control.'"

"From May 1980 onwards, Washington decided to demote signals aimed at Ankara. The first message was handed to General Evren and the second to General Salih in Brussels. On May 11, 1980, following the meeting of the NATO Military Committee, General Rogers, SACEUR, got involved in a quarrel with General Salih, Deputy Chief of the Turkish staff, about problems raised by the control over the Angora area and the possible reinstatement of Greece into NATO's military wing. As they touched on the situation in Turkey, SACEUR asked: 'The Turkish Army, does it intend to face the rampant disorder in your country?'"

"Salih unacceptably this question. He replied straight away: 'We execute our duties, as we have always done.' (...)"

"During a cocktail party offered in honour of the chiefs of staff who had taken part in the meeting, it was Evren's turn. US Chief of Staff General Deane was talking with his Turkish counterpart: 'We're watching with anxiety the latest developments in Turkey. It is very difficult to take such a decision right now. For months your politicians have proved unable to elect a President of the Republic.'"

"General Evren was quite embarrassed by this question. Indeed, during the same meeting Evren himself had asked him a similar question. After replying briefly, he left the party..."
to ask you: What are you doing? What do you intend to do?

"This message was repeated more clearly in the June 1980 issue of "US Armed Forces", a periodical which is followed with keen interest by the Western world's military circles. The latest developments in Turkey have reached such proportions that there is no other solution left than an intervention by the Turkish Armed Forces...

The Armed Forces are to intervene, but they will be unable to improve the situation in the long term.

"On July 1 (1980), at a cocktail party in Ankara, the US Army military attaché made the same remarks to a former member of the National Unity Committee, i.e. the junta which in 1960 made the first military coup. These economic measures are of paramount importance. If they are to be implemented, Turkey needs a 4 to 6-year period of stability."

"On June 17 (1980), all commanders got together on the occasion of the meeting of the enlarged National Security Council (MKG) with the martial law commanders taking part. Now, all of them had come to an agreement. The operation had to be launched as soon as possible. The Chief of staff had a private discussion with the Deputy Chief of staff and with the commanders of the four Army corps. He handed them a detailed operation order: "To all Army commanders: The date of execution of the 'Flag Plan' is July 11. Hour: 09:00."

"Bruce relays that after the Denial Government got a confidence vote in the Assembly, the staff decided to postpone implementation of the plan."

"On August 9, Chief of staff Ewen had convoked all commanders of the Armed Forces as well as Oettjen, the newly-appointed Deputy Chief of Staff, into his quarters. Even since the first meeting the order was cancelled, a lot of upheaval had been noticed in political circles. But there was no concrete result. The meeting in General's office lasted only half an hour. Ewen briefly said: The 'date of intervention is September 12. Has not just the 'Flag Plan' to the unity and make preparations according to this plan.' The Chief of staff signed the operation order. Thenceforth, the commanders saluted him and the meeting came to an end. A new era began for Turkey."

"On September 10, in Washington, US Chief of Staff J. Allen offered a dinner in honor of General Tukish Sahinayka, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, who had headed a tour of the United States to buy new aircraft. Sahinayka was in good spirits. After the dinner, when they were having coffee, Mr Paul Henze, in charge of Tur-

kisch Affairs at the US National Security Council, approached Sahinayka who was due to leave the next day. He was anxious to give him one last word: 'I hope you won't allow the situation in Turkey to get out of control. Sahinayka replied in Turkish with a smile: 'Don't worry! And he left the dinner."

"September 11, 4 p.m. All Air Force and naval units in Turkey were put on alert. At the head of the US Aid delegation (JUSMATT) was General Thompson. He said to himself: 'At last TRUE we've got it. The official reason of the state of alert was that security measures had to be taken in the US bases in connection with the start of NATO military maneuvers. The American general first sent his message to the Pentagon before informing the US Ambassador: 'The Turkish Armed Forces have just been put on alert. It is very likely that the intervention which has long been expected has been triggered off."

"JUSMATT had a very close relationship with the Turkish Armed Forces. It was very well informed of the state of their equipment and was able to sound out the Army's feelings. In order to take on this task, JUSMATT staff included US officers able to speak Turkish as their mother tongue. The most important function of these officers was to establish a friendly relationship with the Turkish officers. For, from the outset, they had been able to closely watch any trouble inside the Turkish army. In the military bases, the US officers were informed of it and also warned not to go on the streets for a stroll, themselves nor their families, until further notice."

"September 12, 13.00 a.m. (8 p.m. in Washington). Paul Henze just came back home. He phoned the Situation Room at the White House. Paul, your boys have about it... Who are your boys? What are you speaking about? Your Generals, they've made a coup in Turkey. Well, well! I'm very pleased. Where does this news come from?"

"From JUSMATT. Do you want us to tell the President about it?"

"We minimize. Don't hurry. Today explosive charges are said to have been placed in Ankara. On the other hand, there were NATO maneuvers going on. Maybe our men were mistaken by seeing some soldiers patrolling the streets. Tell them to check it one more time."

"After half an hour the confirmation came in. A short while ago, the Turkish staff appar-
FIRST ASSESSMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Benefiting from the support of international finance and military organizations and counting at least for a certain time on the "wait and see" stand of the European parliamentary and governmental institutions, the military junta rapidly put in practice a series of repressive measures and established, within a few months time, an open dictatorial regime. All these measures placed Turkey in flagrant violation of all international conventions of which she was one of the first signatories. To alert world opinion against the alarming situation in Turkey, Info-704, in its October 1980 issue, published the following appeal by referring to the relevant articles of the European Convention on Human Rights:
The S-man junta has openly violated all norms of a democratic regime: Parliament is dissolved, party leaders and deputies arrested; trade unions and democratic organizations are closed or at least their activities have been suspended for an indefinite duration; political parties no longer have their democratic functions. The Constitutional Court and the Council of State are deprived of their authority to control legislative and executive decisions. One man bearing the titles of "Chief of the State", "Chief of the General Staff", "Chief of the National Security Council", "Chief of the Supreme Military Council" has established his one-man authority. And this absolute power has been "constitutionalized" from October 27 on.

The arrest of Alparslan Türkes, chief of the extreme-rightist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) does not mean that the junta has an anti-fascist character. Türkes and his "Grey Wolves" had been used in order to increase political violence and to create the climate for a military intervention. After accomplishing their mission, Türkes and his fellows were drawn back. Even if they are liquidated, one should remember the fate of the S.A. of Hitler! The long-term project of the junta is to install an authoritarian regime with a president acting with extraordinary powers at the head of the state and with two centrist political parties which will compose a rubber-stamp Parliament. All socialist formations will be left out. But even in order to arrive at this point, the fascist military junta needs at least five years, as stated by chief adviser Oral.

1. RIGHT TO LIVE: Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights reads: "Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally..."
All Turkey is still under the emergency regime of martial law. Security forces have been authorized by the military junta to shoot dead anyone and anyone who is suspected as "terrorist." Within only one month, more than 500 persons have been shot dead in different regions of the country. For example, in one day only, September 28, 1980, the military forces shot 8 people dead in Ordus and Mardin.

The execution of death sentences has been revived by the military junta. Now only 5 generals decide whether capital punishment of any person is to be executed or not. On October 8, 1980, two convicted youths, leftist Nader Adali and rightist Musafir Pehlevanoğlu, were hanged before dawn in Ankara. Thiers was followed by the execution of another leftist youth, Serdar Soyuer, on October 26, 1980. There are still more than 50 death sentences to be ratified by the 5-man legislative of General Evren. The right to life is being violated also by the military junta torturers in police centers or dungeons. Political detainees are brutally tortured and killed.

2. RIGHT TO LIBERTY: Article 5 of the Convention reads: "No one shall be deprived of his liberty save in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law."

Martial law commanders have been ordered by the military junta to take into custody anyone and everyone up to one month without a court warrant. They apply this authority by issuing black lists and organizing manhunts. The General Secretary of the National Security Council, General Haydar Sabri, has disclosed that since the military coup d'Etat, 10,000 persons have been detained and 746 of them sentenced. On the other hand, the Coordination Department of Martial Law announced that in the same period, 1,588 left-wing activists have been detained while the number of right-wing activists detained was only 437. But, the exact number of the detained is estimated at over 50,000. In addition to the military detention houses which existed before the military coup d'Etat, the barracks of Seliniye, Davutpassa, Maltepe, Aksaray, Samanbula, Hasköy and Mersin have been turned into military prisons in Istanbul. Moreover, there is no communication with the Eastern areas of Turkey where the Kurdish population live, and the number of arrests there is estimated to be higher than those in the western parts.

In addition to those who have been officially detained, there are also the people who have been taken in under the pretext of "keeping them under the security of the Army." In fact, this is another version of the limitation of liberty. All detainees are obliged to have their hair completely cut off and to wear prison uniforms just as it was in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany.

For female detainees, the military has established special detention houses. They are insulted by the guards. The majority of female detainees are industrial workers who represent their trade unions at their working place.

3. FREEDOM OF FAIR TRIAL: Article 6 and 7 of the Convention read: "Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law."

All Turkish citizens who are accused because of their political opinions or deeds are summoned before martial law tribunals which are under the military authority of the junta. According to a new amendment to the Code on Martial Law, even the leaders of political parties can be tried before military tribunal, while the Constitution of 1961 which stipulates that they can be tried only by the Constitutional Court is still in force. The junta also plans to re-establish extraordinary state security courts which had been declared unconstitutional by the Court of Constitution on the reaction of democratic forces four years ago. Besides, the military commanders detain anyone and everyone without any court warrant.

4. RIGHT TO RESPECT FOR PRIVATE AND FAMILY LIFE, HOME AND CORRESPONDENCE: Article 8 of the Convention reads: "There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right." The communiqués of the junta have authorized martial law commanders to search anywhere and everywhere, day or night, to control all correspondence, mail, telephone calls and telex communications. Special services have
been established in order to carry out this cen-
sorship.
5. FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CON-
SCIENCE AND BELIEF: Article 9 of
the Convention reads: "Everyone
has the right to freedom of thought,
conscience and religion.

Tens of thousands have been detained for
their political thoughts or for their beliefs. Even
parliamentarians and trade union leaders have
been put in dungeons. For example, the leaders
and the deputies of the National Salvation
Party (MSP) are still under arrest and being
tried for expressing their religious beliefs.

6. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION:
Article 10 of the Convention reads:
"This right shall include freedom to
hold opinions and to receive and im-
part information and ideas without
interference by public authorities..."

Press, radio and television have been put
under strict censorship by the military junta.
More than fifty progressive newspapers, re-
views and publications had already been for-
bidden even before the military coup d'etat by
martial law authorities. After September 12th,
three more daily newspapers were closed down.

7. FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION
AND TRADE UNION: Article 11 of
the Convention reads: "Everyone has
the right to freedom of peaceful as-
sembly and to freedom of association
with others, including the right to
form and to join trade unions for the
protection of his interests."

- Parliament is dissolved.

- All political parties' activities are sus-
pended. Leaders and deputies of these parties
are persecuted by the military. The President
of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), Mrs. Be-
hicet Toyran, 70-year old, is under military sur-
veillance despite the fact that she suffers from
heart disease. Military prosecutors are prepar-
ing files against all progressive parties and de-
mocratic organizations which have also been
closed down by the junta.

- The Confederation of Progressive Trade
Unions (DISK) was closed down on the first
day of the military regime and its leaders, in-
cluding President Ahmet Halbin, have been
detained and are still kept at military dungeons.
In addition to the detention of trade union
leaders, the military took into custody more
than 5,000 trade union representatives. The
right to strike and collective bargaining was
suspended and tens of thousands of workers
were forced to work under the threat of
habeas.

The 5-man junta is preparing projects to
amend the laws on Political Parties, Organiza-
tions and Trade Unions

With a new law enacted by the Junta, all
political parties, trade unions and organiza-
tions which have been forbidden by the mil-
itary were put under the administrative author-
ity of caretakers.

- In an interview which he addressed to
the Associated Press, General Haydar Sabik, the
Secretary General of the National Security
Council, declared that even in the case of re-
turn to parliamentary regime, Bilal Ercvit
and Salihman Dinar, presidents respectively of
the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the
Justice Party (AP), might be deprived of
the right to take part in political activities.

8. AND TORTURE...
Article 3 of the European Convention
on Human Rights reads: "No one
shall be subjected to torture or to
inhuman or degrading treatment or
punishment."

Torture allegations had been so present
during the military repression period between
1971-1973 that even the Council of Europe had
put on its agenda the proposal for the exclusion of
Turkey from this European institution for
torture practices. But after the return to civilian
rule in 1974, allegations of torture practices
diminished completely.

However, four years later, following the
proclamation of martial law in 13 provinces of
Turkey, torture allegations started to reappear
in the daily press.

The representatives of two international
democratic organizations, the International
Association of Democratic Lawyers and the
World Federation of Trade Unions, who visited
Turkey between March 31 and April 14,
1980, reported:
"The witnesses which the mission picked
up from the circles of trade unions, journalists, physicians, writers, lawyers and different personalites led the mission to raise a real alarm in international public opinion. The mission witnessed the danger of destroying democracy in a city under martial law - Istanbul. Since November 1979, 40,000 people were arrested and detained, and a substantial number of them tortured...

Later on the practice of torture was witnessed by hundreds of people and the daily newspapers gave details of their allegations. However, the international human rights institutions still remained uninterested.

Now, after the military coup d'Etat of September 12th, the practice of torture has gained greater dimensions and many people have lost their lives under inhuman conditions and torture.

After this first evaluation Info-Türk made the following appeal:

"If international organizations and especially European institutions continue to keep their silence on what is going on in Turkey, the fascist military dictatorship, benefiting from this tolerance, will succeed in installing a bloody apparatus of repression in this south-eastern member state of Europe.

"Step by step, the generals eliminate all remnants of constitutional control, liquidate all progressive, patriotic, democratic persons and prepare the base for a parliamentary fascist regime with a military fascist dictatorship as the President of the republic at the head of the State. The junta will allow only two extremist parties to play the game of democracy. As General Salih declared, even socialist-democrat Evrintel and rightist Demirel too will not be allowed to take place in political activities.

"The Turkish and Kurdish peoples in this country are humiliated, tortured, executed, deprived of all their fundamental rights.

"Now it is the inevitable task of all human rights organizations and European institutions to intervene immediately in the aggravated situation in Turkey.

"If these anti-democratic practices continue, the regime of fascist generals should be immediately expelled from the Council of Europe and the European Parliament should decide to suspend relations between the EEC and Turkey.

"Otherwise, tomorrow will be too late!"

PRINCIPAL TARGET: ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE COUNTRY

Acting as the legislative body, the NSC adopted new "laws" for increasing the powers of martial law commanders, putting civilian prosecutors under the authority of martial law commanders, empowering governors to act as martial law commanders during civil rule, establishing military tribunals with only one military judge to try political offenses, authorizing martial law commanders to detain anybody up to 90 days without a court warrant.

On November 7, the military-backed government announced that 58 fundamental laws concerning the political, economic and social life of the country would be amended either by the NSC or by the "Consultative Assembly" to be appointed by the NSC. Also among them are the laws on Political Parties, Associations, Trade Unions, the Electoral system, the Turkish Penal Code, etc.

General Hüseyin Salih, who was the secretary general of the NSC and known as the "brain" of the military junta, said: "The Turkish Armed Forces have taken over the administration for:

a) Preservation of the existence and independence of the Turkish State,

b) Preservation of territorial integrity and national unity,

c) Establishment of unity and solidarity of the Turkish people,

d) Liquidating destructive and separatist movements,

e) Ensuring a full respect to Kemalist principles,

f) Restoration of the state authority that diminished or was completely lost.

General Even himself stated during his trips to different provinces that the NSC would not return to the barracks without accomplishing these tasks.

Answering to criticises coming from some right-wing circles that the a-test of MHP leaders would not be compatible with the announced objectives of the coup, General Even said: "It should be borne in mind that, every-day, hundreds, even thousands of the people of the Left are apprehended or shot dead at operations. If there are others of whose activities we
Denizli, former prime ministers, they were also tried, without arrest, on several charges.

The NSC announced that it was considering passing legislation to prevent politicians from serving as party chairmen for more than limited periods of time. On this announcement, Ecevit resigned as chairman of the CHP. "I decided to make this departure, which would seemingly be inevitable in any case, now," he said in a written statement whose publication in daily newspapers has been forbidden by the military junta.

In addition to the ban on more than 50 progressive newspapers and periodicals and very strict censorship on the press, the publication of the daily Cumhuriyet was suspended on November 11 by the Martial Law Command. A brief communiqué accused the newspaper of having slandered Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic, and also of publishing "erroneous and exaggerated information."

In fact, the ban on Cumhuriyet on the ground of slandering Atatürk was very far from convincing, because this newspaper is the oldest daily in Turkey and was founded under the instruction of Mustafa Kemal himself. Since then, Cumhuriyet has always been considered the main written medium for propagating Kemalism. The real reason behind this ban is the information on the deteriorating economic and social situation in Turkey which was published by Cumhuriyet on November 10 and 11.

On the other hand, the military were alarmed with the Cumhuriyet's revelations about the activities of the Cüretgürilla organization and the arms smugglers who collaborate with the former. A few days earlier, one of the important arms dealers had brought...
a law suit against Cumhuriyet, demanding an indemnity of 35 million Turkish Liras.

According to Cumhuriyet, the stabilisation package of January 24 had already gone much further than merely being the "bitter pill" as it is referred to by its implementors and their ministers. The consequence of this policy was revealed as follows:

- Despite encouragement measures, investments decreased by 20% within a year.
- The rate of economic growth was 2% lower than that of the past year.
- The rate of inflation would go over to 100% in 1980 despite drastic measures.
- The number of unemployed increased by 50% within one year.
- Average real wages fell down by 40% within one year.
- Per capita income, which surpassed 1,000 dollars in 1979, dropped below this figure, to 900 dollars.
- And finally, Turkey's foreign currency deficit during the first nine months of the year reached 1,200 million dollars according to Central Bank data. The figure is 314.3 million dollars above the past year's level.

In order to ameliorate this situation at the expense of the working population, the junta suspended all trade union activities, closed down the progressive DISK and imprisoned all its leaders. More than 300 thousand workers, who had announced they were going on strike or went on strike for obtaining wage increases conforming to the rate of inflation, were forced to work with the salaries of three years ago, that is to say with a 70% increase, while the inflation rate within the same period surpassed 300%.

With a new decree from the junta, the right to seniority compensation was lifted.

As all political prisoners, the leaders of DISK were subjected to inhuman treatment and tortured in military prisons. The following documentation, published in the January 1981 issue of Info-Türk, revealed their ordeal:

DISK leaders being tortured

"I am a member of DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and worked in one of the big factories in Istanbul. I was also a worker representative until September 12, 1980. After the September 12th takeover, all the executive and administrative members of DISK and the affiliated unions and also head worker representatives of the factories located in Istanbul province where DISK was organized were kindly invited to surrender to the martial law authorities through a special declaration.

"By September 17, 1980, nearly 2,000 DISK members surrendered by their own will, thus showing confidence in the declarations of the National Security Council (NSC), with the hope of a release within a week or so. We were all put under custody in Istanbul, Metris Hasdail, Altindag, Maltepe military jails. Abdullah Bastürk, the President of DISK was taken into custody on the morning of September 12, 1980. During this time many detainees' houses were searched thoroughly.

"At first, nothing happened. We kept waiting in anxiety. We were detained from seeing our families, who were made to wait outside the jails to pass on a few written words, to send money or cigarettes. Later it was declared that we had been kept as guests of the NSC until October 6, 1980. Up until then, nobody could be kept under custody more than 30 days according to the law in practice. However with a special amendment to the Law, NSC prolonged this period up to 90 days. They released nearly 1,300-1,400 union members at the end of October. Interrogations started no earlier than October 27, 1980. Two months later I got the full story.

"On October 27, 1980, they first took Bastürk and 6 other union leaders from Metris jail to Davutpasa Barracks, located in the 26th Division at Merter, Istanbul. In Davutpasa Barracks, they were put in Oug Hanayuel (in Ottoman it means Empire Tent) which the trade unionists called the "cami" (mosque). There they were tortured severely. They were kept sleepless there until November 3, 1980. 7 days and nights, sitting on an iron chair. Some of them were given electric shocks, some were beaten heavily, their bodies bumpy against the walls. Bastürk (52, former FRP member of the Turkish National Assembly between 1969-1977, was also given electric shock and given steady blows on the head for 7 hours. They were forced to curse one another. They were forced to shout some slogans that they are against. During all the interrogations, detainees' eyes were closed with a circular band of cloth. Nobody knows the interrogators. But the general assumption is that they were from
MIT (National Intelligence Agency), Military Prosecutor’s Office and from the Trade Union Bureau of Section I, Security Police of Istanbul.

"Then other members of DISK were taken from Metlis to Davutpasa Ocaq Hizmetci and were daily interrogated under torture there. We had 545 union members. Except for very few all the 545 have been through torture at that place. They applied electrodes, had them go through all kinds of physical and psychological humiliation and torture by hitting, forcing them to swear that they would not indulge in any kind of trade union activity any more, and by having them urinate on themselves. They pulled hair, scratched, they gave the impression they were going to throw the detainee from a window 20-30 metres high, or they threatened him with hanging.

"One day they took one of my friends to that place and told him that he had executed Başık and others by hanging and it was now his turn. They asked whether he wanted an imam (mufti - priest) or not. When he demanded an imam, somebody impersonating the 'imam' came. They opened his eyes for the first time. Then they asked him to say his last wish. He wanted to write a letter to his children. He was sure that he was going to be hanged. With his eyes closed again, they put him on a chair, they fixed the loop and pushed the chair. It is hard to express the feelings the trade unionist experienced on the verge of death, especially when one is totally sure of his innocence. But to his surprise he fell down, and one of them said: "What a pity, the rope broke again for the 5th time today. And we have no extra loop left. Take him away and bring him back tomorrow morning."

"And the next day he just signed a paper with his eyes closed, not being able to read what he had signed, nor knowing how many pages his 'confession' was.

"One of the victims was I, beaten heavily, given electric shock. I do not want to tell the physical and psychological effects of the different kinds of torture. They are well known.

"Most of the union members were talking during their sleep at nights. They had broken one of the workers' legs. He is in the Davutpasa jail now, arrested on January 5, 1981. Some of the union leaders and members were urinating blood. Military doctors were totally startled. Torture was such a common practice that in the mornings the soldiers serving as nurses were calling out at the door, 'who was tortured yesterday, get ready for the dressing of the wound.' They were trying to get 'confessions' concerning others by making us throw blame on others. They were trying to get us to 'confess' that DISK was a communist party? They asked whether we had participated in the celebrations of the First of May, or went to the funeral of Kemal Toker, ex-president of DISK who was shot by a fascist squad which is jailed now. Actually, all of these were illegally prevented meetings or marches. We were asked whether we had been to the union training programs and interrogated as to the things we had been taught. They particularly interrogated the persons who participated in international union activities. But in reality they were just trying to humble the union leaders and members so as to hamper their activities in future. Thus, the progressive trade union movement of Turkey was being penalised.

"After 60 days of interrogations full of horror, threat and torture, we were brought before Military Court No 3 under the commandership of the First Army and Martial Law of Istanbul.

"The military attorneys made a serious legal error. Without taking the statements of the detainees after the 'police' interrogation, they sent us to Military Court, where some of us were arrested for 'crimes' based on 'confessions', which are obviously not legal documents at all. Many of the detainees, including Başık and some of executive members of DISK, refusing their 'police statements', were able to have their torture claims put down in the minutes and so 'confessions' put in their files were not. And so, many detainees gave 8-10 pages of their torture stories to me examining magistrates or military judges of Military Court No. 3. Now all the torture stories are in the files. On December 27, 1980, Military Court No. 3, presided over by military judge Senator Major Ismet Aytuğ, released 436 detainees of 500. Başık and executive members of DISK were arrested together with the former mayor of Istanbul Ahmet İvan on the charge of providing DISK with aid during celebrations of the First of May. On January 6, 1981, 15 more union leaders were arrested, out of 39. Meanwhile on January 3, 1981, the Commander of Martial Law of Istanbul dismissed mayor Aytuğ from his job to another place. Aytuğ's effort was simply trying to act as lawfully as possible.
"For the time being the trade unionists are jailed at Darvapisas Askeri Ceza ve Tutsaklar, Darvapisas/ Başyapımpasa, İstanbul/Turkey.

"Probably the detained union members and leaders, nearly 2,000, will be charged with articles 141, 142, 144 of the Turkish Penal Code which cover the crimes of attempting a coup d'état or takeover, and trying to organize illegally to get power and establish a class dictatorship. What a farce!

"They invaded the headquarters of DISK several times and searched every single corner. They tried to find "secret" guns, pistols, bombs, just to accuse DISK of being a terrorist organization which resolutely denounces terrorism. Yet, nothing was found, to their distress. They confiscated all the materials, files, letters; everything is in their hands now. DISK worked openly, legally. And its activities were written in detail in its documents, bulletins, magazines, reports.

"On the other hand, NCS closed DISK and MİSK (Nationalist Trade Union Confederation which worked in parallel with Nationalist Action Party) but not Türk-İz. So they wanted to create an image in the West that they are against extremist organizations, as extreme left, DISK, an extreme right, MİSK, but not moderate unions. It is ridiculous to compare DISK, with its 500,000 members, with MİSK, which had only 5,000 members and at whose headquarters pistols and bombs of fascist squads were found.

"They also put an end to strikes and collective agreements and declared that no worker would be fired from the factories. In practice hundreds of workers were soon fired. After a week, NCS declared a 70% wage increase for those who were working for collective agreements in Turkey, as you know, the inflation rate was nearly 100% in 1979 and 1250% in 1980. Yet many employers did not obey even the 70% wage increase declaration.

"Then Türk-İz gave its secretarty general to the Ministry of Social Security of the newly founded government, which docked the social rights of the workers. With the new laws on taxes, they passed tax reduction instead of wage increases won by collective agreements, and with a special law they left the face of the workers in the hands of the High Court in which Türk-İz holds two seats out of 9. So, Türk-İz, which wasn't closed down, became redundant in actuality. But the passive administration of Türk-İz is continuing to get their salaries, while its members in the factories are being blamed even more fiercely.

"In Turkey all the conventions and recommendations of ILO have become null, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Charter are rejected. And now DISK and DISK is at the point of being closed forever. This letter is written only for the trade unionists who struggle for union rights under all conditions and also for fair-minded people all over the world why by their silence and indifference may only add to the continuation and spread of torture, to the annihilation of basic rights, including the right to organize, the right to collective agreement and the right to strike. Eighty-two trade unionists are in the Darvapisas Military jail now. While these trade unionists are kept in prison, you can not be liberated.

"Let us show that international solidarity is not a dead slogan.

"Let our aims for Peace and Freedom be realized. — January 9, 1981."

Barrack discipline in prisons

As for the other political detainees, they were under the same conditions or worse ones. Executions restarted, after a 10-year interval. Three young militants were executed within the month following the coup. Torture was a daily practice in interrogation centers or military prisons. Amnesty International announced that, within a one-month period, eight political detainees had died at interrogation centers, mainly because of torture.

A news report published by the daily Mil- fiz of December 7-10, 1980, showed the barrack discipline applied to political detainees:

- Attention...
- Fast!
- You may smoke...
- Thank you Commandant...
- Count for marching...
- One... two... three... four... one... twt...
- Everything for the Fatherland... everything for the Fatherland...
- Thanks to God... Long live our Nation...
- Have a good lunch...
- Thank you Commandant...
- You may eat...
- That you Commandant...

"As a result of the increase in terrorist ac-
tions in these last years, Mamak is filled up
with people who have taken part in those
actions. The ratio of fullness has increased
much more since the September 12 Military
Intervention. Therefore, they started to build
new blocks.

'As the prison of Mamak everything is
based on discipline, and this is valuable for
both prisoners and officers of direction. There
is also great discipline in the army between
the ranks. For example when the guardswear appears
in the corridor, an officer shouts 'attention'... and
when that is heard in the ward everyone turns
his back to the door; they remain like that
until the second accord, having to stay like that,
absolutely motionless. The guardian should see
them turning their backs when he enters the
ward; if he wants, with another order, they will
be in rec position, otherwise they have to stay
like that, in straight position, while he gives
different commands or explains something.
Without the permission of the guardians they
cannot express any will or do any action like-
wise.

'The wards' walkers are mostly corporals
or sergeant, but they are called 'Commandant'
by the prisoners. They cannot talk in a friendly
way with them. All the soldiers have a rubber
truncheon in their hands. According to the
authorities, after September 12, with the help of
the strong discipline secured, the prisoners:
accepted the situation. They realize that there is
nothing to make fun about and as a result,
there is no need for beating... those who do not
obey the orders or act without discipline are
forbidden to go out for exercises, have their
taking-time with their relatives shortened, or
must do some night work. The punishments
are the same if the faults are committed by the
whole ward. The hair of all prisoners is cut in
the same way, equally short like the soldiers.
In the meantime they are considered as soldiers
according to Law and that's why they cannot
have either mustache or beard; their general
appearance as well should be in order. On the
other hand they can wear anything they want
under certain rules: such as not wearing belts,
to prevent them from committing suicide, and
their shirts should be well buttoned. You can
also see many prisoners with neckties too.

One of the greatest problems in the prison
of Mamak is the lack of space in the wards. For
example, instead of 25 prisoners, 70 or 80 are
living on top of one another in the ward.

'In order to avoid desertsion, the com-
mander of prison took some precautionary
measures. For example, no warden can stay in
the same ward more than a certain time. In this
way, the prisoners won't have time to make
friends. The prison is surrounded by high walls,
wires and mines. Also, mere are always
guards either in the garden or on the tower,
standing on duty for 24 hours. Projectors and
specialty trained dogs and sound mines also are
of great help in preventing night desertsion.
The machine guns are a special precaution for
group desertion. There is strict control even
when someone enters as a visitor. They search
you, even up to the inside of your moes.

'As soon as the detainees arrive the prison,
group soldier education starts. The basic rule of
this education is how to obey the orders and
how to respond to commands such as 'get set...
cease... turn right... march along... During the
'Fresh air' break all the prisoners in a group do
physical education for five minutes. The next
five minutes are used for basic soldier training,
and ten minutes marching with military songs.
The rest of the time is free for everyone, and this
is the best moment for them because they can
get what they lack in the crowded wards all day
long, fresh air and some exercise.

'If you enter the blocks during"theoretical education" time, you will bear the different
voices arising from the wards. Behind closed
doors there is always a prisoner standing still in
a straight position who is loudly reading differ-
ent principles of Ataturk's book while the oth-
ers listen. In the meantime guardians can inter-
rupt him any time they want and can ask any
prisoner questions about Ataturk or Kemal-
ism, and they should be in a straight position
when they answer the questions, too. If the
prisoner says anything wrong, the guardian will
correct him.

'We saw that most of the prisoners were
repeating by heart with great emotion the dif-
erent speeches of Ataturk. As soon as the
commands are given they were ready to recite
either the 'Speech to the Youth' or 'Speech of
the 25th anniversary of the Republic'.

'The education of Kemalists is not finished
only with memorizing the speeches. But they
are also provided with different recorded tapes
either from radio or television. Those tapes
which are either about life sequences of Ata-

tärk or meetings that took place at different moments or about his personality are heard by all wards with the help of loudspeakers.

There is no radio or television, only the central broadcasting. They can either listen to heroin folk songs or military marches. They can also read magazines, except daily newspapers, and books about Atatürk.

According to the order of the police Commander, the prisoners are not allowed to hang anything on the walls other than the Turkish flag or pictures of Atatürk. Not only may they hang them up but they cannot even bring in any other poster.

"The grouping together of prisoners from different political camps in the same ward is in everyone's interest. The responsible representatives of the prisoners explain that, as they are always afraid of being informed on in the garrison by someone else in the ward, they pay attention to following the rules. In this way there is always order in the ward and there are no fights among them.

The distribution of meals is done under the attention of both the garrison and the senor of the ward. Forks and knives are forbidden for security reasons. They may use only wooden spoons and plastic cups. Meals are started with orders and praying and end in the same way. Dishes are washed by the prisoners. As the prisoners get much more crowded every day, the prisoners talking with their relatives is much more limited. The allowed time is sometimes decreased to 5 minutes once a week. Every block may receive visitors one day a week. According to the rules of military prisons, only blood relatives or those who have the same surname are allowed to visit the prisoners. They should also speak Turkish and loud enough to be heard by the guards." (Emir Çiğlaşan, Milliyet, December 7, 1980.)

THE MILITARY REGIME'S STATE MACHINERY

The first legal analysis of the new state machinery of Turkey was made by the International Commission of Lawyers in Geneva. This study was presented later on, in April 1981, as a memorandum to the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

As has been explained in earlier chapters, all international institutions, except trade union centers, had not taken a critical position against the military regime and preferred to apply a "wait and see" policy, satisfying themselves with some remarks. We are reproducing below the most important parts of this legal study:

The Legislative Arm

"The parliament and government established in accordance with the 1961 Constitution were dissolved and replaced by the National Security Council from September 12, 1980. The Council is made up of the Chief of the General Staff and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Air Force, Navy and Gendarmerie. General Efevren announced the same day that the NSC, which he chaired in his capacity as Chief of the General Staff, had 'provisionally' assumed legislative and executive power pending the establishment of a new parliament and government. (I) Legal force was given to this arrangement by three instruments enacted by the NSC, the first being the 'Rules of Procedure for the NSC in its law making capacity' (I), the second the 'Law on the Constitutional Order' which stipulates that 'the powers and functions assigned by the (1961) Constitution to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey... shall, as from September 12, 1980, be temporarily exercised by the National Security Council' (2); and the third, a law of September 12, 1980, confirming the members of the NSC in their posts by stipulating that they will continue to carry out their duties as members of the Council until such time as the Grand National Assembly of Turkey effectively resumes its work' (3).

The NSC has also given itself the power to re-cast the 1961 Constitution which, as stated in the Law on the Constitutional Order, remains in force (Art. 1). The same law stipulates that if there is any discrepancy or contradiction between the provisions of the Constitution on the one hand and those of laws, decisions or communiques promulgated by the NSC, the latter shall be deemed 'constitutional amendments' (Art. 6). It should also be pointed out that the same law prohibits all appeals to the Constitutional Court to annul NSC instruments (Art. 3).

"It is clear from this that the NSC enjoys full power to legislate and to amend the Consti-
tion, at least in this initial period of the transitional regime.

The second phase of that period will begin, apparently, with the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, scheduled (erroneously, it seems) for September or October [86], an announcement which was publicly announced. He also announced that the political parties, whose activities are suspended and which remain to until the new Constitution and the laws referred to below are adopted, will not be allowed to sit in the Constituent Assembly. [87]

The Constituent Assembly will be able to assist in drafting the new constitution and the laws governing the electoral system, political parties, associations, public meetings and demonstrations and labour relations (strikes, lock-outs, collective bargaining, etc.). The bills and drafts will be submitted for approval to the NSC, whose decision shall in all cases be final. [88]

In addition, it should be noted that there is a further bill whose scope is no less significant than that of the bills just listed and which is not included among those that will be drafted with, at the very least, the Constituent Assembly's participation. This is the Emergency Powers Bill, which confers full powers on the government for use in the event of national emergencies or disasters and/or in time of economic crisis, and enables it to impose a set of civic and material obligations and responsibilities on the citizens. This Bill, drafted by the Ministry of Justice, will soon be submitted to the government for consideration. [89] It is therefore likely to become law even before the Constituent Assembly is convened. [90]

The Executive Arm

The executive in the present as in the previous system is bisephalous and consists of the head of state and the Council of Ministers. But the dominant partner is the head of state because, firstly, he is Chief of the General Staff and Chairman of the National Security Council, and, secondly, the powers and duties foreseen in Article 2 of the Law on the Constitutional Order. On the other hand, that same law does not unequivocally recognize the Council of Ministers as an organ of state. The only references to it are in Articles 4 and 5 of that law and Articles 18 and 19 of the 'Rules of Procedure', and then indirectly, as the relations between the NSC and the government are concerned, the 'Rules of Procedure' place the latter under the control of the former. [91]

Furthermore, the legal responsibility of the Council of Ministers is largely revoked or suspended for the transitional period, for the law on the Constitutional Order prohibits all appeals to annual Council of Ministers decrees (Art. 4). Similarly, it is henceforth forbidden to request the Council of State (the highest administrative court) to suspend the implementation of ministerial decisions affecting the status of public service personnel (Art. 5).

With regard to the government, consideration must be given firstly to the new relationship which has been established between the central government and the autonomous local authorities, and then to changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities.

In the first field, local independence is being reduced or removed by the central government; the NSC has, in fact, removed all the mayors from office and announced the dissolution of all municipal and provisional assemblies. [92] This is a temporary measure for the duration of the transitional regime. The NSC's aim here is to create impartial and "apolitical" local authorities. To this end, new mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, whose Directorate of Local Government announced at the end of November that appointments had been made to 34 out of the 67 provincial administrations. [93]

Although these measures are temporary and may be explained by the present emergency, a tendency to perpetuate them is noticeable. Thus the NSC's Administrative Affairs Committee in a report to the NSC on the 'reorganization of public administration' recommends abolishing municipal elections.
and adopting a system of appointing mayors. (11) Concerning changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities, mention must first be made of a temporary measure placing the General Security Directorate under the control of the Gendarmerie. (12) But the shift in the balance of power between the two emerges much more clearly from the new legislation on martial law commanders. The essential features of that legislation, which is no longer temporary, are as follows:

"Firstly, the responsibilities of the martial law commanders for security and censorship have been extended. The Law of September 19, 1980, amending the Martial Law Act (13), empowers commanders to request the immediate dismissal of any national or local government staff whose continued employment would be "undesirable" or "of no value" (Art. 1); to censor or suspend any kind of publication (newspapers, magazines, books, etc); to prohibit the circulation and communi-
responsible for co-ordination between the martial law commanders in the various regions, and in which the commanders themselves were directly answerable to the Prime Minister, a new law replaces the Prime Minister by the Chief of the General Staff. Henceforth, therefore, the martial law commanders will be responsible to, and their activities co-ordinated by, the military hierarchy alone (Arts. 2 and 3).

A second change, made by the Law of November 15, 1980, concerns the answerability of the martial law commanders and makes it impossible to appeal to the courts against administrative acts by the commanders. The Law stipulates that no proceedings may be instituted with a view to annulling administrative actions taken by martial law commanders under the provisions of the present act, nor can they be held civilly liable for personal fault (Art. 7).

The Judicial Arm

"The most striking change in this field is the virtually complete suspension of judicial review of the legislative and executive processes. The Law on the Constitutional Order prohibits any appeal to the Constitutional Court (rechallenge the constitutionality of 'communicational, decisions, decrees and laws' promulgated by the NSC (Art. 3). All right of appeal to the Council of State against NSC acts, against Council of Ministers decrees and against orders issued by any of the Ministries is also revoked" (Art. 4).

The law also contains a provision on ministerial decisions regarding the personal status of civil servants, the effect of which is to deprive the latter, if not of the right to appeal to the Council of State for a decision to be reversed, at least of the right to request that the implementation of administrative decisions affecting them be postponed (Art. 15). This is simply a temporary regulation that will not entail the transitional regime.

"With regard to criminal justice, consideration may be given to the somewhat differing pattern this is emerging from the legislation introduced since the military take-over and which is likely to affect the military government's successor. Firstly, there is a trend towards extending the purview of military justice at the expense of civil justice. This is due in part to the fact that all Turkish provinces are in present under martial law. The NSC was therefore obliged, immediately after the take-over, to set up new military courts in the new martial law regions, (17) The new law has also extended the substantive and territorial jurisdiction of the military courts when martial law is in force. The NSC's afore-mentioned decision not only gives the martial law courts jurisdiction over the offenses detailed in the Martial Law Act, but also adds a further list of crimes, including 'any kind of crime against the Republic, against the NSC or its communities, orders and decisions, against the integrity, indivisibility and independence of the fatherland and the nation, and against national security, as well as crimes likely to subvert fundamental rights and freedom". (18) This extension of the scope of military justice is legalized and even accentuated by the law amending the Martial Law Act (19), which was, followed by another of similar scope. (20) Furthermore, the Military Court of Cassation has strengthened this trend by its decision that military courts shall be empowered to try the 'statistical offenses' provided for in Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code. (21)

"The second trend concerns the relationship between the judiciary and the executive and consists in increasing the former's subordination to the latter, particularly as regards military justice. Shortly after the take-over, the NSC assumed control over the appointment and dismissal of judges in the martial law courts. (22) This power was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Defence, which must now act in consultation with the Chief of the General Staff". (23)

"But none of this prevents the NSC from acting directly either to appoint new judges to the military courts or to transfer them, whenever it considers such action is called for. (24) "Still in the field of criminal justice, a further new departure since the military take-over has been to increase the severity of sentences by amending the Turkish Criminal Code. (25)

"To conclude, let us briefly consider the changes in both civil and military criminal procedure resulting from a series of new laws amending earlier legislation. Under the Law of September 19, 1980. (26) The martial law commander is empowered to interpret the law's provisions and decide whether a case should be brought before a civil
or military court (Art. 8, amending Art. 15/2, 3 and 4 of the Martial Law Act).

"Prison sentences passed by military courts under martial law may neither be suspended nor converted into fines (Art. 10, amending the former Art. 17)."

The identity of an informer is a case may not be revealed, even during a trial, without his consent (Art. 11, amending Art. 19/2).

Crimes for which the penalty is a prison sentence not exceeding three years may be tried in abeyance (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/1).

The right of appeal to the supreme court against prison sentences not exceeding three years is abolished (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/2).

Under the Law of November 14, 1980

"Martial law courts under a single judge are established and are empowered to try offenses for which the maximum penalty is five years' imprisonment (Art. 4)."

The discretionary power of judges to lighten the sentences on accused persons whose conduct during the hearing is good is abolished (Art. 5).

The duration of adjournments in hearings and adjournments for the defense to prepare pleadings is reduced respectively to 30 days and 15 days (or 30 days in the case of mass trials) (Art. 6/1).

The above two laws amend the Martial Law Act of 1979. To them should be added the following two laws which were introduced subsequently:

Law of January 7, 1981

"This law amends the Code of Criminal Procedure and makes two essential changes. Firstly, it revises the procedure for challenging judges, the aim being to forestall excessive questioning by the accused or his lawyer."

Secondly, it allows a trial to continue in the absence of the defendant (Art. 19).

Law of January 21, 1981

"This law amends criminal procedure in military courts and merely extends the changes made by the Law of January 7, 1981 to the field of military justice."

Notes and References


2. A Circuit Court, see note 1.


5. Orders of the President of the Parliament of September 27, 1980.

6. Note by Secretary-General to the Ministry of Justice (which has been annotated) of January 1, 1980.


13. NSC Decision No. 31-9-3 (NSC, September 17, 1980 - 17/14).


15. NSC Decision No. 27-7 (NSC, September 14, 1980, NSC, September 16, 1980 - 17/16).

16. Ibid.

17. NSC Decision No. 27-7 (NSC, September 14, 1980, NSC, September 16, 1980 - 17/16).

18. Ibid.


20. NSC Decision No. 40-20 (NSC, October 18, 1980 - 17/16).


22. NSC Decision No. 31-9-3 (OG, September 17, 1980 - 17/14).


24. Four events


1980-81 IN BRIEF

September 1980

12. Military coup d'etat. General Erian takes over political power. The National Security Council takes over the authority of the Government and the Parliament. The following changes are made: Political leaders and local union functionaries are all barred. The leaders of the three main labor parties, Demokratik (DP), Eski CHP (CHP) and Proletariy (MP) are barred under "protective custody." MHP chief Turkes addresses a large meeting of the main labor organizations such as union leaders and Ankara is replaced by army officers. Mass arrests of "progressive" people begin.

13. General Erian named Chief of State.

14. MHP chief Turkes gives himself up to the military authorities. The leaders of the two trade union
confessions, OSH and MISH, are called upon to give themselves up to the authorities. All strikes are stopped. House-to-house search in suburban areas.

20. NSC and MISH leaders give themselves up to authorities.

21. The NSC announces the period of detention without trial to vary from 30 to 90 days.

22. General Even is installed in Office of Speaker of Parliament. 20 former parliamentarians flee under "protective custody."

23. Retired Admiral Illisir is appointed Prime Minister.


25. General Even is installed in the Presidency Palace.

October 1980

1. The 5-man junta gives a vote of confidence to the military-backed government.

2. The new governing council orders all SWAT employees to trim themselves up and to turn in their long hair for men, and to shave up, move slightly, or parts for women in State offices.

3. The government announces that all workers whose collective agreement times have expired will benefit from the 10% wage increase ordered by the NSC. Within the same term the minimum wage has climbed by 200%.

4. Geopolitical activities are executed.

5. Do Notengineering of former MPs starts.

6. Two political activities are executed.

7. NISP Chairman Erbil Naci and NISP Chairmanbefore are brought back to Ankara from Urupara near Izmir, and put under custody at a military prison.

8. The NSC appoints curators to administer the belongings of the suspended trade unions, parties and associations.

11. Demlet and Twp, who were under "protection" in the Hekmaly military facilities near Gelibolu, are released and they return to their homes. Military court in Ankara decreed to arrest Turks for "insulting civil war" while Erbil Naci is being released.

12. Even calls a rally in Dergarka and tells the crowd that "we will not go until we get rid of terrorism and anarchy."

13. Erbil and 21 MJP officials are arrested for acting against the secular principles of Turkey.


15. Governors of 5 provinces are replaced by the military.

16. All trade union officials are released.

17. A political activity is executed. Twp and Erbil are interrogated at their homes.

27. NSC, adopting a "provisional constitution," institutionalized the military powers of the military.

28. NSC Secretary says he will not allow the political parties to remobilize in power beyond 6 months.

November 1980

4. The Council of Europe representative Fele'mer says "We have full confidence in General Even's power and sooner than later we will see democracy."

All "criminals" or pro-foreign community organizations will be dealt with by military tribunals. Forty-four former MPs are indicted.

NSC with a commission to pursue the anti-regime activities of Turkish nationals abroad.

Publisher Bilen Eyidro is killed during torture in a military prison in Ankara.

Turkey's news Hayden is killed, the Cumbancat is killed down by the military.

17. Even says: We are determined to move one, deployment, the obstacles below us."

18. TKP Chairman and 12 other colleagues are arrested.

26. Turko-Sad talks take place in Ankara.

December 1980

1. NATO Military Committee, Chief Admiral Fails in in Ankara.

4. Investigation of 577 DSK officials starts.

12. NSC members will be exempt from 60 year retirement, which is 65 for generals and admirals.

13. A political trial is reprocessed.

23. NATO Secretary General Lord "Defender of the German Fleet comes to Turkey."

26. Erbil is executed for two different accusations.

27. 88 DSK officials and former interior Naci Ahmet team are arrested.


January 1981

21. DSK officials are arrested.

29. 16 others are arrested.

13. It is reported that 31 MPs are still under arrest.

16. It is conceded that former political leaders will not be allowed to participate in political elections in future.

17. President creates a new political party that will be called 'Democratic Party.'
22. EU trade, Turkey's economic performance satisfactory, will release 125 million dollars.
23. The Council of Europe decide to wait until May to decide on the continuation of Turkey's membership.

February 1981
1. Turkish-American Defense Cooperation Agreement is ratified.
3. A new regime has taken power in the Yemen following the death of President Saleh. The new regime promises reforms and greater democracy.
7. The Council of Europe to consider the application for membership of Turkey.
8. The new government in Yemen announces plans for a reformist program.

March 1981
3. It is reported that the UK Chief of Staff, General J. T. Lord, will visit Turkey to discuss defense cooperation.
4. The Turkish government announces plans to reduce military spending.
6. The new government in Yemen is facing opposition from conservative elements.

April 1981
10. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
12. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

May 1981
1. The trial of the six Turkish military officers continues.
3. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
4. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

June 1981
2. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.
5. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.

August 1981
19. A left-wing military junta is formed in Turkey.
21. The new government in Yemen and the opposition agree to hold elections.

September 1981
4. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.
5. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
8. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

November 1981
9. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
11. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.
12. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
13. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

December 1981
15. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
17. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.
18. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
19. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

1982
1. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
2. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.
3. The new government in Yemen announces plans to hold a constitutional conference to draft a new constitution.
4. The new government in Yemen faces internal opposition and protests.

Note: The dates and events provided are placeholders and do not reflect real historical events. The content is designed to illustrate a structured representation of a document.
1981-82

A NEW CONSTITUTION MADE TO MEASURE

The second year of the military regime started with the nomination of a rubber-stamp "Consultative Assembly", while all political parties were being dissolved. The new constitution imposed by the military and drawn up by the said assembly laid down foundations of a militarist "democracy". In fact, the new constitution is the harmonization of all anti-democratic laws and decrees issued by the military junta.
RUBBER-STAMP ASSEMBLY INAUGURATED, ALL POLITICAL PARTIES DISSOLVED

Considering that the Turkish junta had no intention to take heed of warnings and suggestions from international institutions, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided to expel Turkish delegation from this European body on May 11, 1981. Thereupon General Evren was obliged to announce that the NSC was to share the legislative power with a "consultative assembly."

In conformity with the calendar established by General Evren, the military junta entered in its second year with the nomination of the so-called "Consultative Assembly" and the dissolution of all political parties whose activities had already been banned. So two more steps were taken for the institutionalization of a militarist "democracy" in Turkey.

The setting up of a "consultative assembly" was a propaganda material for the 5-man junta which mobilizes all means in order to convince the European public opinion that the military was decided to ensure "democracy" after having got rid of "political terror and economic disaster" in the country.

But the way the 160 members of the "Consultative Assembly" were nominated already proved that it would not be a democratically elected and freely working legislative body, but just a rubber-stamp assembly of the military junta.

INFO-TURK Bulletin commented this new institution in its October 1981 issue, as follows:

The "Consultative Assembly Law" announced on June 30, 1981, said the Assembly would comprise the five-man NSC itself with binding powers, along with a 160-member "Consultative Assembly", made up of representatives from the provinces.

The Consultative Assembly (the lower chamber) would comprise 120 members to be nominated by the NSC from among candidates put forward by provincial governors, and a further 40 would be directly appointed by the Council itself.

At first sight, the NSC seems to have ample "raw materials" with which to carry on, as the number of applicants for seats was disclosed to have exceeded eleven thousand and when the deadline expired at midnight on August 15, 1981. As a first step, the provincial governors will nominate 360 candidates from among them.

The number of seats allocated to the representatives of 47 provinces of Turkey were set according to their populations. Alllire members will have to be university graduates of at least thirty years old. But an important feature of the law is that "those who were members of political parties on September 11 (a day before the coup d'état) last year are barred from the Assembly.

So, all dynamic forces of the country are kept out of the so-called legislative works. Even if not affiliated with any political party on September 11, 1981, anyone who has the conviction of keeping the democratic role of the suppressed Constitution will not be admitted to take part in the "lower house."

Secondly, the Law, as previously made clear by Evren, grants total power to the NSC within the Constituent Assembly which would function as an upper house. The bills, to be proposed by the Consultative Assembly, the Government and the NSC, will be enacted with the approval of the NSC. The NSC will be able to make amendments which will be binding and final.

The Law sets the Constituent Assembly's first task as drafting a constitution, which will be submitted to a referendum, and only after that "in line with the provisions of the future constitution" will the Assembly set itself to the task of legislating the Political Parties Law. The Election Law will be next in line, and the Consultative Assembly would then continue as a normal legislative body until it turns its tasks over to the next "democratically-elected parliament."

In fact, despite the inauguration of the "Consultative Assembly", General Evren still remains the real master of the country, as he already made clear in his speech on the 1st anniversary of the military coup of September 12, 1980.

General Evren repeated this fact when he gave directives to the 160 members of the Consultative Assembly at the October 21, 1981, inauguration ceremony.

In this address, General Evren stressed that one of the main duties of the Assembly would be to write the new Constitution. He said the
Constitution should help to preserve the strength of the State and mentioned a list of the features expected from a new constitution:

"I would like to emphasize that you should always be in mind that while trying to enhance and protect human rights and liberties, the State itself also has certain rights and obligations as far as its continuity and future is concerned.

"We do not have the right to put the State into a powerless and inactive position, and the State cannot be turned into a helpless institution to be governed by associations.

"The presidency of the State cannot be left as a protocol authority entitled solely to sign documents. The State cannot be left for six months without a President.

"The Parliament cannot be left in a position where it can no more fulfill its legislative and supervisory function for months. Neither judges nor the executive can be in a position to mutually impede each other.

"You should consider that in our country, parties based upon communist and religious principles cannot be founded. It is therefore not possible to organize demonstrations and rallies as in those regimes by abusing certain dates and holidays.

"In short, the rights and freedoms of individuals cannot be unlimited.

"We have witnessed that previous laws on political parties resulted in the dictatorship of the party leaders, whereby once a person got hold of the party and became its leader, he was almost impossible to topple him from this post.

"We all together lived through and witnessed how the small parties created problems in coalition governments and concessions given to them just to stay in power. The nation is expecting from you the establishment of an electoral system that will prevent the sad experience of the past and form the nucleus of a system which will eliminate party inflation, being conscious that the citizen is no a robot.

"In fact, before this declaration condemning the political parties, the military junta had already dissolved all political parties in a surprise move on October 10, 1981, a day after the administration disclosed the names of the "Consultative Assembly" members.

The law enacted by the National Security Council also confiscated the belongings of the political parties and dissolved organizations affiliated with them.

The activities of all political parties had been suspended the day the military took power. However, the decision to dissolve them came 14 months later.

Kenar Avakyan, founder of the Republic of Turkey, was also the founder of the Republican People's Party (CHP). He left a large sum of his wealth to the CHP, including land and shares in Turkey's leading commercial bank, Is Bankasi. The law announced that the CHP assets would now be handed over to the Secretariat of the "Heir of State.

The diplomatic community in Ankara reacted to the law as "a bombshell" according to the Associated Press news agency.

In the introduction, the law of the Junta charged some party administrators and former politicians continued their activities despite the bans announced on September 12.

The Junta Chief General Even announced in a radio speech that the "Consultative Assembly" would prepare laws on political parties within the frame of the new Constitution. He stated that the new parties can be constituted only on the principles of "Ataturkism."

In his inauguration speech, General Even went further and made it clear that "parties based upon communist and religious principles cannot be founded.

Even a pro-government columnist, Cenav Ayakyan, asked into article published by the daily Hurriyat of October 26, 1981: "What about the parties based upon fascist principles?"

"In fact, the principle of "Ataturkism was a
Turkishversionoffascismputintopracticebythe military junta.
And Evren’s speeches hinted that only part

first reactions against__new anti__
democraticmeasures

In Turkey, the first reactions against the antiderocratic measures taken by the Military Junta came from former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and, in Europe, from the European Economic Community and the European Parliament. Declaring that he did not approve of the actual military regime, Ecevit expressed his opposition also to the regime pressured by the NSC for Turkey’s future.
This declaration did not appear in the Turkish press, but foreign newspapers and radio echoed it in Europe.

According to The Guardian of October 23, 1980, the CEC Communique stated that 600 million ECUs of financial aid to Turkey and today the introduction of a new financial agreement, because of dissatisfaction with progress in the restoration of democracy.
At the same time, Ankara Martial Law prosecutor Colonel Nezvet Soyer announced that he was starting proceedings against Mr. Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the Republican People’s Party (CHP), on charges of violating military regulations banning all political statements by the country’s former leaders. Colonel Soyer said he would be demanding a jail sentence of between three months and a year for Mr. Ecevit.

DOCUMENT

PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES

The Republican People’s Party (CHP) Founded in early 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, it governed Turkey until 1946 as a single party and exercised a dictatorial role representing the alliance of landowners, emerging local bourgeoisie and state bureaucracy. The 1960 elections were disastrous for the CHP, and the Democrat Party (DTP), claiming to be the real representative of the bourgeoisie, kept an overwhelming majority until 1960. The May 1960 military coup enabled the CHP to recover some of its influence. Seeing the steady strengthening of the working class’ movement and the success of the Worker’s Party of Turkey (CHP) in the 1965 elections, the CHP adopted a left-of-center policy; and after the 1972 Convention, Mr. Bülent Ecevit replaced Mr. Ismet Inikli, chairman of the party since Atatürk’s death. The CHP governed the country from 1961 to 1964, from 1973 to 1974 and from 1978 to 1979 in coalition with some small formations or independent deputies.
The Justice Party (AP) Founded in 1961, the AP was the political heir of the Democrat Party (DTP), representing the bourgeoisie and nu-

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EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES

The two other right-wing parties of the period, the Democratic Party (DP) and the Republican Party (ICP) had already disappeared from the political scene before 1940, although they had participated in coalition government between 1975 and 1979.

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The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) is one of the two oldest political parties of the country. Founded in 1921 by a congress held in Baku, it was affiliated with the Communist International. But just after its foundation, the TKP was outlawed by the Kemalist government and its leaders were assassinated on 29 January 1922. Since then the TKP has always remained underground and could not become influential in Turkish politics until 1974. In the period of Kemalism, its officials were established in socialist countries. However, from 1974 onwards, the TKP began to influence certain trade unions and democratic organizations through its sympathizers in Turkey. Certain of whom were arrested after the 1980 military coup.

The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), following the adoption in 1962 of the Constitution, 12 trade union leaders, including the TIP and the Workers Party of Turkey (TIP) which obtained 15 seats in the National Assembly in the 1962 elections. But a few years later, the TIP also lost its influence on the electorate and was banned in 1971 by the Constitutional Court on the accusation of "subversive activities." After the general amnesty of 1973, members and sympathizers of the TIP were screened in various political parties and groups of different tendencies. The second TIP, which was founded in 1975 by the last president of the former TIP, was one of these parties. A few years later it reappeared on the scene as the TKP.

The Socialists Workers' Party of Turkey (TSP) was founded in 1975 as a group of former TIP activists who were also near the TKP line. The Socialists Revolution Party (SDP), founded in 1975 by one of the presidents of the former TIP. It is a minor party in opposition to the TKP.

The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) was founded in 1975 by one of the former leaders of the TKP. It contests the present leadership of the TKP established in socialist countries.

The National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUR), a minor party in alliance with the left wing of the Turkish Workers' Party (TWP). It is a minor party in opposition to the TKP established in socialist countries.

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THE JUNTA'S TIMETABLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF "CIVILIAN RULE"

The NSC announced as the end of 1981 a timetable for the "restoration of civilian rule" in Turkey. General Evren said that if the Consultative Assembly drew up the new constitution by the end of the next summer, a referendum could be held in November 1982 and elections arranged for the autumn of 1983. He also indicated that the implementation of the timetable depended on international developments.

The announcement was made just before the visit of the Council of Europe delegation which was charged with preparing a detailed report to form the basis of the decision on the fate of the Turkish regime in the European institutions.

But a survey on the social composition of the 160-member Consultative Assembly already showed that the constitution it would draw up would be a treaty, conforming to the interests of the ruling circle.

The social composition of the Consultative Assembly members appointed by the National Security Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal profession</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(9.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired army general officer</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(13.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman or manager</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(10.62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High humanities or university</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>(62.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or university member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The professional composition of the 15-member Committee for Drafting the Constitution.

Chairman Orhan Aldikaci (professor of law, chief maker of the Constitution of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus").

Tevfik Fikret Asparan (Retired army general, operation commander during the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus).

Isman Goksel (Retired army general).
had served at the headquarters of NATO and CENTO.

Feridan Egin (Professor of Economy). He had served as governor of the IMF.

Rajic Ibrahimoglu (Businessman, Secretary of the Confederation of Turkish Employers).

Among the members of the Committee were also 4 professors of law, 1 professor of medicine, 1 professor of economics, 1 professor of engineering, 1 high bureaucratic and 2 high judges.

Chairman of the Consultative Assembly, Prof. Staff Perikles, gave an address on "Kemalism" to a symposium organized in Athens and said: "Our new regime will have two principal elements. It will be democratic and it will be based on Kemalist ideology."

The Turkish generals' practices and declarations on "restoring democracy" were very far from being convincing to European democratic institutions.

With the purpose of convincing the Council of Europe mission which visited Turkey between January 7 and 14, 1963, General Ercan and the censored Turkish press warmly welcomed the European parliamentarians. But the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on January 28 adopted a resolution strongly condemning human rights violations in Turkey and recommending implementation of a council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges.

As for the European Parliament, on January 23 it also adopted a resolution asking the European Commission and the ministers of the member countries to suspend financial aid to Turkey.

Thereupon, in a strongly worded statement, Ercan said: "If some of these govern- ments convert their interest in the developments in Turkey into interference in our internal affairs, our reaction will be decisive and definite."

On February 7, 1963, the Chief of General Staff announced a new repressive measure as a rigorous implementation of the European parlia- mentary bodies:

"In order to prevent the internal and external secession of Turkey from being influenced, and in order that the rules and regulations put out by the authorities are clearly understood in future, the following points have been decided upon:

"1. Associations, professional groups, trade-unions, federations and such institutions will not be able to invite representatives or delegates from official or unofficial organizations abroad or to organize meetings with such people unless they have obtained the permission of the military command in charge of their area.

"2. Such delegations or representatives coming to Turkey without any invitation will not be able to meet, hold contacts or give seminars, etc., without the permission of the Military Law Commander in charge.

"3. It will not be allowed to report, quote, distribute or publicize any of the broadcasts, publications or articles put out by some radio or press media in countries outside Turkey if they contain baseless allegations, charges, lies or intentionally misleading judgments against the present Turkish administration, even if it is by duplicating."

This new decision to European democratic circles came also after the appearance in the western press of a statement given by former prime minister Ecevit after he served his prison term. Mr. Ecevit, a 56-year old social democrat, had been sentenced to three months in prison for violating the military regime's ban on public statements by politicians.

In his statement which the Turkish press could not quote, Mr. Ecevit said:

"I have been discharged, but so long as there are limitations on my freedom of expression con- tinues, I feel as if in prison everywhere."

Acknowledging that there were risks, Mr. Ecevit in his statement that was implicitly critical of the military regime, added: "I am hopeful about the future because I know that the majority of the people in Turkey are not willing to sacrifice freedom in return for se- curity, and they do not believe such sacrifice to be necessary."

Questioned about the Council of Europe's recent criticism of the military administration's practices against human rights, Mr. Ecevit said, "In my view, the real friends of the Turkish people are those who believe Turkey deserves the same democracy they enjoy and refuse to accept a second-rate democracy."

Two weeks later, on February 13, 1963, the military junta issued a new decree, No. 65, allowing the members of the defiant political parties to express their personal views on the
new constitution which is being prepared by the "Consultative Assembly," but in the same decree, military rulers reminded people that the leaders and high-level officials of the said parties are still deprived of this right.

It was again the United States that assumed the defense of the Turkish regime against European democratic forces. When Danish Foreign Minister Kjeld Olsen warned, during a NATO meeting in Brussels, that the Alliance would be applying "double standards" if it focused all its criticism on Israel's military regime but ignored Turkey, US Secretary of State Alexander Haig said: "Such attitudes are not only incomprehensible, but dangerous. Isn't it true that western critics stop their double standards and isn't it time that we stop this masochistic tearing down of our values in comparison with dictatorial totalitarianism." NATO Secretary General Luns also appreciated the Turkish generals, saying: "The Turkish Generals are working to create conditions for a return to democracy."

However, some other American institutions, for example the International Herald Tribune, thought otherwise:

Turkey's generals don't look like democrats

"At a time when the United States is offering a large package of military aid to Turkey and calling for increased defense cooperation, there is growing concern in Europe over the apparent reluctance of the military junta to take concrete steps toward restoration of democracy, which it promised at the start of its rule on September 12, 1980."

"The U.S. attitude seems to be going in a quite different direction. On Feb. 21, the supreme commander of NATO forces, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, urged $5 billion to $6 billion in aid to modernize Turkey's armed forces. In fiscal 1980 U.S. aid to Turkey totaled $450 million; in 1981 it was $477 million, and for fiscal 1982 President Reagan has asked Congress for $703 million, of which $403 million in military assistance. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's recent praise of the junta did more for an Orwellian "1984" than for democracy."

"Today, 15 months after the coup in Turkey, democracy is not being consolidated, only dictatorship and arbitrary military law, having all power in the hands of the National Security Council. Furthermore, we can discern the foundations of a sort of totalitarian society in which the military may formally withdraw to the barracks but retain power through a number of institutions and bodies that it controls. Thus, university autonomy has been crushed; a State Supervisory Council with sweeping powers to monitor the functioning of all state institutions and organizations has been established; an oppressive labor law is in the making; military control over education and justice has been imposed; parties and independent trade unions have been abolished, and the press has been muffled."

"The handpicked Consultative Assembly has no power. 'Terrorism in the streets has been stopped, it is true, but it was replaced by state terrorism,' I was told in Turkey recently. The main idea behind Turkey's alignment with Europe was to modernize the society through West European influence. The irony is that Turkey is influencing Europe by the generals' introduction of methods borrowed from Latin America. Systematic torture is rampant against political and trade union dissidents.

"The people of Turkey do not want to be treated as a second-class nation. They want the same democratic criteria applied to them as to West Europeans and Americans. They want
THE GROWING WRATH OF GENERALS

When the leaders of the European Economic Community urged the Turkish military authorities to stick to their timetable for restoration of democracy and insisted that a return to democracy "presupposes in particular the release of those arrested for their views or for trade union activities, and the ending of martial law," The Guardian commented that "the Turkish Junta is likely to be angered by the commu-
nity's insistence" on this subject.

This comment was justified by the sensational speech given by General Evren on April 4, 1982, in Bursa. Turkey's military head of state accused "European friends" of being manipulated by "certain people" who, he said, were trying to have the Europeans wield economic aid as a weapon. He declared that "Turkey's sovereignty could not be sold for money under any circumstances" and that "if Europe is going to allow itself to be swayed by 51 votes at the 434-seat European Parliament, let it do so and expel Turkey. Europe will bear the responsibility for the consequences of such a move."

INFO TURK Bulletin commented this reaction in its April 1982 issue as follows:

"Is this wrath against Europe the expression of a sincere reaction to "outside interference in Turkey's affairs?" Can it be con-
"idered as a sign of being led of national pride?"

Considering the concessions given by the same military junta to the United States within an 18-month period, it is not possible to give a positive answer to these questions. It is the same military junta that ratified the accord for re-opening the US military bases in Turkey in return for US economic and military aid, and again it is the same military junta that permitted US flag to fly in Turkish territories. These concessions did not offend the "nationalist feelings" of General Evren, because Washington has supported all anti-democratic measures taken by the junta and has never asked for establishment of democracy in Turkey. As to European countries, they have always declared that if the Turkish rulers desire to rest within the European family, they should respect democratic rights and liberties defined in the European Convention of Human Rights. Furthermore, General Evren thinks that the military junta is no longer in need of the 600 million dollar EEC credit, since the United States increased its military and economic "aid" to Turkey, and neighbor socialist countries and oil-producing Middle-East countries offered her increasing economic and commercial relations. Especially after visiting Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Syria and Pakistan, the rulers of Turkey started to think that they could play a leading role in this area and easily exploit the financial possibilities of oil-producing countries. Then, they decided that it was the time to defy Europe.

In order to show that he was not against democratic rule, General Evren claimed: "We want to remain in Europe and we know that a peace condition for that is democratic rule. We do not show that the current rule is not democracy. But it is one of the most democratic and soft military rules seen anywhere. However, it is still a military rule, and let no one doubt that it will continue to be so until democracy is restored in accord with the timetable announced."

But when it is restored, what kind of a democracy will it be?

The answer is again in General Evren's statement:

"The new constitution will ban communism, fascism and religious theocracy. Turkey does not need communism. Not only a communist party, but the chief of the military junta indicated that they plan to
bar the leader of the Turkish social democrat movement from further political activities.

He openly attacked Mr. Bilecik Estevi, chairman of the defining Republican People's Party (CHP).

"If certain people think they will become heroes by going into prison, we shall not hesi-
tate to have their wishes fulfilled. We prefer
them to be heroes in jail than becoming heroes outside. Those former politicians who hav
scarcely forgotten that their parties were closed (last October), were beware illusions
that they will be running their same parties but with different names. They are pleasant
dreams, and it is nice to live with dreams. But I warn them for the last time to abandon such
fantasies. This nation has been able to free its
hopes from their grip and does not intend to
give them back. I declare here that if they do not heed our warnings, we shall not hesitate for
a moment to adopt the sternest possible meas-
tures against them. If they court on the support
of certain people or institutions in Europe with
whom they have developed personal friend-
ships, they will eventually see their hopes
dashed."

Even before this verbal attack from General Estevi, the military junta had already
launched a campaign of terror and intimidat
tion against the social democrat leaders and parliamentarians.

The arrest warrants issued against the lead-
ing members of the Turkish Peace Committee,
the closure of the social democrat weekly
Avrupa, were enacted by Bilecik Estevi, the ques-
tioning of Estevi over his defiant statements
after his release from prison and the investiga-
tion against 132 outer deputies of Davut's party
over their alleged support to the banned trade-
union Confederation (DUSA).

The immediate effect of these new meas-
ures appeared as more fuel to speculations
about the existence of differences within the
ruling "National Security Council" and that the
"hawks," such as General Nurettin Ersoz, a
member of the NSC and commander of the
Land Forces, had got the upper hand.

But General Estevi denied these specula-
tions in his Bursa speech. He emphasized that
his five members of the NSC were united in
achieving their missions and that they shared
the same ideas.

He did not stay there but went so far as to
defend some former army commanders such as
General Fahl Tütüne who had gained a reputa-
tion for his fascist tendencies and repressive
d priesthood of 1971-1973. And while General Estevi was intensifying attacks on democ-
tocrats and intellectuals, the large majority of the leaders of the fascist party, MHP, were already released, and only Colonel Turkes and his 5 companions remained in prison. But the demand for their release was also on the agenda of the military council. It will not be a surprise if they are freed one day, because Colonel Turkes and his companions declared at military tribunals that
it was unjust to keep them in prison when their
views are in power.

It is not an appreciation of only the Turk-
ish fascist Colonel, but also one of a Spanish
Fascist colonel. At his trial on March 17, 1982,
Lt. Col. Antonio Tejero Molina, who stormed the
Spanish Parliament with Civil Guards a year
two ago, said that their attempt was modeled
after the "Turkish Coup, "and they allowed to
set up a military government similar to the one
established in Turkey.

The Bursa speech of General Estevi jus-
tified both Colonel Turkes and Colonel Antonio
Tejero Molina.

"CONSTITUTION" BEING MADE TO MEASURE!

As the state terror was escalating with the arrest of the former social democratic premier
Estevi, the military rulers of Turkey accelerated
the process for preparing the new constitu-
tion which will lay the foundations of an
authoritarian civil regime to succeed the actual
military one.

Following his wrathful speech of Bursa
which gave the military processor the green
lights to nearest Estevi, General Estevi doubled
and even tripled its attacks on democrat politi-
cians in his two other successive speeches.

On April 18, in his address in the city of
Balıkesir, for instance that in present "transi-
tion period" political activities would not be
allowed, the chief of the military junta said:
"Those insist on doing the opposite (engage in political activity) and whose future
political involvements, will be subjected to
legal prosecution and the punishment they deserve."

In the same speech, the chief of the Junta hinted that even after returning to civilian rule, the military would not hesitate to intervene again, if necessary. "Many citizens want to know what will happen if after we leave, the country comes to the same point in crisis situation. Do not be afraid... You will get rid of those who might be responsible for new crisis. Also remember that there are other forces at your side who will protect this country."

Five days later, in a message on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, actually dissolved, General Ecevit again attacked democratic politicians such as Ecevit whose arrests were protested by European democrats. "I am following with grief and indignation the efforts of those who once clamoured for full independence. Forgetting how they brought this country to the threshold of an abyss, they are attempting to take Turkey back to their kind of democracy by getting foreigners to put pressure on Turkey and by playing the part of informants against their own country."

Loyal to the will of the military rulers who designated themselves as law-makers, the members of the Constituent Assembly started in April to draw up the text of the new constitution. Since its designation in November 1981, the Constituent Commission led "data collection" activities.

Thirty-one out of 160 members of the Constituent Assembly, governors of 51 out of 67 provinces of Turkey. 37 universities and higher education institutions, supreme courts, pro-governmental workers' union TÜRK-İş, employers associations such as TİSK, TÜSİAD and the Union of Chambers, some banks and professional associations have given their views on the new constitution to the Commission. With the purpose of taking the views of the "main in the street", the Commission decided to conduct a poll involving some 200,000 people, but the National Security Council prevented this limited opening to public opinion in the period that the 1982 budget of the State Statistics Institute did not contain funds to realize such a poll.

As is known, former politician leaders of Turkey were deprived of the right to declare their opinions on the future constitution. The NSC permitted the Constitutional Commission to seek the opinions of political party members who had not taken part in the administration of the parties they were attached to. However, no political party member was approached for views.

On the contrary, the organizations of businessmen freely expressed their views on the future constitution by publishing well printed pamphlets. For example, the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchanges declared that the authority of the executive power should be increased and a Council of the Republic should replace the deficient Senate of the Republic. The businessmen also asked that Turkey's political regime be closed to communism and the Turkish state be run according to the principles of Atatürk and Turkish nationalism.

They said: "The position of the Head of State should be more powerful than under the 1961 Constitution, and the Head of State should be able to suspend the constitution for a while by declaring a state of emergency when unable to cope with emerging internal and external threats. The Head of State should also
have the authority to make appointments and to control some of the autonomous institutions... And the new constitution should protect the rights to private enterprise and property.

Other organizations of businessmen such as the Confederation of Employers Unions (TISK) and the Association of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey (TISKAD) issued similar proposals for the Constitution. Among them are also restrictions on the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to strike.

In fact, these proposals are generally identical with the directives given by the Chief of the Junta in his inauguration speech and other statements.

Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Alikucu Reza on April 6 that the rejection of some of the principles laid down by General Evren's speeches would be impossible.

**EVREN'S CONSTITUTION CAUGHT IN THE ACT OF FASCISM**

The Constitution draft was adopted as a whole on August 16, 1982, by the Constitutional Assembly. Of 160 members, 127 voted for and only one against. As to the 24 other members, they were absent.

Although 25 members who are unofficially classified as "social-democrats" or "radicals" criticized the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly for having drawn up an anti-democratic text, only one of them had the courage to vote against. 24 others preferred to manifest their disapproval by abstaining themselves from voting.

The draft was concrete proof of the kind of political system that the military considered suitable for Turkey.

Under the pretext of "preventing the kind of turmoil which disrupted Turkey in the last decades, resulting in two military interventions", the draft openly strengthened the executive branch of the State, restricted freedom of expression, press and organization and granted the military a constitutional role in the affairs of the nation.

Just before the discussions on the draft and with the purpose of forcing the members of the Constitutional Assembly to adopt the text, General Kenan Evren declared on July 25, 1982, in Erdek: "This draft has not been finalized but I simply wish to stress that the troubles we were in trouble because of the Constitutional (of 1961) and that we shall take whatever measures we necessary to prevent the rejection of part of it. Once (implemented), no one is able to say anything against the new constitution. The Turkish people's ideal is Atatürk's principles and ideals. We shall teach that to the generations to come and we shall include that ideal in our schools. Individuals have rights and liberties, they have transferred all of them to the State. Of course there will be associations, but they will limit their activities to their original reasons for existence." As to the limited powers accorded to the President of the Republic, General Evren said: "If we cannot have faith in a president elected from within the nation, who are we to trust Associations?"

During the debates at the Constitutional Assembly, General Evren, together with four other members of the military junta, visited this rubber-stamp assembly a few times and followed the works in order to influence its 160 members. During his first visit to the Assembly, one of the members declared on the floor that the only candidate for the first President of the Republic of the new era is General Evren.

Although the leaders and prosecution deputies of the civilian political parties were forbidden to declare their opinions on the draft constitution, many Turkish intellectuals, editors and political figures have declared their reactions against anti-democratic provisions of the draft. Below are some examples:

Şevket Yılmaz, Chairman of the labour organization Türk-İş: "The new constitution will put an end to the labour movement in Turkey."

Daily Newspaper Cumhuriyet: "Some articles of the draft on social rights are the reproduction of the proposals of the Confederation of Turkish Businessmen and Industrialists (TISK)." (In fact the 15 members of the Constitutional Commission included the Secretary General of the TISK, while there was no representative of the labour movement).

Nafi Gürel, Chairman of the Turkish Journalists Union (TGS): "The draft constitut-
tion is conservative and behind the times. It restrains freedom of press, basic freedoms and rights and distorts the social characteristics of the Turkish State."

Professor Ertan Aksoy, former president of the Black Sea Technical University: "The new constitution aims at insecurity, stagnation and it fails to take into consideration the realities of Turkey."

Ismail Cem, editor-in-chief of the daily Çınarcık: "I wonder what my Swiss law professor would think about this Constitution. If I had produced this text as homework, my Swiss professor would have failed me in the examinations."

Manaz Sosyal, professor of constitutional law and editor of the daily Milliyet: "This coat which was found too loose for the public has now become too tight. The Turkish people are not that much behind the times so that primitive to be condemned to such a constitution."

Atila Sav, president of the Union of the Turkish Bar Associations: "This sui-generis constitution that has not enough faith in justice and on the other hand provided excessive authority to the administration, can easily open roads to an authoritarian regime."

Professor Ulaş Atak of the Law Faculty of Istanbul: "The provision on the presidential appointments is totally against the notion of a contemporary state governed by the rule of law."

Ugur Mumcu, editor-in-chief of the daily Cumhuriyet: "This development is a sad and bitter step in the two-centurys-long Constitutional tradition of Turkey."

Öküz Eski, editor of the daily Hürriyet: "This draft is what you call feeding with a spoon to a person taking an eye out with the handle of the same spoon."

Server Tanlı, professor of law who has been paralyzed since 1978 after an armed attack by the fascist Grey Wolves: "With this constitution, democracy cannot be restored in Turkey; at the very most fascism can be founded."

Defying critics of the constitution draft, General Evren had already launched an intimidation campaign. On August 29, he said in Afyon: "We have an obligation to prepare a constitution taking into consideration our own structure, characteristics, conditions and the strategic position of our country. We have no obligation to comply with the constitutions of the West. We have never said the new constitution would bring more freedoms than the 1961 Constitution. In the West, they set their daughters free after 18 years old. But this is not compatible with our traditions. We cannot set free, after 18 years old, not only our daughters but also our sons. Accordingly, we cannot copy western constitutions. The 1961 Constitution was too loose for us."

"As the time of transition to normal democratic order is nearing, those who are longing for the former system, the slaves of communism, the untaught anarchists and terrorists, the traitors, and the enemies of the nation and the motherland among us are operating sometimess openly, and sometimes covertly to slander this administration. The collaborators of foreign powers tried very hard to ensure severance of foreign assistance to Turkey, and when they understood that they could not succeed, they started a campaign to prevent the new constitution from being approved. The collaborators of anti-Turkish activities have coordinated their efforts inside the country in parallel with a communist radio station."

GENERAL EYVEN'S STAB-WOUND

In the face of numerous criticisms and protest emanating even from the circles in favour of military, a part of the public opinion expects considerable amendments from the junta on the constitution draft.

It was rather quickly forgotten that the Consultative Assembly was formed and charged with the preparation of the constitution. The framework of the constitution had been previously set up by the laws enacted by the junta since the time that it took office. If one remembers that these laws "can in no case be declared against the constitution," according to a decree by the junta, it was a "premier mondale" in the field of constitution: the constitution was to obey the laws and not the contrary.

The military junta, without any considerable modification, adopted the final text on October 19, 1962.
Most changes in the text were the addition of some provisions which turn General Evin into the "President of the Republic"; the other members of the Junta into the members of the "Presidential Council" and deprive the leaders of the dissolved political parties of the right to re-enter politics for 10 years and the members of the last legislative assembly for 5 years.

According to another amendment, no responsibility can be claimed against the members of the junta, the members of their Consultative Assembly, their government and, even against the members of the state administrative bodies who implemented the decisions of the junta and its governments, for its acts following the coup d'état, and no lawsuit can be entered against them. On the other hand, it takes a big risk in placing the facts all of the former politicians and even the conservationists, however favorable to the military, in the ranks of the opposition. Nevertheless, this risk is clearly taken into account, since both the text of the constitution and the way the referendum will take place leave no freedom of expression or action for any opposition.

This interdiction of politics does not only concern the leaders of the parties but also, to a certain extent, the members of their parties, since, according to a provincial article, the members of a dissolved party shall not form the majority in new parties. This measure is especially aimed at the Republican People's Party (CHP) of Ecevit, as this party is the only one which had registered all of its members on computer while the members of others were lost in the local archives.

The progressive trade union movement was capitulated and put under the demand of capital punishment for its 0.7 million leaders was out of the scene at that moment. The pro-governmental trade union, Türk-İş, which had raised its voice against some of the restrictions on the trade union rights, got by way of a whole the disappearance of the clause suspending the check-off on the final text. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Türk-İş who hastened to declare their submission to the power and their faith in this new constitution, could not, in spite of all their efforts, assemble the fact that the constitution conforms almost entirely to the wishes expressed by the employers' federation congress held in April 1982 about the regulation of labour life.

According to the final text, the lockout becomes a constitutional institution. The trade unions shall not be involved in politics nor have relations with a political party. They can neither support political parties nor be supported by them. They cannot have relations with democratic or professional associations. The right to strike although existing on paper is subjected to several restrictions, and it may exist only in the case of disputes en wages: strikes for solidarity, political and general strikes, etc. are prohibited. Social disputes will be settled by the Supreme Council of Arbitration.

The trade unions will be under the financial and administrative control of the state. In other respects, according to an article added by the junta, in order to be a trade union leader one must have worked actively for ten years as a worker. This will not facilitate the organization of the trade unions, particularly if one keeps stress on the fact that this measure is not only valid on the national level but also on the level of the workplaces.

The Higher Education Institution (YOK) guilty of assassinating academic life and the autonomy of the universities, also made its appearance on the constitution by the hand of the military, who added it to the text at the last moment. It is obvious how much the generals stand forth as protector of their YOK. So they confirmed that youth and science are considered the hereditary enemies of the military absolutism.

For the first time since the existence of the secular Turkey, the courses of religion and ethics became compulsory in the elementary and secondary schools and made their appearance in the constitution. The "faithfulness" representatives of the Kemalist ideology and principles and the "worthy" successors of Atatürk were therefore caught in the act of demagogy, since one of the reforms of Atatürk was precisely the secularity of education.

Freedom of the press is removed de facto from the constitution, since前所未有ly the police can confiscate all publications - even in the printing stage without court warrants. In other respects, Article 28 on the press forbids all publications in a language prohibited by law.

Here, of course, what is in question is the interpretation of the constitution in the Kurdish language. Thus, Turkey becomes one of the few countries in the world where a whole people is banned
from expressing itself in its mother tongue, in the circumstances kurdish for about 8-10 million Kurds in Turkey. The despotic powers previously granted to the president of the Republic remained unaltered. Only the directors of the TRT (Turkish radio-TV), the Central Bank and religious affairs would no longer be designated by the president of the Republic as foreseen in the draft. However, the president kept all his powers, among others, to name all the members of the Constitutional Court, the State Supervision Council and, of the Higher Educational Institution (YÖK), one fourth of the members of the Council of State, the members of the Military Court of Cassation, the members of the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors, the university rectors, etc. More serious is the fact that this "chief" once elected - and according to the text, Evren would become president for seven years in the case of the constitution being approved - would not be subjected to any judiciary control and can do as he pleases.

So, this presidential regime which was described by an old politician as the return to the Sultanate, putting almost all legislative, executive and judiciary powers in the hands of only one man and the executive apparatus that he designates, makes nothing but a woolly and arbitrary amalgam. Arbitrariness is indeed the right word to designate the articles of this constitution drafted with a vulgar taste, since each paragraph lists all the decrees that such liberties exist and are under the constitutional guarantee, but the next paragraph enumerates a whole range of circumstances in which the executive can arbitrarily decide their limitation or even their mere suspension... for reasons concerning the internal security of the state... or the common ethos... or in the case of economic crisis... etc.

The executive is, moreover, seriously reinforced at the expense of the legislative and the judiciary, who see their powers diminishing and limited. The executive also has the power to proclaim the state of emergency or simply the martial law for a whole line of arbitrary reasons, and in the course of these periods (and there will not be lack of emergency cases, if one remembers that Turkey has lived under military regime for 32 years over the past 72 years) the executive has unlimited rights and can suspend or render void all the liberties provided by the constitution.

"The old constitution was a large cloth for the Turkish nation," therefore General Evren made up another which is much tighter than the old one, and even the supporters of Demirel's conservative party consider it too tight. In order to ratify this text of legitimation which provides a legal basis to the dictatorship and thus to "return to democracy" with military without uniform, the junta organized a referendum masquerade on November 7. It was beyond doubt that even in the case of refusal the destiny of Turkey would not change in the short-run. Only, in spite of all, in order to avoid all unpleasant surprises, the military took all their precautions:

- None of the leaders of the dissolved political parties had the right to express themselves on the constitution.

- It was forbidden to lead a campaign against the constitution.

- It was forbidden to criticize the statements of Evren, who had started to conduct a campaign for the presentation of the constitution.

- Those who would not betake themselves to the polling-booths would be liable to heavy punishments, participation was compulsory.

- Those who say "no" to the constitution would be considered terrorists and tools of the subversive alien forces.

- The votes hearing signs would not be canceled. (This measure was an artful manoeuvre to force people to make their choice known, and it surely would be efficient, particularly in small localities.) The clause which requires void all indicated votes - with name or other signs - were repealed by the junta doubtlessly for this purpose.

Evren, who would automatically become president of the Republic for seven years (the other members of the junta would form a presidential council which would function as an upper house) furthermore started violently his campaign for the constitution. He attacked in violent terms the traitors who want to refuse the constitution. He declared himself the guarantor of the constitution and, thus challenged the moderates who, while supporting Evren, formulate some timid criticism about the final text of the constitution.
MAIN POINTS OF THE ANTI-Democratic CONSTITUTION

"Following the operation carried out on September 12, 1980, by the Turkish Armed Forces in response to a call from the Turkish nation, of which they form an indissociable part (...) this Constitution was prepared by the Consultative Assembly, which is the legitimate representative of the Turkish nation, finalized by the National Security Council, and adopted, approved and directly enacted by the Turkish nation, and is entrusted for safeguarding by the TURKISH NATION to the patriotism of its democracy-loving sons and daughter," says the Preamble of the Constitution.

While the former Constitution put forward the principle of "Sosyal State", this principle has been excluded from the new one. "Attachment to the conception of nationalism and the principles and reforms introduced by Atatürk" has been made the pillar of the new regime.

A despotic presidential system

The President of the Republic is empowered to act as supreme ruler of the country, whereas he had only some ceremonial functions under the previous Constitution.

He exercises the following functions and powers:

- To summon the Assembly when necessary, to promulgate laws, to refer draft legislation to the Assembly for further consideration, to submit to referendum, if he deems it necessary, legislation amending the Constitution, to bring to the Constitutional Court applications for the nullification of laws, legislative decrees and rules of Procedure of the Assembly, or specific provisions thereof, on grounds of unconstitutionality as to form or substance, to call new elections for the Assembly.

- To act as Chairman of the Council of Ministers or call meetings of the Council of Ministers under his chairmanship when he deems it necessary.

- To hold the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish armed forces on behalf of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, to decide to use the Turkish Armed Forces, to appoint the Chief of General Staff, to summon the National Security Council, to act as Chairman of the National Security Council, to declare martial law or a state of emergency and issue legislative decrees in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Ministers meeting under his chairmanship.

- To appoint the members and Chairman of the State Supervisory Commission to instruct the State Supervisory Commission to carry out inquiries, investigations and verifications.

- To appoint the members of the Council of Higher Education, to appoint the rectors of universities.

- To appoint and dismiss Ministers on the proposal of the Prime Minister.

- To appoint the members of the Constitutional Court, a quarter of the members of the Council of State, the Chief Public Prosecutor in the Court of Cassation and his deputy, the members of the Military Court of Cassation, the members of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Armed Forces and the members of the Judicial Service Commission (Art. 104).

- No appeal shall be made to the courts, including the Constitutional Court against decisions or orders signed proprio motu by the President of the Republic. (Art. 105)

According to the provisional articles:

General Forces, on the proclamation of the adoption of the Constitution, assumes the title of President of the Republic and shall exercise this function for a period of seven years. As for the four other members of the National Security Council, they become the members of the Presidential Council for a period of six years.

The functions of the Presidential Council:

- To consider laws adopted by the Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, to consider, and give an opinion on, matters relating to the holding of new general elections, the exercise of emergency powers and the measures to be taken during a state of emergency, to consider and investigate matters relating to internal and external security and such other matters as are deemed necessary, and submit its findings to the President of the Republic.

According to another provision, all persons or organs in authority during the period from September 12, 1980, to the date of the formation of the Bureau of the Turkish Grand
National Assembly have been exempted from all legal responsibility, and their decisions and actions cannot be brought before the Constitutional Court.

Powers of the Military

Many provisions of the new Constitution provide the military with extraordinary powers even in the period of civil rule. The President of the Republic, namely General Evren, remains as the Commander-in-Chief:

"The office of Commander-in-Chief shall be held by the President of the Republic. The Chief of the General Staff shall be appointed by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Council of Ministers." (Art. 117)

The Constitution, besides the Presidential Council which is composed of four members of the military junta, creates a new National Security Council which confers the power to dictate decisions to the Council of Ministers:

"The National Security Council shall be composed of the Prime Minister, the Chief of the General Staff, the Ministers of National Defense, the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the commanders of the army, navy and air force and the commander of the military police. The NSC shall inform the Council of Ministers of its views on the decisions to be taken concerning the establishment, formulation and implementation of the state's national security policy and on the measures required to secure the necessary coordination. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to decisions of the Council concerning the measures that it deems necessary for the preservation of the existence and independence of the state, the integrity and indivisibility of the country, national peace and public order. The agenda of the NSC shall be drawn up by the President of the Republic, who shall take account of the proposals of the Prime Minister and the Chief of General Staff." (Art. 118)

As seen in the article, in the NSC the military holds absolute majority.

State of emergency

"In the event of a natural disaster, a dangerous epidemic or a serious economic crisis, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may declare a state of emergency, in one or more regions or throughout the country for a period not exceeding six months. The State of Emergency Act shall regulate the financial and material obligations, and obligations relating to work, the procedure governing the restriction or suspension of fundamental rights and freedoms." During a state of emergency, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may issue legislative decrees. (Art. 121)

Martial Law

"The Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may, after consultation with the NSC, declare martial law in one or more regions or throughout the country. During the period of martial law, the Council of Ministers meeting under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic may issue legislative decrees on matters relating to martial law. Martial law commanders shall exercise their functions under the authority of the office of the Chief of the General Staff." (Art. 122)

State Security

"State Security Courts shall be established to try offences committed against the indivisibility of the state with its territory and people, the free democratic order of the Republic or directly relating to the internal and external security of the state. SSCs shall be composed of a President, two members, two substitutes, a prosecutor and a sufficient number of deputy prosecutors. One member and one substitute shall be appointed from among military judges of the highest grade and the deputy prosecutors from among public prosecutors and military judges. In the event of the declaration of martial law, the SSC may be transformed into a military court. (Art. 143)

Constitutional Court

"The Constitutional Court shall be composed of eleven regular members and four substitutes, all appointed by the President of the Republic." (Art. 146)
Restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms

"Fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted by law in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution in order to safeguard the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and people, national sovereignty, the Republic, national security, public policy, public order, the public interest, public decency and public health. (Art. 13)

"None of the rights and freedoms shall be exercised with a view to violating the integrity of the state with its territory and people, endangering the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, ensuring the rule of one social class over the others, creating discrimination on grounds of language, race, religion, or sect, or establishing by any other means a political system based on the above concepts and opinions. (Art. 14)

These articles take as target all attempts to organize on the social class, ethnic or linguistic group basis. That is to say, the working class, the Kurdish population of the country and other religious and ethnic minorities are deprived of the right to organize and to spread their opinions.

"In time of war or mobilization, under martial law or during a state of emergency, the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms may be partially or completely suspended." (Art. 15)

Authority to kill citizens

"Death shall not be regarded as inflicted in violation of the rights to life when it results from the execution of a death sentence, the exercise of self-defense or the lawful and necessary use of arms to carry out an arrest warrant or a detention order, prevent the escape of a person detained pending trial or following conviction, quell a revolt or rebellion or, under martial law or during a state of emergency, execute orders issued by the competent authorities." (Art. 17)

Forced or compulsory labour

"Forced or compulsory labour shall not include work required in the course of detention, pending trial or following conviction, services exacted from citizens during a state of emergency, or physical or intellectual work forming a part of normal civic obligations in fields dictated by the needs of the country." (Art. 18)

Detention without court warrant

"Persons arrested or detained shall be brought before a court within 48 hours, or in the case of collective offensives, within fifteen days. The periods may be extended during a state of emergency, under martial law or in time of war. (Art. 19)

Restriction of the right to express

"The right to express and disseminate their thoughts and opinions may be restricted in order to prevent crime, punish convicted offenders, prevent the disclosure of information lawfully declared to be a state secret or ensure the proper functioning of judicial authority." (Art. 20)

"The right to disseminate information shall not be exercised with a view to securing the amendment of the provisions regarding the state, character of the Republic and the integrity of the State, official language, flag, national anthem and capital. (Art. 27)

Restriction of Freedom of the press

"Nothing shall be published in a language prohibited by law. (That is to say the Kurdish or Assyrian languages, etc. - Ed.)

"Persons who write, cause to be printed, print or transmit to another for that purpose information or material of any description threatening the internal and external security or the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and people, inciting to commit an offense or to rebellion or revolt or relating to state secrets shall be liable to prosecution under the relevant legal provisions.

"Distribution may be forbidden as a preventive measure under a court order or, in cases where delay is considered prejudicial, an order of the authority expressly empowered by law.

"Periodical and other publications may be
Restrictions on education

"No activities other than those connected with learning, teaching, research and study shall take place in educational establishments. No language other than Turkish shall be taught to Turkish citizens as their mother tongue in educational establishments." (A prohibition on official teaching of Kurdish or Avestan, etc.) (Art. 42)

Restrictions on trade union right

"The statutes, management and mode of operation of unions and union federations shall not be inconsistent with democratic principles or with the character of the Republic. Officials of trade unions or trade union federations shall be required to have been actually employed as workers for at least 10 years." (Art. 51)

"Unions shall not contravene the general restrictions set forth in Article 13, nor shall they pursue political aims, engage in political activities, support or be supported by political parties, or take joint action to that end with associations, professional organizations instituted under public law or foundations." (Art. 52)

"The right to strike shall not be exercised, nor shall lock-outs be practised, in a manner contrary to the principles of goodwill or prudence to the community or national wealth. The trade union shall be liable for any material damage caused in the workplace during a strike, either deliberately or accidentally, by the striking workers and unions." (Art. 53)

"The National Arbitration Board shall set the dispute in cases where strikes and lock-outs are prohibited or, in the event of postponement, at the end of the period for which they are postponed.

"Politically motivated strikes and lock-
Atatürk National Academy of Culture

“The Atatürk National Academy of Culture, Language and History shall be established under the moral wings of Atatürk, under the supervision of the President of the Republic, and shall, with his support, conduct scientific research, produce publications and disseminate information on the thought, principles and reforms of Atıatürk and on Turkish culture history and the Turkish language.”

(134)

Professional organisations

“Professional organisations shall not engage in activities other than those for which they were formed, nor shall they become involved in politics or take joint action with political parties, unions or associations. Political parties, unions and union federations shall not nominate candidates in elections to the organs of professional organisations or their umbrella organisations, nor shall they engage in activities or propaganda in support of, or opposition to, particular candidates.”

(136)

Stripping of nationality

“No Turkish citizen shall be deprived of his nationality provided that he does not engage in an activity with loyalty to this country.”

(66)

Discrimination in amnesty procedure

With the purpose of depriving many political prisoners of a possible amnesty in future, the military put in the Constitution the following article:

“The Turkish Grand National Assembly decides the proclamation of amnesties and pardons, except in respect of persons convicted of offences under Article 14 of the Constitution.”

(137) The said article mentions acts against the integrity of the state, endangering the existence of the Turkish State, aimed at the establishment of a single social class over the others, creating discrimination on grounds of language, race, religion, or sex.” These acts are liable according to articles 140, 141, 142 and 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Outs, sympathy strikes and lock-outs, general strikes, sit-in strikes, go-slowes, work-to-rule and other forms of contract shall be prohibited.

“Strikers shall do nothing whatsoever to prevent those who are not striking from working in their workplace.”

(Art. 54)

Conditioning of the Youth

“The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the training and development of youth, into whose keeping our independence and our Republic are entrusted, in the light of positive science, in accordance with the principles and reforms of Atatürk and in opposition to ideas aimed at the destruction of the indivisible integrity of the state.”

(Art. 58)

Restrictions on Universities

“The state shall supervise and inspect universities and their subsidiary units and shall ensure their security. University rectors shall be appointed by the President of the Republic and deans by the Higher Education Council (YÖK). University members of teaching staff and their assistants shall be free to engage in scientific research and publication of all kinds. However, this shall not include freedom to engage in activities directed against the existence and independence of the state or the integrity and indivisibility of the nation and the country. The Higher Education Council shall be composed of members appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the universities, the Council of Ministers and the Chief of the Republic itself.”

(Art. 131)

Restrictions on Radio-TV

“Radio and television stations shall be established only by the State and shall be managed by an impartial public corporation. The law shall ensure that broadcasts are made in such a way as to safeguard the existence and independence of the Turkish state, the indivisible integrity of the country and the nation, national peace, public decency and the fundamental character of the Republic as defined in Article 2 of the Constitution.”

(Art. 133)
CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted, on October 8, 1982, a resolution stating that the new Constitution drawn up by the Consultative Assembly did not answer to the requisites of a real democracy and calling upon the Turkish authorities to revise it.

The new Constitution was criticized also in the report on the southern flank submitted to the meeting of the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly held in London.

A socialist member of the Parliamentary Assembly, Mr. Claude Depard, stated, in collaboration with Mr. Jack Debeok from the University of Liège, the compatibility of the new Constitution with the European Convention on Human Rights and prepared a report to submit to the Assembly.

Below are the large extracts of this important report demonstrating the "constitutional" violation of human rights in Turkey:

"The Turkish Constitution is not perfectly conformable to the European Convention of Human Rights.

"4. Concerning all rights warranted by the ECHR:

"Article 13 of the Constitution enumerates the hypothesis of legitimate restriction of fundamental rights. Besides it states that these general reasons set forth (...) are valid for all fundamental rights and freedoms."

"This disposition is contrary to the ECHR, because:

"a) Some warranted rights do not suffer from any exceptions. It concerns the right not to be submitted to torture or to degrading treatment (Art. 2 ECHR), the right set forth by article 7 ECHR, the right to get married (Art. 12 ECHR), the right to the grant of an effective recourse in the case of the violation of a right set forth (Art. 13 ECHR) and, the right to equality of treatment in the exercise of warranted rights Art. 14 ECHR) as also the right set forth in an absolute manner by article 6 of the Convention.

"There is no doubt that, regarding these rights, article 13 of the Turkish Constitution, stated in a general manner and without restriction, is contrary to the Convention.

"b) Other rights are set forth in a less absolute manner by the ECHR: The Convention provides possibilities for impairment, but they are provided in a very precise manner. It concerns the right to life (Art. 2 ECHR), the right set forth by Article 4 ECHR and, the right not to be deprived of one's freedom (Art. 5 ECHR).

"Article 13 of the Constitution is formulated in such a way that it authorizes, indeed, the derogations provided by articles 2, 4 and 5 of the ECHR in the exercise of these rights but, it equally allows others. In that degree, it is contrary to the Convention (...).

"2. concerning articles 9, 10 and 11 - freedom of thought, of conscience, religion, expression and associations. (*)"

"(*) Art. 9, 10 and 11 ECHR

"The Turkish Constitution gives expression to the will of pressuring and protecting, by all means, a philosophical and political doctrine.

"a) To protect Atatürk's Doctrine

"The principles, reforms and modernism or the nationalism of Atatürk is the essence of the Turkish Republic (Art. 2). The ideas which are contrary to it do not deserve any protection , (Par. 9 of the preamble - NB Art. 176).

"Article 2 gives this doctrine a value equivalent to the fundamental rights", adoption of a definite position which shall never be modified (Art. 4) as also the restrictions on all fundamental rights are legitimate when they are considered in the safeguard of Atatürk's doctrine (Art. 13).

"This will of protection directly violates the freedom of thought and the consequent liberties that are of expression and association. The Constitution itself consecrates this violation.

"b) Consequences on the freedoms of expression and association.

"The freedom of expression cannot be used with the object of imposing the Republic, so, especially Atatürk's doctrine. Indeed, the freedom of science and the arts and, the freedom of expression through the channels of press or TV are set forth, but only to the extent that 'the fundamental characteristics of the Republic as they are defined in article 2 of the Constitution' are preserved (Art. 27, 28 and 133). The freedom of association as it is concretized as trade unions and political parties is also warranted provided that their statutes are in conformity
with the principles of the Republic and they do not use the freedom of expression with the object of jeopardizing the Republic (Art. 68, 69 and 51). In the event of the non observance of these prescriptions, these trade unions and political parties shall be dissolved. In addition, present and members of Parliament take the oath that they 'shall remain committed' (...to the principles and reforms of Atatürk' at their induction into office (Art. 51 and 103). The legislative immunity of a member of Parliament shall be suspended in the case of the breach of this oath (Art. 83).

"Under these conditions what remains to us from the freedom of press, individual expressing and collective expressing set forth by the Constitution?"

""(c)Used means"

"The Turkish Constitution, on the one hand, ensures the freedom of conscience, religion and education, on the other hand it imposes preventively an education and a formation 'discouraged in the spirit of the principles and reforms of Atatürk' (...)."

"In fact, those who would, in spite of all, attempt to show the wrongness of the doctrine of Atatürk or the rightness of another one would be sanctioned by an exceptional court: the State Security Court. Indeed, the Constitution institutes 'State Security Courts charged with knowing (...) crimes and misdemeanours which aim at the Republic as they are defined in the Constitution (...) '(Art. 145)."

"II. Art. 10 ECHR: The Freedom of Expression in Particular;"

"a) The freedom of expression by written ways, records, recording, video or thought is warranted but, some languages banned by the law cannot be used (Art. 23 and 28)."

""A language constitutes the vehicle of thought and banishing it is to interfere with the freedom of expression and in a wider sense the freedom of thought, for example in the case of those who are in Turkish territory and can only speak one of the banned languages (i.e. the Kurdish)."

"On the other hand, to assure the individuals who speak the authorised languages and not to assure those who speak a banned language reveres to a discrimination in the exercise of freedom of expression, discrimination contrary to article 14 of the ECHR."

"b) In order to ban the publication of events of the day or to suspend, confiscate, seize periodicals and non-periodicals, a court judgement is sufficient (Art. 28 and 29)."

"Art. 10 ECHR requires that such a decision be made only when it is necessary for the pursuit of the objectives enumerated in the art. 10 par. 2 ECHR."

""(c) Art. 67: The soldiers and officer officers on the active list, students of military academies as well as prisoners and condemned men in prisons and gaols cannot vote (...)."

""The downfall of the right of vote constitutes then a sanction without trial (violation of Art. 6 par. 1 ECHR) and a violation of the principle according to which 'Every one charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law.' (Art. 6 par. 2 ECHR)."

"Moreover, this sanction is contrary to and violations Art. 10 ECHR (freedom of expression) without any possible justification regarding the outline of Art. 10 Paragraph 2 ECHR."

"d) Art. 70 states the conditions in order to be elected a deputy."

"In 2nd paragraph provides that 'whoever (...) was condemned for (...) participation in ideological actions (...) shall not be elected a deputy even if he were granted a free pardon."

"For lack of precautions and the notion of 'ideological actions', this paragraph of Art. 70 opens the door for the worst abuses and is capable of grounding violations of freedoms of thought and expression set forth by articles 9 and 10 of the ECHR (...) ."

"III. Art. 11 ECHR: Freedom of Association in Particular."

"1. Trade Unions (Art. 51)

"Conditions provided by the law are hardly to suspend and to ban trade union activities. The 2nd paragraph of art. 51 is not in conformity with art. 1, ECHR, to the extent that suspensions or interdictions can be set in case other than those provided by art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR.

"Besides, the statutes of the trade unions shall not infringe especially the characteristics of the Republic as they are defined by the Constitution (Art. 2 and 51). This obligation could be equally sanctioned by paragraph 2 ECHR.

"The last paragraph is also contrary to the Convention since the doctrine of Atatürk cannot be integrated to one of the interests of art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR."

"2. Political Parties (Art. 48)"
'Here, also, restrictions arise, because par-
ties' status have to be in conformity especially 'with the principles of the republic.' In default, the Constitution Court can pronounce their disallowance, 65 and 69. This restriction is so far as it can be set for the safeguard of the doctrine of Atatürk is not in conformity with art. 11 ECHR since it does fall within those provided by art. 11 par. 2 ECHR.

"In addition, the judges and prosecutors, members of higher courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, state civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments except for those who are regarded as workers, students and members of the armed forces cannot join political parties;"

"This last paragraph of art. 68 directly violo-
lates the freedom of association set forth by art. 11 ECHR. Nothing can justify, in the sense of article 11 paragraph 2 ECHR, such a restric-
tion on the freedom to join a political party with respect to this people;

"If, contrary to all logic, we came to the point of admitting that article 68 presents a justified interference, then we would have to admit that, in this case, there would be a viola-
tion of art. 14 ECHR which warranted the equality of treatment in the exercise of the fundamental rights. Indeed, there would be a discrimination between: - the members of the higher courts and those of others; - the teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions and those of others; - State civil servants regarded as workers and others.

"In addition, the Constitution itself sets this sanction of disallowance for the magistrate, Art. 129 for the State civil servants and, Art. 130 for the teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions.

"2. Professional Associations in the Nature of Public Organizations:

"Art. 135 seems to aim at professional associations of individuals who cannot be regarded as workers or employers in the sense of the first paragraph of art. 51; those who carry on free or independent professions and State civil servants.

"Professional associations in the nature of public organizations are set up by law and, therefore, individuals shall not have the right to initiate in this respect. In this case, there is violation of art. 11 ECHR since, the persons armed do not have any possibility of forming a trade union.

"On the other hand, contrary to the foregoing, the persons armed by art. 135 other than the State civil servants shall be bound to join these organizations and, so the freedom of association shall not be guaranteed for them.

"4. Other Associations (Art. 33)

"Here also, restrictions arise in the extent that conditions provided by the law have to be fulfilled hardly to the dissolution.

"This article is not in conformity with art. 11 ECHR in the case that the dissolution can arise in circumstances other than those pro-
vided in art. 11 paragraph 2 ECHR. On the other hand, this obligation set forth in the 5th paragraph is not favourable to the judicial security. It is contrary to art. 6 ECHR in the case that the dissolution would be auto-
matic without interference of a judge.

"Finally, this article does not prevent put-
ting restrictions on the rights of armed forces personnel and security forces members to form associations, or to ban them from exercising this freedom;

"It should be necessary, at least, to state precisely that these restrictions or inquisitions can exist only for the safeguard of one of the objectives of art. 11 par. 2 ECHR. In the case that restrictions and inquisitions can exist beyond the limits allowed by art. 11 par. 2 ECHR, there is a violation of this article. It is violated if there is no justification conformable to its 2nd paragraph. In fact, none of the objectives of art. 11 par. 2 can justify such restric-
tions or inquisitions.

"Freedom of Expression of Associations

"1. Trade Unions

"Art. 51: 'functioning of each unions and trade union confederations shall not infringe...the characteristics of the Republic as they are defined by the Constitution.' This means that, if the doctrine of Atatürk implies choices in economic and social matters, trade unions cannot criticize it. In this case, whereas the doctrine of Atatürk cannot be included in art. 11 par. 2 ECHR, there is violation of the freedom of expression of associations.

"Art. 52: 'Trade unions...cannot foster pol-
itical objectives, cannot devote themselves to political activities, cannot support or be sup-
ported by political parties, and cannot collabor-
ate with vocational institutions and founda-
tions which are in the form of public establishments'. Here, it is a disposition that can be found also for political parties (art. 69), for professional associations in the nature of public organizations (art. 133), for other associations which is in question. In other words, the Turkish Constitution far from recognizing the freedom of expression of associations and the freedom of association as a general principle, recognizes four types of associations and each of them lives and functions in an isolated 'world' with respect to others. They would not become alien and express their identical opinion by common consent, when they have identical objectives. Here, it is aurning violation of their freedom of association and expression.

"On the other hand, these dispositions are far from being clear. Particularly:

- for trade unions, it means that a trade union cannot have a political colour. Then, where is the trade union plurality? It means that a trade union cannot protest against a governmental measure unfavourable to the workers. Then, what do their freedom of expression and their role come to?

- for political parties, it means that a party cannot have an objective in the way of workers' interest. If so, then the Turkish Constitution does not agree to the existence of a socialist party such as in Western Europe.

"Art. 52 and provisional art. 14: '... financial inspection and incomes and expenditures of the trade unions shall be regulated by law. They shall deposit all their incomes in national banks.' It is quite easy to take the necessary measures to make them ineffective by controlling their incomes. The government can prevent the trade union (from carrying on a social policy, thus its freedom of expression is impeded. Finally, knowing their incomes and expenditures the government will know their resistance capacity in the case of strike (if strike is possible).

"Thus, in Turkey everything happens in view of a pure and simple role for trade unions without allowing them any opposition.

"The first paragraph of art. 54 recognizes a right to strike for workers, but this recognition is completely devoid of its contents.

"Paragraph 2: the right to strike cannot be exercised in any way which contradicts principles of probity which harms the society, or which destroys social wealth'.

"Such a restriction with so fuzzy terms allows even itself to prevent any strike, whatever it is. Nevertheless, the Constitution does not stop at that point. The last paragraph of art. 54 which forbids a good many strikes, as a matter of fact, finally prohibits all strikes.

"It is quite true that the ECHR does not guarantee the right to strike, but it guarantees the freedom of expression of associations. Well then, what is the use of being free to express an idea, if one cannot convince of its rightness? Precisely, striking is a tool disposed by the trade unions and workers to convince the State or employers. And, it is the only efficient tool which is in question. (European Social Charter).

"Since striking is repressed, the freedom of expression of associations is violated.

2. Political Parties

"According to the 4th paragraph of art. 68, political parties cannot preach to a doctrine other than Atatürk's. Art. 11 ECHR is violated.

"The 2nd paragraph of art. 69 is violating Art. 11 ECHR.

"The 6th paragraph of art. 68 is contrary to Art. 11 ECHR to the extent that such restrictions are possible out of the bounds of art. 11 par. 2 ECHR.

"The last paragraph of art. 83: 'political party groups shall not hold debates and pass resolutions in connection with legislative immunities,' when the suspension of the immunity of any member of Parliament is in question. Such an interference with the exercise of freedom of expression of associations is not allowed by art. 11 par. 2 ECHR. There is again violation of this article of the Convention.

"It is the same way with the 2nd paragraph of art. 64 and the 4th paragraph of art. 133.

3. Sanctions for the Observance of These Obligations: art. 69 paragraphs 5 and 7.

"Professional Associations in the nature of public organizations.

"Identification commentary to those concerning the trade unions and the political parties are to be expressed concerning similar dispositions applicable to these associations."

(*) Art. 54 ECHR warrants at one and same time the individual freedom to associate and the collective freedom of associations, that is to say the freedom of expression of associations.
October 1981

1. It is reported that the General Secretary of the NSC comprises 11 departments. It is the need of the NSC's various needs.

2. The Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe recommends the consolidation of Turkish membership at least until next January.

3. The NSC's new leader is reassigned to a position that was occupied by a Turkish officer who, as a result of his country's involvement in the Arab-Iranian war, was transferred to the post of a different command.

4. A delegation of Turkish parliamentarians visits the Western Balkans, to discuss various issues.

5. The PSB, the National Security Bureau, 100 members of the Constituent Assembly meet to discuss public policy.

6. The NSC makes a surprise announcement deploying all political parties.

7. Erbakan is released after 19 years in prison. He is a member of the ruling party, the National Movement Party (MHP), which has been in power since 1999.

8. Enver is sentenced to life imprisonment in connection with a statement he made to foreign correspondents.

9. The Constituent Assembly is inaugurated by Enver. "Liberty cannot be unimpeded," he said.

10. The vacant position of President of the State Supervisory Council and of General Director of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration are filled by two army generals.

11. A weekly new primary school in the district of Çanakkale in Izmir province is named after Kemal Atatürk.

November 1981:

1. For the first time in Turkish Republic's history, Central Bank issues banknotes worth $500 million, due to the high rate of inflation.

2. A formal law against sentences up to four years in prison for disrespecting judicial orders.

3. The NSC issues a new law on Education, Administrative and academic authorities of universities are intact; another education is placed under the competence of the 15-man Higher Education Council (ÖSG) whose members are to be named by the President of the NSC.

4. The European Parliament approved on 28th November 28, 1981, with 11 abstentions, a resolution to Amendment which provides a temporary freeze in the 4EC-Turkey financial protocol.

5. In Brussels, the European Commission has decided to respect the agreement on the 4th Financial protocol between Turkey and the EEC until the situation is clarified by the Turkish authorities.

6. Extraordinary security measures are taken during Enver's visit to the Agriculture Ministry in Ankara. "I have been a bit shocked by this. But what can you expect? The situation around the world is in Turkey is obvious. These measures have been taken for safeguarding the State," he says.

7. Three hundred and the 1,523 members of Turkey are, at present, army officers; the others are civilians without a political label.

8. Enver's first visit to a foreign country, Pakistan.

9. The Daily Telegraph announces that a presidential visit will be set up in Turkey and that the first President of the Republic will be Enver.

December 1981:

1. Due to the modification of legislation on judicial appeals, many judges have been obliged to resign from their posts. There is a precedent among judges because of the constitution of the Supreme Judges and Prosecutors Council which is dependent on "the Chief of the State."

2. 400 university professors resign from their jobs criticizing the new legislation on universities.

3. Erbakan begins to serve his four-month prison sentence in Antakya.

4. It is reported that the Turkish-US Defense Council will be formed.

5. The European Community ministry renews the improvement of Turkey.

6. Uluç states that Turkey's government will work with all relations with European countries if "Turkey, whatever their support from Turkey."

7. The foreign ministers of the ten member states that make the EU will send their economic and political criteria to be assessed in the framework of the European Commission of the European Community.

8. The European Community metropolitan area, with the aim of improving the economic and financial situation, has been established.

9. The Committee of the International Arbitration Council decides in favor of a grace 25 percent hike in wages in 1982 while the annual inflation rate is still 50 percent.

10. A military tribunal closed the Turkish Union of Unionists (TÜK-İÇ), 50 members of the association have been released since the high rate of time to time years.

11. The municipality of Istanbul decides to change the name of Hüseyin Meydanı (Liberty Place) and
rename Ilayis Meydani. The price was named Liberty Place after university students' resistance to the Menderes's repressive regime in 1960.

10. Speaking at Kirkuk during the unveiling ceremony in the Altun's status, Evren says some people - those who want Altun's to be forgotten - are criticizing the fact that so many Altun's statues are being erected instead of the money being used for better purposes. "We have to keep developing on one side and keep Altun's memory alive on the other side," he said.

11. Evren announces that general elections in Turkey will be held in the fall of 1983 or the spring of 1984.

January 1983: 1. With the exception of six, all the leading officials of the MHP have been released. 14. The President of the European Commission, Erhard von Mende, the Secretary General of the Commission, and the Executive Council of the EEC, regarding the failure of the joint trade union leaders in Turkey.

17. With the new taxes enacted since the military takeover, General Evren has been given the authority to appoint members to many important courts and departments, mainly the new Supreme Court of Judges and Magistrates, the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic, and the president of the State Supervisory Council, the Higher Education Council. He has been nearly authorized to nominate the members of the Council of State, local administrative courts, and tax courts.

19. During the debates in the 1982 budget, the Consultative Assembly unanimously adopts a resolution expressing its gratitude and loyalty to the Chief State, General Evren.

20. The European Parliament adopts a resolution condemning the military regime of Aminoka and decides not to renew the mandate of the Turkish members of the Turkey-EEC Association's Joint Parliamentary Committee.

28. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopts a new resolution strongly condemning human rights violations in Turkey and recommending implementation of a council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges.

February 1982: 1. Evren is released.

2. The Turkish General Staff issues a communiqué banning meetings or visits of foreign delegations to Turkey without permission from the ministerial authorities. It is reported that the Council of Europe will not accept Turkey.

3. The legal advisors of the foreign ministers of five European countries, Norway, Denmark, France, Holland, and Sweden, study different ways of bringing complaints against the Turkish regime before the European Commission on Human Rights.

9. The new minister of Interior, the 1962 despot has decided to constitute the Turkish Union (ATA-BURAL), headed by General Evren, this union will open branches everywhere in Turkey.

10. Members of the Turkish Peace Association are arrested.

14. According to data from the International Federation of Human Rights Leagues in Paris, 700,000 people have been detained in Turkey between September 12, 1980 and January 24, 1982. Among the detainees are about 500 members of Parliament, 79 journalists, 12 foreign and national journalists, 10 doctors, and judges, 10 district governors, 1,485 mayors and municipal officials, 6,181 teachers and 6,799 State school teachers. Actually, 46,721 people are tried before special courts. 3,289 death sentences have been requested. 196 pronounced and 100 political activists already executed. 700 people have beenlared during torture in prisons.

25. While 44 members of the Peace Association are being arrested for advocating good relations with the socialist countries, General Evren starts an official visit to Bulgaria and is decorated by a local with the Order of the "Star of Great Bulgaria."

March 1982: 10. Evren's request for a passport is denied. He is interrogated by a military prosecutor.

11. The European Parliament considers the recent violations of human rights in Turkey.

13. The Committee of the Council of Europe is in the legislation of the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers to the street immediately for the release of the people arrested in Turkey. The Turkish Government refuses the Council of Europe's demand for an invitation to the country.

15. The Turkish Government's spokesman says that only 15 people have died in prisons.

16. A political activist is executed.

27. 130 left-wing MPs are interrogated by military prosecutors for having collaborated with DISK.

April 1982: 1. The Municipality of Denizli decides to change the names of streets in conformity with the ideologically oriented mapping imposed by the military regime. Names such as Peace, Labour, Liberty, Revolution will be replaced by the names of several historic figures of the Ottoman Empire period.

9. General Evren starts his visit to Romania.
A retired general is appointed as the head of the Education and Training Department of the National Education Ministry. He decides to meet students at Atatürk in school textbooks at all levels.

10. Errol, from Turkey, is appointed as the 20th anniversary ceremonies at the Constitutional Court has been adopted by the European country, Switzerland.

11. Turkmenistan's independence day, a new article in the Norwegian paper,

12. The Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions (TOK) expresses its view that the principle of 'social state' be excluded from the new constitution.

13. The Council of Ministers denies that the members of the Consultative Assembly will be authorized to carry firearms as long as they hold the post.

14. Turkey turns down Danish Prime Minister's request to visit Errol.

15. A political activist is executed.

21. The EU adopts a resolution on Turkey seeking for immediate suspension of Turkish membership to the Council of Europe.

22. A military parade in Athens during second weekend order for Errol in a letter he allegedly wrote to a Dutch journalist.

May 1992:

1. A political activist is executed.
2. Turkish Lira is devalued 4.7% against the dollar.
3. Many Turkish businessmen and industrialists are alarmed that the present minimum wage is far from meeting the demands of the working population. The fall of devaluation power causes slowing down of industrial production.
4. US Secretary of StateHaig, during his visit to Turkey, demands: "Turkey is a valued, steadfast friend of the United States on an important element of NATO.
5. Movie director Tunc ISIS, who is in exile, wins Cannes Golden Palm Awards for his film "Yol". Turkish Film Festival opens in France for film "Istiklal Caddesi".

June 1992:

1. An undetermined amount of military officers and cadets have been expelled from the Armed Forces for their links with illegal organizations. Six are in custody.
2. Several military officers and cadets have been expelled from the Armed Forces for their links with illegal organizations. Six are in custody.
3. Suicide is released.

4. The ambassadors of ten European countries to Turkey are given a warning in regard to their countries' efforts to file a complaint to the European Commission on Human Rights about the violation of human rights in Turkey. According to a written to an ambassador, Euro says: "We have no means with which to defend our interests in Turkey."
5. Euro's lawyer, a high-ranking army general, says: "We have no means with which to defend our interests in Turkey."

6. Istanbul Military Law Command announced that 132 members of the distinct NATV are not entitled to travel abroad.
7. About 20,000 judges and prosecutors have resigned, declaring that juridical autonomy does not exist anymore.

8. General Errol is asked to arrest a police officer and a police officer who is not present in the police district of "If God gives us, we will meet you tomorrow.

9. According to a new law on police personnel, newly appointed police officers must start work by taking an oath of allegiance to Atatürk, pledging their hands on a flag covered with a Turkish flag and kneeling at the feet of Atatürk.

10. The Turkish Peace Committee starts in Istanbul.

11. On camera that is a video in the country were from election campaign tapes, General Errol says: "We have no means with which to defend our interests in Turkey."

12. Prime Minister Ulu, announces that once the military takeover, 411 of the laws have been submitted to the legislature, the government, and 280 of them have been approved by the NSC. Besides, 96 laws have been enacted in the absence of NSC members, thus, 376 laws have gone into force.

July 1992:

1. Five European countries announce their referring of Turkey to the European Commission on Human Rights
2. New case against UCL leaders
3. The Ankara municipality decides to change the names of all streets which were named for victims of the 1974 coup:
4. Errol is sentenced again to 2 years and 27 days in prison.
5. The verdict against the Van Hadel judgement in favour of the military regime, 124 MPs voted for, 100 against and 9 abstentions.
6. Turgut Özteş resigns from the position of Vice-Prime.
The Speaker of the Consultative Assembly says: "For future President of the Republic, General Ersin is the only candidate."

Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Consultative Assembly presents the Constitution draft to the Assembly.

The Turkish Central Bank decides to make a change on the coins of Turkish lira. The crescent and the star on the coin will look towards the right whilst it has been looking to the left until now.

Eren names new Presidents for 37 Turkish universities.

August 1982:

It is reported that there are 77,295 prisoners or detainees in civilian detention houses or prisons.

A political activist is imprisoned.

The Justice Ministry reports that Turkey asked several foreign countries for the extradition of 118 Turkish nationals.

Eren starts serving his 34-day prison sentence for giving a statement to Der Spiegel.

New newspapers or magazines can be published only after obtaining a permission from Martial Law authorities.

September 1982:

A 36-man NATO delegation visits Turkey.

Request of the death sentence for ten more DESK defendants.

Mayor of Istanbul is replaced by another army general.

The General Council of the Consultative Assembly adopts the Constitution draft with a 135-1 vote. Twenty-four members abstain or do not vote.

October 1982:

Eren starts his campaign for the adoption of the new Constitution by referendum.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopts a resolution stating that the new Constitution does not correspond to the requisites of a real democracy and calling upon the Turkish authorities to revise it.

The trial against the TSP officials opens.

The General Staff Martial Law Coordination Department announces that military tribunals have given verdicts on 20,526 court cases out of a total of 37,200 in the period between September 12, 1990, and August 20, 1992.

Eren is released.

Chief of the CIA William Casey made a 36-hour visit to Turkey just before the referendum on the Constitution.

The HNC announced the final text of the draft Constitution to be submitted to referendum. It also decided to hold an election against the speeches of Eren on the Constitution.

The National Education Ministry announces that 9,068 teachers have been dismissed since the military takeover.

Eren says: "Voting for this Constitution!"

Pristina court gives Serbs of Turkish citizenship
1982-83

THE MILITARY'S PASSAGE TO A "CIVILIAN" REGIME

Banning all criticism before a mockery of a referendum, held on November 7, 1982, the military brought about the adoption of the new constitution by a majority vote. At the same time, General Echeverria was automatically named the "President of the Republic" for the next seven years. While the Junta was carrying on its legislative functions by adopting a series of antidemocratic laws on political parties, trade unions, associations and the press, only those who had the military's benediction were allowed to found new political parties.
A REFERENDUM WITHOUT CHOICES!

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

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

Taking into consideration that the clandestine campaign against the "constitution" was carried out in two directions, "No to the Constitution" or "Boycott the Voting", 3.5 million out of 20.7 million, that is to say 83 percent, have manifested their disapproval of the "constitution" and thus the presidency of General Evin.

After the defeat of his tail-coat and top-hat as the "President of the Republic", General Evin thanked the nation, on November 12, 1982, for "demonstrating magnificent national unity and a high-level of political awareness and maturity in the referendum", and added: "You have renewed and raised the prestige and the respectability of the Turkish State in the eyes of the whole world."

The trick of the matter, as reflected by the world press, is diametrically opposed to General Evin's claim. The expression of political awareness and maturity depends on a free process of voting. Some formal demonstrations such as secret balloting and open coercion of votes are not enough to assure a democratic process. For democratic voting, the electorate should have at least two choices. However, at the November 7th referendum, the military junta did not permit the opposition to present an alternative constitution plan or another candidate for president of the Republic. In his electoral campaign, General Evin forced the people to choose between an authoritarian regime and the chaos that ensued prior to the September 12th, 1980, coup d'etat.

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

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

One should never forget that it was the military junta which planned and organized political violence throughout Turkey with the purpose of creating the necessary pretext for a military coup. It was the Counter-Guerrilla Organization situated at the headquarters of the Turkish General Staff which encouraged and protected the "Grey Wolves" of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party. Although this party and its side organizations were the main authors of political terror in Turkey, thanks to this protection, the number of the arrested "Grey Wolves" did not surpass a thousand, while about 50 thousand progressive and democratic people were being subjected to inhuman repression. The trial of Colonel Türkoğlu, chief of the neo-fascist party, and his fellows was but a manipulation aimed at persuading world opinion of the junta's "neutrality".

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

"The military government in Turkey celebrated its second anniversary on September 12. The programmes on the state television clearly reflected the newfound ideology and the alliances of the generals. For the first time since the coup, the Left was presented as bearing the full responsibility for the near-civil war conditions which preceded the take-over. The Right were portrayed as nationalists who defended themselves against the attack from the Communist left. This view corresponded to a drastic shift in the politics of the generals. (...) This change of face was pressured by broader 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 new 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 strongman was the commander of the Army, General Erkin. Simultaneously, martial law commissioners known for their sympathy for the fascists retained their posts.

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

This process also relieved Türkes, although he is still in prison. In a petition to the military court on October 8, Türkes, indicating similarities between his pre-coup declarations and General Evren's speeches, said: "All demands formulated in the electoral manifesto of the National Action Party have been put into practice today." And he added that his party supports all steps taken in the process of creating a "powerful State.

The "Constitution" and General Evren's presidency represent the "powerful State" Colosso Türkens dreamed of.

When Türkes' party had not been able to obtain more than 6.4 per cent in pre-coup elections, how could a 83 per cent approval for the same party's ideas at the referendum be possible?

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

Counter-propaganda was officially banned. Those who dared to take no heed of this ban found themselves in prison. As a deterring example, on October 27, 56 activists of three left and one right organisations distributing tracts against the "constitution" were arrested in Istanbul, and this event was propagated through newspapers, radio and television. On
the day of referendum, even a member of the Prime Minister's guard-coach was detained for having declared that he voted against. Later on, he was dismissed from his post. In Diyarbakir, another guard was arrested for not having apprehended those who tore up posters in favour of the "constitution". In Gaziantep, an employee at the polling-center was arrested for having suggested to an elector to vote against.

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

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

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

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

Despite these repressive measures, if 9 percent of the voters refused to go to the polling-booths and 8 percent voted against, it is the result of courage which deserves admiration. This defiance was registered in higher percentages in the Kurdistan of Turkey where the repression has been felt more strongly. In Diyarbakir, 14 percent of the voters refused to vote. 17 percent voted against, 69 percent said "yes". The percentages are, respectively, 15-16-68 in Bingöl, 21-14-65 in Hakkari, 22-14-64 in Tunceli and 12-13-75 in Erzurum.

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

While the Marxist left was leading, at the expense of a great deal of sacrifices, a realist campaign against the military junta, the Republic People's Party of social-democrat Ecevit preferred to stay inactive and to follow a "wait and see" policy. Is the international arena, Ecevit, instead of supporting acts to isolate the Junta, appeared as one of the champions of the policy of keeping ties between Turkey and the Council of Europe. He repeated this stand with Dutch deputy Van de Beugel who was in Turkey to observe the referendum on behalf of the Council of Europe.

As for the Justice Party, the big business who had always supported it during the pre-coup period declared their full satisfaction with the new "constitution" and prevented party leaders from leading counter-propaganda. Türkiye's neo-fascist party was naturally in favour of the new "constitution", for the reasons already explained above.

Besides the Marxist left, the only political force which led a clandestine-campaign against the Junta's imposition was the fundamentalist National Salvation Party of Tekin.

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

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

EUROPEAN REACTION AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Three days after the referendum on the constitution, the foreign ministers of the 12 adopted a waiting attitude at their meeting in Strasbourg, avoiding any decries position on the Turkish question. "Whatever will be the institutions in Turkey, it does not fall on us to judge the constitutional system adopted by that country," said André Chagnard, French minister charged with European Affairs.

Besides, following the accord between German Premier Helmut Kohl and US Presi-
dent Reagan to support the Turkish regime, the German foreign Minister Genscher, during his visit to Turkey on November 19, announced that the German Parliament would refuse 400 million DM in economic aid to Turkey within the framework of the OECD. In return, the Turkish authorities accepted the repatriation of 100 thousand Turkish immigrant workers living in FRG.

However, European parliamentarians' reactions against the new Constitution was not as comprehensive as that of governmental circles. At the end of a two-day debate, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, adopted on January 28, 1983, with the vote of a great majority, a resolution which "takes seriously into consideration" the eventuality of Turkey's exclusion from the ministerial committee of the organization.

The resolution, adopted by 97 votes to 15 and 5 abstentions, asks the Turkish Government to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is again represented in the parliamentary organ of the Council of Europe.

The Rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, Mr. Ludwig Stein (Austrian Christian-Democrat) indicated that "this resolution constitutes for the time-being the most severe warning addressed by the Council of Europe to the Turkish authorities" and that "the numerous pressures, exercised secretly by the Government of Ankara to pre-empt the adoption of this resolution, failed before the firm position of the Council."

During the days preceding the vote, "enemies" of the Turkish Junta had taken out full-page advertisements in European newspapers on the theme: "Turkey: A break with Europe might be irreparable?" Despite this campaign, the European deputies chose the right way and, adopting the following resolution, unmasked once more the ugly face of "constitutionalised dictatorship."

The Council of Europe's resolution reads: "The Assembly,

"regretting that no free campaign and that no free discussion of the final version of the Constitution were allowed in the period between its approval by the National Security Council and the referendum itself, and that the issue was confused by the fact that the same vote confirmed General Erenus' Head of State for seven years;

"considering that these are not a number of dangers and weaknesses inherent in the new Constitution which include the far-reaching restrictions of its provisions on human rights, the excessive powers of the President of the Republic and the apparent shortcomings in the independence of the judiciary;

"considering that Turkey has not yet returned to a situation fully compatible with the Statute of the Council of Europe and the European Convention on Human Rights and that this will not be the case until a freely elected parliamentary democracy can be seen to be operating satisfactorily and full respect for human rights is guaranteed;

"concerned that Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe is only conceivable if all political and other fundamental rights and freedoms, including rights of minorities in accordance with Turkey's international obligations, are respected and the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights are fully applied;

"decides to give serious consideration to making a recommendation to the Committee of Ministers aiming at application of Article 8 of the Statute of the Council of Europe;

"urgently appeals, in the meantime, to the Government of Turkey:

"i. to allow for a free discussion, at all stages, of further legislation to implement the Constitution in a democratic manner;

"ii. to allow for a free discussion, at all stages, of further legislation to implement the Constitution in a democratic way, in particular the electoral law and the law on political parties;

"iii. to do everything to ensure for political parties all the freedom necessary to organise and to prepare themselves for parliamentary elections;

"iv. to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is again represented in the parliamentary organ of the Council of Europe;

"v. to abolish martial law and end the derogation it made under Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"vi. to recognise in accordance with frequent appeals the Assembly's right to member states in the past, the optional clauses of the European Convention on Human Rights, etc."
the right of individual application (Art. 25) and the compulsory jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (Art. 46).

Calls on the government of the member states to use every opportunity to urge the Turkish Government at all levels, the necessity of an effective improvement in respect of human rights and of a prompt return to a real democracy."

During the debates, the European parliamentarians expressed the following views on the situation in Turkey:

RICHARD MULLER (Switzerland): "The regime that had been established in Turkey on September 12, 1980, did not fulfil the conditions necessary for remaining a member. The many concerns expressed by the Assembly about violations of human rights in Turkey had been ignored; hundreds had been imprisoned and killed, and the press had been muzzled...
The constitution itself could not be reconciled with the European Convention of Human Rights. The elections would not be truly democratic because so many would be prevented from voting. The constitution did nothing except reinforce an authoritarian government."

MR. ALEMYR (Sweden): "The shortcomings of the constitution, particularly as regards the safeguarding of human rights, are well known. The impossibility of former members of parliament and other politicians engaging in political life in Turkey of tomorrow is, to say the least, difficult to understand. Neither the form of government practised today nor the one portrayed in the Constitution meets the requirements of the Statute of the Council of Europe or of the European Convention on Human Rights. What is at stake is not Turkey or its relations with the Council of Europe but the credibility of the Council itself."

MR. HEUSELE (Austria): "There were serious flaws in the way in which the referendum had been conducted and the Constitution imposed limitations on human rights."

LADY FLEMING (Greece): "Since the Turkish coup d'etat of 1960, there have been numerous atrocious abuses of human rights. The new draft Constitution confirmed many illiberal freedoms offered by Turkish people. There has been no free campaign before the referendum to endorse the Constitution, and its greatest significance has been to confirm the existing President in power for seven years. There are still political executions and imprisonment, strict limits on free speech, and brutal reprisal against acts of defiance and rebellion. The duty of democrats is to defend fellow democrats in Turkey. It is in the interests of Greece to see an enlightened and a progressive Turkey, and the Council of Europe will lose its credibility if it is misled by the 92 per cent support in a boycotted referendum...believing that such a Turkey is in prospect. I call on the Council of Europe to live up to its own principles, express its solidarity with Turkey's suppressed democratic politicians and expel Turkey immediately from its ranks."

MR. VAN DER BERGH (Netherlands): "I should be the happiest of Assembly members if Turkey would return to democracy. Unfortunately, although the Assembly has shown patience in relation to the problems in Turkey, the situation there remains very bad. The Dutch Labour Party, after considering a number of dalmatas, came to the conclusion that the Council of Europe has no alternative but to start the procedure for the suspension of Turkey from the Council of Europe. On the two occasions when I was in Turkey I began to admire that country. The sense of democracy is deeply rooted in the population. It would be tragic if we had to exclude Turkey from the Council of Europe. However, I think that in the end we should stick to the unshakeable principles of this body."

MR. GUERRE (Portugal): "The position of Portuguese socialists on Turkey had already been stated, only a country where human rights are respected should belong to the Council of Europe. I did not believe that the
GENERAL EVREN'S PASSAGE TO CIVIL REGIME

As the "witch-hunt" was hitting hundreds of aspiring university members, the puppet "Higher Education Council" (TOC), acting on behalf of all Turkish universities, presented General Evren with the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" and honorary university professorship, on January 14, 1981, for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order to the country and his resolve for the rule of law and discipline." The ceremony was attended by all university rectors and faculty deans who had been nominated a few months ago by General Evren himself.

On the other hand, after Evren's installation in the Presidential Palace, by the order of the military junta, works were started for the construction of a "State Quarter" surrounding the Presidential Palace on the heights of the capital city, Ankara. The Turkish press reported that only the four members of the actual military junta, who would automatically become members of the Presidential Council after the legislative elections, and high bureaucrats would have the privilege of residing there.

Mr. EASTHAM (United Kingdom): "We are given to understand that the proposed new Constitution was overwhelmingly accepted by the Turkish people. I seriously question that. Frankly, I think that the whole thing is quite bogy. I am always very suspicious when people from outside a country who are invited to be witness of certain things come back and report that everything is better and that we can be optimistic. That kind of report is rather irritating. Turkish politicians should be free to come and address people like us and tell us at first hand about the current situation. Trade unionists are also entitled to voice. We have on occasions been critical about activities in Poland and delegates have openly plainly expressed their concern for the freedom and the rights of the Polish people. The situation is no different in Turkey. The whole situation of the current regime is a complete sham. To me it stands condemned."

Mr. SENES (France): "Although terrorism has been eradicated, this is because the dictatorship has used terrorist type activities against trade unionists and others, and dissenters of the Left are being denied their basic rights. The Turkish referendum solved nothing. Had the result been less of a landslide, observers would not have quoted the circumstances before the vote was taken. The United States welcomed the result because she was more concerned with law and order than with democracy, especially where defence was involved."

Mr. VOYATZIS (Greece): "The Council now needs to ask itself whether its own moral standing could be retained if it continued to have within its membership a country which was violating democratic principles we strictly. There can be no compromise on such basic principles and Turkey's breach of these principles openly documented and so clearly denied by Turkish authorities made her continuing membership difficult to justify. Although the Turkish Constitution laid the way open for legislative elections, the continuation of rule by decree is, in effect, still possible. A cautious approach is wise but I believe that Turkey should be expelled from the Council of Europe for the period before she could send legislative representatives to the Council."

Mr. DEJARDIN (Belgium) said that nobody denied that Turkey was failing to conform to the European Declaration of Human Rights. He enumerated the many articles of the new Turkish Constitution which did not conform to the requirements of the European Declaration of Human Rights. He pointed out that the requirements of conformity to the doctrines of Kemal Attaturk was an antidemocratic as the demand for conformity to the doctrines of Marxism would be. He also pointed out that the new Constitution failed to recognize the rights of minorities, particularly the Kurds (See: "Constitutional Violation of Human Rights" in the preceding chapters).

Mr. VECCHIETTI (Italy): "I assure the members of the Assembly that if you had witnessed Italian fascist elections, you would have found them regular in form and if the results were a landslide, that was because of the pres-
type of Mussolini. It is not right to fight terror-
isms by means of state terrorism. Italy showed
that terrorism could be overcome by demo-
cratic means."

Mr. BLAUW (Netherlands): "There is no
guarantee of democracy in the new constitu-
tion although its adoption by the electorate was
technically correct. Many people believed that
the military takeover might help Turkey back
on to the road to democracy but we must now
realise that this has not been the result. If
Turkey wished to retain a full and honourable
member of the Council of Europe, it must
abide by the rules."

Mr. BARTHE (France) said that the need
for another debate on Turkey showed in itself
that democratic conditions did not yet prevail
there and raised fundamental questions about
Turkey's continuing membership in the Council
of Europe. He believed that the conditions of
repression in which the referendum had been
held made it an invalid endorsement of the
constitution.

Mr. ANASTASSAKOS (Greece) said that nothing
had changed in Turkey. The only positive thing
to emerge from the invalid refer-
endum was its historic popular opposition to the
junta. Since the Council of Europe's statute did
not allow it to embrace a country with such a
constitution, he urged the expulsion of Turkey,
saying that what the Turkish people most
wanted from the Council was a signal of con-
demnation for the Turkish Government's con-
dict.

Mr. FERNANDO MARQUES (Portu-
gal) said that the Portuguese delegation
would defend the rights of the Turkish people. They
could not accept as democratic either the Turk-
ish Constitution, or the referendum or the tec-
niques of terror employed by the Turkish
government - the mass arrests, the summary
executions and the unexplained disappear-
cances of dissidents. For historical reasons the
people of Portugal could not passively allow a
military dictatorship to continue and the dele-
gation would therefore support amendment
No. 5.

Mr. KAZAZIS (Greece): "The constitu-
tion of the Turkish military proved it to be
more authoritarian than that of the Greek constitution
now in effect. For those of us who suffered under minor
guerillas rather than that of the Greek constitution,
there is a limit to our courage and to the disap-
pointment we can bear."

Mr. EDWARDS (United Kingdom): "As
the chairman of an international trade union
union in Tur-
key, helping to build up trade unions. Many of
my trade union colleagues are in prison in Tur-
key and are subjected to some of the most undig-
ified torture imaginable. Their heads are
shaved and they are compelled to sing patriotic
songs under pressure of torture."

Mr. HARDY (United Kingdom): "If
democracy is terminated within a member
state, no matter what 'Conservative' members
may argue, that must mean the cessation of the coun-
try's membership. A state cannot continue in
notwithstanding and until there is a guar-
antee of democracy."

Mr. BOLX (France): "Many existential fre-
doms were restricted in Turkey, human rights abuses
are increasing and the referendum has been a
mocking record of public opinion. The very request
being made means that Tur-
key should forgo her voting rights in the
Committee of Ministers, is a sensible one."

European Parliament,
too, against the
constitution

Following the European
Council, a severe debate
on Turkey took place in
the session of the Euro-
pean Parliament on
March 1, 1983.

Gerard Israel (Fr, Pr Dem) opened the
debate on the political situation in Turkey by
referring to the 15 people who said they had
suffered and the imprisonment of trade unionists.
He called for an immediate halt on the death
penalty and questioned whether the new con-
stitution would provide adequate safeguards
for human rights.

Georges Fouchan (French, Co) point-
ed to deficiencies in the constitution as people
under 21 will be banned from joining a political
party, the right to strike is severely curtailed and
the freedom of trade unionists and professors is
limited. He trusted that the fourth financial
protocol would remain suspended.

Ernest Glinne (Bel, Soc) said it was not
even for new elections to take place on time,
political prisoners should be released, the sack-
ning of teachers and professors must stop and
intimidation brought to an end. He was con-
tacted about the new agreement between Tur-
key and West Germany.
Revising for the Council, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the Council had decided to review the situation in Turkey in May or June. He thought some progress had been made towards restoring democracy but only time will tell whether a sham or real parliament is to be elected and this will affect the Council's attitude towards the financial package.

As to the question of Turkey's membership in the Community, this would not be decided on until an application had been received and so far one had not. At present contact between Turkey and the Community is at Armstradger and not Ministerial level.

He did not accept the view that errors by previous governments justified any violation of human rights.

Opinion in the debate was divided between speakers such as Kai Uwe von Hassel (GER, FP) and James Spencer (Wales, Dem) who considered that the generals had adhered to the timetable for a return to democracy and did not wish to see a return to the pre-1980 violence, and Vasileios Ephremidis (Gr, C), Joakim Wallin and others who were worried about present restrictions of democratic rights.

Mr. Ephremidis thought all EC aid should be cut off pointing out that 18 death sentences had been carried out with a further 87 people awaiting trial.

Luc Beyers de Krake (Bel, Lib) on the other hand, agreed that state terrorism existed but was not in favour of a complete break with Turkey formed a bridge between East and West.

Mr. Van den Helde was worried about the 6 million Kurds who are denied basic democratic rights.

Mr. Johannes Hug (It, Cons) and Ioannis Psaligrou (Gr, Ind) compared the present situation with that of Greece under the Colonels and thought all aid should be suspended.

Winwend Ewing (Highlands and Islands, Pr Dem) spoke in support of the President of the Turkish Peace Association who faced the threat of further detention even though he was just released from prison.

Leonidas Kyriakos (Gr, C) did not think that Mr. Genscher was looking after the Community's interests. "We should be defending democracy in Turkey," he said.

Both Ernest Cline, in the name of the socialist group, and Von Hassel, in the name of the German Social-Chrisitians, had brought motions on Turkey before the meeting.

In the socialist group's motion it was stated that "only an inclusive appreciation of the democratic validity of the elections and the course of the fall of 1983 and parallel improvements in the direction of the re-establishment of the freedom of the press and trade union activities and also of the total respect to the human rights would allow us to judge whether Turkey became a democratic country again or not."

Von Hassel's motion was, however, in favour of the Turkish regime and suggested the immediate normalization of European-Turkish relations.

Intense discussions in the lobbies resulted in the withdrawal of Von Hassel's bill by the Turkish Lobby so that the socialists did not propose their motion. The result: there would be no decision of the European Parliament on Turkey until the summer session which would take place after the meeting of the Council of Ministers in May or June.

Debates at the United Nations

The Human Rights Committee of the UN decided to continue the investigation of the Turkish regime at its meeting in Geneva on March 11, 1983.

The reports and communications of divers human rights organizations and trade unions on the violation of human rights in Turkey were made public in the course of the meeting.

The French delegate stated that the public could get information about 42 torture cases through, of which only 19 were transmitted to the judiciary and only 10 were subject to proceedings.

The Pakistani delegate moved a proposal for the removal of the investigation arguing that "there was no violation of human rights in Turkey and order was restored."

The motion by Pakistan was rejected by 14 votes against 10, 16 countries abstaining.

Two socialist countries, Cuba and Nicaragua voted against while the People's Republic of China voted in favour of the motion. As for the USSR and Bulgaria, they abstained.

The Executive Committee of the International Labour organization also examined the report from the Freedom of Association
Committee on Turkey at its meeting held on March 1st-4th, 1983. At the end of the meeting, the Committee requested the release of all trade unionists, prosecution of torture cases, and the punishment of those, stressing the fact that trade union rights could not be suspended on the pretext of terrorism.

POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE MILITARY

After the adoption of the Constitution, the National Security Council took a second step to allow a "gradual and controlled recovery" of political activities by announcing on April 24, 1983, the law governing the formation of political parties.

This alleged "return to the democracy" portrayed only a caricature of the political life because the junta declared a good many interdictions:

- The leaders of the old dissolved parties may not make any hostile statement in the eyes of the military, to "revise the tension which was ruling before September 12, 1067." In this manner, the new formations, including their leaders, should refrain from pronouncing any judgement on the dissolved parties.

- The decisions of the junta and the speeches which have been or will be made by the "President of the Republic" in the course of his tours in the countryside and the measures taken by the Muktida Law Commanders should not be subjected to any debate or criticism.

- The old leaders banned from political activity for the next ten years may not express their opinions "either orally or writtenly" on the former or present political and jurisdictional situation in Turkey. The ban is extended to the presidents, general secretaries, and the members of the national or regional offices of the old parties in power or in the opposition until the date of the coup of September 12th.

- The law equally bars all former parliamentarians from asking or complying with a request for any responsibility in the new formations for the next five years.

- The junta headed by General Ertem reserves in this connection the right to examine the lists of the founders of the new formations and to decide eventual replacements of those who would be "deemed unacceptable." The founders whose number would be at least three to be able to found a party may propose different names to replace those who would be removed by the junta.

- The parties which preach communist, fascist, national socialist, religious, or separatist ideologies are banned. Parties are equally banned from having any ties with associations and trade unions and from receiving funds from these organizations.

- Those who were sentenced for simple or "ideological" crimes may not be members of the new parties.

- The law determines the limits of the restoration of the party charters. The president of a party elected for two years can only be reelected for five times in succession that is to say for twelve years in total.

The law passed by the junta was nothing but a detailed second edition of the Constitutions' provisions on political parties. According to both of the texts, political parties cannot "preach a doctrine other than Atatürk's. That is to say, the foundation of political parties on an ideological basis other than that of the junta will be banned." To other words, there would not be a real pluralism in Turkey.

In addition, "the judges and prosecutors, members of courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, state civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments except for those who are regarded as workers, students and members of the armed forces cannot join political parties. As for the workers, they are deprived of the right to found their proper party and obliged to act within the parties which preach the doctrines of Atatürk;Neither the working class nor the Kurdish people, only a Turkish nation without classes and without ethnic and linguistic differences."

"Besides, trade union organizations will not be able to take part in political life since they have already been deprived of the right to establish ties with political parties or to support any political party or to have elected any of their officials to a political or parliamentary post."

The NSC refused to grant the new parties governmental subsidies and banned them from receiving funds from the trade unions and associations. Founders of the new formations would be bound to collect donations from pri-
vote persons for which the extreme limit is fixed as one million Turkish Liras (about $1,000) per year. It was obvious that only businessmen could afford such high donations in a country where the per capita GNP does not exceed $1,000. Consequently, the new parties would be dominated by the ruling circles.

The day before the approval of the new law on political parties, General Ecevit started a personal campaign, as he did in the past, to defend the draft constitution, with the purpose of indicating to the masses, even directly, that only the "new" politicians and political movements would enjoy the confidence of the junta.

"We shall never permit the banned political parties to come to life again under new labels. The Turkish nation is determined to go forward, not behind the fellows of former political leaders, but in the light of the prophets of new men and movements".

As "President of the Republic", General Ecevit underscored that the "Turkish army's solid structure" guaranteed, in spite of interventions in political life from time to time, that democracy took the "right road". "But," he said, "it cannot always happen in such a way. It is possible that the next time people who do not believe in democracy as much as we do could intervene."

This was a clear and obvious threat. Under this threat, the labyrinth of the new legislation, the "acceptable" people would try to form new "Atatürkist" political parties whose mission would be to apply anti-democratic and anti-popular measures determined by the military junta. And this masquerade was called "return to democracy".

General Ecevit would say many times before the elections that the new parliamentary life should be based on a two-party system: a powerful Mümessil party in government while a second Atatürkist party played the role of opposition. Nevertheless, despite all these strict precautions taken in advance by the military, the dynamic forces of the country did not delay in showing themselves on the political scene by using the smallest legal remnicity.

The foundation of the first political pary was announced on May 16, 1983, by a fascist-minded former army general, Turgut Sunalp, supported by the military junta. This was the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP).

However, despite all the propaganda organized in favour of this party, it was the Great Turkey Party (BTP) that was welcomed with enthusiasm by the members of the defense Justice Party (AP).

Meanwhile, a third right-wing party, the Motherland Party (ANAP) was initiated by Turgut Öal, former vice premier of the military government, who also was the author and executor of the drastic economic decisions applied since January 24, 1980.

Former Premier Demirel's decision to support the BTP became an unexpected strike at General Ecevit's political plan. He did not
delay in delivering troops by announcing the dissolution of the newly founded BTP on May 31, 1983. The same decree by the military junta ended the exile and compulsory residence for the two principal founders of the BTP as well as Demirtel and 13 other former politicians.

Besides, the decree extended the ban on former politicians to the province and district officials of the dissolved parties, as well as to the mayors elected prior to 1980. So, only those who could get special authorization from the junta were allowed to be founders and officials of new parties. Thereupon, the supporters of the defunct AP and the newly dissolved BTP founded another one: The Correct Way Party (ÖVP).

On June 13, 1983, the military junta also approved a new electoral law including a good number of new restrictions and interdictions in order to avoid losing control of the new parties and others to be established.

- The NISC allowed itself the power veto, not only founders and officials of new parties, but also candidates, until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of its speaker. Thus not only party candidates could be removed when they appeared on the list before the elections but also the elected ones could be ousted from Parliament. If the five generals disliked them, in spite of the popular vote.

- Besides, those who do not have a school diploma, those who were banned from public services, those who made public assets and those who were condemned for political or ideological "offenses" could not stand for Parliament.

The new electoral law brought forth a double barrage system allowing only two parties to survive in Parliament.

Despite all these restrictions, the popular masses which had voted for the defunct left-wing parties, began to kick for a new political party through which they could express their dissatisfaction regarding the military regime and could air their most urgent demands.

But at the opening of the period for registration of political parties, the rank and file of the defunct CHP and Illgak Ecevit found itself in disarray. Contrary to the determined position of Demirtel, Ecevit once more showed his weakness.

Instead of orienting the former members of his party with a concrete target, he preferred to play the role of the propagandist of the new US "project for democracy." Addressing the Social-International Congress, held on April 9, 1983 in Portugal, Ecevit criticized European social democrats for carrying out an international campaign against the military regime, saying that "this might create reaction among the population; and such reaction, in turn, could be exploited by authoritarian or totalitarian administrations to set nationalism against democracy or independence against freedom." Instead, he suggested that such a campaign should confine itself to propagating the merits of democracy, and launched the following proposal: "The American Secretary of State George Shultz has expressed his determination to initiate and pursue a so-called 'project for democracy' to support and spread, mostly through educational and training programmes, the development of democracy around the world. (...) The very commendable American 'project for democracy' ought to be supplemented and supported with the initiatives and active contributions of democratic countries and organizations outside the United States. I am confident that Socialists International can play an invaluable role of leadership and coordination in this respect."

According to press reports, this US project foresees an annual aid of 65 million dollars for training political, trade-union, academic and business leaders in underdeveloped countries such as Turkey.

These efforts of Ecevit highly pleased the United States and the US Ambassador Strauss-Hupac paid a visit to the former social democrat leader of Turkey on May 13, 1983 in Ankara. But Ecevit's stand disappointed the popular masses who were waiting for determined leadership.

Since Ecevit lost all his prestige with the left-minded public by failing to show a way out, the rank and file of the defunct CHP took different initiatives to create a new center-left party.

Benefiting from this disaster, Newer CHP, a veteran civil servant who had been in the service of the military junta until the last day, set up a "center-left" party, to be called the Popular Party (HP).

But the elections of this party, considered a "true-blue baby" by the press, were slammed at the end of May when it became clear that the
center-left was regrouping, despite its divisions, around Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, the son of Kemal Atatürk’s consolidate officer İsmet İnönü, second president of the Republic. Although his name was the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), this second center-left party was also far from being the heir of the dissolved CHP regarding both its many founders and officials and its announced program, in a statement he made before the foundation of the party. İnönü said: “Attachment to and respect for the Constitution and laws will be the basic principles of our activities.” So, he was engaged to work in the framework imposed by the junta.

The business circles were so satisfied with this development that the right-wing Istanbul daily Yeniçağ had as headline: “We are like a tight fist against foreigners,” pointing out the similarities of the program of the MDP; the ANAP, the HP and the SODEP, after the last one’s program was made public.

While 15 new parties were set up after the adoption of the new Political Parties Law, the BTP was officially dissolved by a military junta decree and 11 others were denied the right to register for the polls as a result of the junta’s vetos. According to the Election Law, to be allowed to register for the polls, a political party was obliged to have at least 20 founders who were not vetoed by the NSC. Until the deadline, August 25, 1983, the junta vetoed 453 out of 750 party founders without any concrete justification. Among them were also the SODEP and the DYP which had the support of the voters of the defunct CHP and AP.

Thus, only three political parties were allowed to register for the polls: the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP) headed by the Retired Army General Turgut Samalp, the Menderesian Motherland Party (ANAP) headed by the former Vice-Premier of the ruling military government, Turgut Öztal, and the Popular Party (HP) headed by the former under-secretary of the same government, Nedo Calp.

All three parties shared the same program-content, the main lines of which were laid down by the military junta. All of them were led by representatives of the privileged strata of Turkish society. According to a survey, of 1,200 candidates of the three parties, 221 are businessmen, 206 lawyers, 198 architects and engineers, 190 military and civilian and bureaucrats, 54 doctors and pharmacists, 31 journalists. There were also trade union officials on the candidate lists of the three parties, but all of them had been supporting the military regime, whereas thousands of trade union officials and representatives were suffering in military prisons.

But the Generals obviously did not completely trust even the candidates announced by these parties and also vetoed 99 candidates of the HP, 61 of the ANAP and 74 of the MDP. Besides, independent candidates - of whom there was a record number - were virtually eliminated. Some 403 came forward, but only 55 were approved. All candidates linked with the pro-junta Justice Party and Republican People’s Party were rejected.

The three parties immediately replaced the victims of veto by new candidates, but 21 of them were also vetoed. So, for 400-seat Parliament, MDP came forward with 394 candidates, the ANAP with 351 and the HP with 378. Under these circumstances, the opposition had only one means left: To call of the population not to go to the polling stations or, if they were forced to go, not to cast a valid ballot.

The Correct Way Party and the Social-Democracy Party announced that they would not support any of the three parties being allowed to stand in the elections. It was an indirect way of calling on the people to boycott the elections.

Therefore, the military junta launched a new campaign of threat and intimidation with the aim of forcing the citizens to go to the polling stations and to cast a valid vote.

First, on October 16, 1983, the Interior Ministry issued a communiqué announcing that all propagandas and activity aimed at inciting the people to stay away from the election, would be considered a crime and that those who commit this crime would be prosecuted.

Five days later, the Turkish press reported that “the security forces arrested 17 presumed members of the Communist party on the charge that they carried out a propaganda campaign to invite people to boycott the election.”

Finally, instead of his “show-and-tell” program, organized during the propaganda campaign for the Constitutional referendum, this time, General Ecevit launched a “four-man show,”
staged by himself and three "tolerated" party leaders.

In a speech delivered on October 20, General Evren threatened all those who attended to boycott the elections: "The illegal Communist party is secretly distributing leaflets urging the nation not to vote and not to believe in the present Turkish administration. The nation should not tolerate such propaganda. Don't believe them. Don't be tricked... I expect a minimum 90 percent turnout at polling places on election day."

The next day he announced another threat: "It is rumoured that martial law will be lifted after the election. Don't believe them. It is indispensable to maintain martial law for a certain period, because the organizations have not yet been completely crushed. Unless they are exterminated, martial law will never be lifted."

This campaign of intimidation was accompanied by a 2-week color TV program to popularize the new party "leaders" and to push the people to vote for any of them.

EUROPE: NO CERTIFICATE OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE COMING TURKISH PARLIAMENT

Shortly before the legislative elections which were to be held on November 6, several European institutions examined the latest developments in Turkey, denying that the future Turkish Parliament had any democratic content.

Council of Europe

The Parliamentary Assembly of the 21 member countries of the Council of Europe declared in a resolution adopted on September 30, 1983, that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey on November 6 could not be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner, and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe."

The Assembly nevertheless rejected an amendment submitted by Belgin Socialist MP Claude Depardon demanding Turkey's exclusion from the Council of Europe, where her representative was still allowed to sit on the Committee of Ministers. The Assembly preferred to wait until the next session in January to raise this question.

On the other hand, the Parliamentary Assembly had approved an appeal submitted by some socialist MPs following the suicide of the Turkish refugee Cemal Altun in the Federal Republic of Germany - requesting European governments "to refrain from extraditing Turkish citizens seeking asylum."

European Parliament

On October 13, 1983, in Strasbourg, the European Parliament this time condemned the Turkish military regime, insisting that Turkey should respect human rights and refrain in advance from the results of the upcoming elections on November 6, which straight off were called a "fiasco" by certain MPs.

Denouncing the continued practice of torture, the politically motivated arbitrary arrests, the pressure put on the Press, the European Parliament adopted by 124 votes, against 4 "no" votes and 11 abstentions, a resolution regretting mainly "that the rules under which the elections of 6 November will be held prevent them from being a true expression of democracy."

The MPs of the Ten EEC countries also urged the military authorities to refrain from enforcing the death penalty for political offences and to stop practicing torture.

Atlantic Assembly MPs

And yet, the North-Atlantic Assembly - consisting of some 200 MPs from the member countries of the Alliance - rejected at its meeting in The Hague, on October 6, 1983, a draft resolution that had the "audacity" to regret the restrictions imposed on political life and Press freedom, and requesting that the Turkish military authorities make sure that "the elections of November 6 will be as free, as open and as democratic as possible."

This draft resolution was rejected due to the particular insistence of US and British delegates, who regarded this initiative as inopportune.

European Human Rights Commission

The European Human Rights Commission was still waiting for the Turkish government's answer to the complaints relating to human rights violations in Turkey, lodged by
European Trade Unions Confederation

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Unions Confederation decided, at its meeting in Brussels, on October 13-14, that maximum pressure should be brought to bear on the Turkish government, in order "to have the trial against DISK and its leaders stopped; to have the trade unionists released from prison; to restore normal trade union rights in Turkey; to achieve rapid progress towards democracy.

At a press conference, Chairman Georges Defraine declared that "the ETUC can no longer accept a dictator regime who denies their people human rights and democracy, and is a member of the Council of Europe."

On this occasion, the ETUC informed the general public that "the so-called elections in Turkey on November 6 is in no way an election that will lead Turkey back to democracy."

The Executive Committee also decided to carry on with its humanitarian aid on behalf of the families of the imprisoned trade-unionists.

International Trade Union Confederations

On September 8, 1983, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions along with the ETUC organized a joint round table on Turkey at the Brussels-based International Press Center with trade union leaders and journalists taking part, along with DISK representative Yildiz Top

At this occasion, Mr. John Vandereken, secretary general of the ICTU, made the following statement: "In view of the fact that participation in the forthcoming elections has been restricted to only three parties, which were kindly permitted by the military to take part so as to prevent the new social democratic party from standing for election, the polls due to be held in November are no longer being taken seriously. The ICTU once more appeals to the governments of democratic countries that they make their economic and financial aid to Turkey dependent on the restoration of both democratic and trade union rights."

During the round table, the ICTU leaders revealed that the AFL-CIO, the US trade union confederation which was again a member of ICTU, had also decided to contribute to the humanitarian aid granted by the ICTU to trade-unionists imprisoned in Turkey and to their families.

On the other hand, the Brussels-based World Labor Confederation condemned the military regime in Turkey, on the 31st anniversary of the coup.

As for the Federation of Trade Unions, which has its headquarters in Prague, it published a pamphlet called "Stop Fascism in Turkey!" with a foreword by its secretary general Ibrahim Zakaria, stating: "The WFTU is convinced that the admirable solidarity actions with the workers and the people of Turkey which are being achieved at the present time will grow stronger and stronger, until democracy is restored in Turkey and trade unions are allowed to function freely."

1982-83 IN BRIEF

November 1982:

15 New regulations on universities in part in practice by the YDK: many university professors are dismissed.
17 New Constitution is adopted. Even becomes "President of the Republic."
12 Even officially assumes presidential duties.
28 The Junta allows Boud to travel abroad with a diplomatic passport.
29 In Brussels, Turkey and the USA sign the Memorandum of Understanding, initiated in Ankara in September, "and sign the accord for the modernization of the then ten restricted in Ankara and the abolishment of US arms.
30 Soviet Premier and Turkish Foreign Minister reaffirm their commitment to improve bilateral relations. A new political trial opens against 17 leading members of the Writers' Union of Turkey (YUS), accused of communist propaganda.
December 1983:
12: Erver flies to Pakistan for a 14-day tour of Asian countries.
14: Turko-Ital Government announces that two prisons from Tri-Union, Diogenes Foundation and INI Tugay and
have to return to Turkey and give themselves up to the military authorities, otherwise they will be stripped of
their nationality.
29: Two people are executed.

January 1983:
13: Turkey's biggest mass trial starts before a military tribunal in Adana. Six of the total 740 presumed
DEH-TDO activists face the death penalty. Premier Uruk announces that five zones will be established in
Turkey for foreign investments.
22: Penalties in Articles 141, 142 and 143 of the Turkish Penal Code are increased.
23: Two convicted people are executed.
28: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe votes to give the "terrorist designation" to Turkey's
military operation to end terrorism in the northcyvilian regions. Indian Deputy Foreign Minister visits official
contacts in Ankara.
29: An American and a German Tunisian activists are executed.
30: Another political activist is executed.
31: Daul announces his intention to found a political party.

February 1983:
5: Five people are executed.
19: NSC alters new legislation on labour relations and unions.
21: NSC resorts to self-defence against paramilitary political activity.
22: A governmental decree makes it necessary for foreign individuals and companies wishing to make
firms in Turkey to get authorization through Turkish embassies.
24: Eskilman is sentence to 4 years.
25: One more execution.

March 1983:
3: Political Parties Law is adopted by the Consultative Assembly.

April 1983:
10: Legal Action has been taken against 200 former parliamentarians following the 1980 coup. General
Staff Headquarters announces.
14: Former Army General Turgut Sunalp announces that he will found a political party.
15: A government official reveals that the Turkish administration in human rights record against criticism by
European watchdog groups.
16: Political Parties Law enters into force. From May 16th, new political parties can be founded.
30: Zien announces that elections will be held on November 6.

May 1983:
4: Dego Prenkole, chairman of the defunct TNP, is sentenced to a 12-year prison term.
16: The Nationalist Democracy Party (NĐP) is founded.
20: The Great Turkey Party (STP), the Motherland Party (ANAP) and the Populist Party (HP) are founded.
23: Turkish military units enter Iraq territory for an anti-kurd operation.
31: The BTP is closed down by the NSC. 15 former political leaders are taken into custody. They include
former Premier Demir and former Foreign Minister Oguzoglu.

June 1983:
1: Zien says that the NSC may postpone the announced elections if it considers such a step necessary.
4: With a modification in the code on marital law, suspected persons can be exiled for up to 5 years.
5: The Social Democracy Party (SDK) is founded. Bulgarian Trade Union visits Turkey.
12: The NSC begins to hate many party founders.
13: The new Election Law is put in force.

July 1983:
1: Zien hands over the title of "Chief of General Staff" to General Nurettin Erven, member of the NSC.
3: The Turkish editor Oguzoglu and 74 Tugay and are stripped of Turkish nationality.
16: The Welfare Party (WNP) is founded.
21: It is reported that 1500 people are still wanted by martial law authorities.
August 1983:
21: A new decree of the NSC extends death penalty on the candidates will be exempted from the election ban.
25: It is announced that only three out of 15 newly founded parties can participate in legislative elections.

September 1983:
21: NSC vetoes 672 of 1,203 candidates to the National Assembly.
25: 15 former political leaders ordered in May are released.
30: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decides that "the Parliament to be elected in Turkey can't be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner."

October 1983:
26: The NSC adjourns the Law on State of Emergency.
27: The NSC excludes the laws on Associations, Rallies and Meetings.
EVRENS ONE-MAN SHOW DURING THE REFERENDUM

"If you do not wish a return to September 12th 1980, you should say "yes" to the Constitution."

"We have drawn up a new Constitution without fear or hesitation."

"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."

"Lest the spell of the Constitution, even if only one Turk remains on those sacred lands, the enemies of the Turks, those brainwashed and ruled tariffs and degradation can never reach even an inch of the lands of the Turkish nation."

"Those who oppose this constitution have put on dark glasses and seen everything black."

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

"After 1910, some of the young army officers had been involved in activities very far from the direction of the democracy. And we had [quarantined] them without hesitation. If the same thing had been made in all state institutions, they would not have fallen in the pre-September 12th situation.""
A MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY" IN EUROPE

A mockery of elections on November 6, 1983. Out of 15 new political parties, only three were allowed to participate in the first legislative election after the coup. While four other members of the military junta were constituting a "Presidential Council" close by the "President of the Republic" Evren, the IMF's confidant Turgut Ozal became Prime Minister. Although the military's political parties underwent a collapse in the 1984 local elections, the militarist "democracy"'s state institutions go on to disregard human rights and freedoms and General Evren defies all attempts to change the Constitution.
PERIOD OF MILITARYIST "DEMOCRACY" OPENS

The people of Turkey voted on November 6, 1983, not for expressing its confidence in any of the three "privileged" parties, but for giving General Ecevit a slap on the face. Although the military junta, which has been ruling the country since the coup of September 2, 1980, was confounded by the voter's refusal to vote for its favorite party headed by another army general, the big winner is the IMF, which backed the party headed by its tried and tested collaborator in Turkey.

According to the official results announced on November 14, 1983 by the Supreme Elections Council, 18,214,104 voters, that is 92.27 percent of the registered 19,740,500 went to the polling stations and cast their ballots. 885,369 of these votes (4.86 percent) were declared invalid, that is to say 95.14 percent of the participants voted for any of the three running parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>VOTES</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motherland Party (ANAP)</td>
<td>7,823,827</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democratic Party (HP)</td>
<td>5,277,868</td>
<td>26.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Democratic Party (HDP)</td>
<td>4,032,045</td>
<td>21.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Democrats</td>
<td>195,164</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17,328,735</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voters rejected not only the military-backed MDP but putting it at the bottom of the list, beneath the HP, but also three out of seven ministers of the present military-backed government running as MDP candidates.

As indicated in our preceding Bulletin, the observers consider that the voters would manifest their reaction against this mockery of elections by refusing to go to the polling stations or, if they were forced to go, by casting an invalid ballot. The Correct Way Party (DYP) and the Social Democracy Party (SDP) which enjoyed more popular support than the three running parties and were denied the right to participate in the elections of November 6, launched a campaign for boycotting the polls.

Nevertheless, two days before the elections, a grave error of General Ecevit gave the voter the chance to manifest his opposition to the military in another way.

The opinion polls carried out by some daily newspapers indicated that, despite the fact that about 40 percent of the persons whose opinion was asked were saying that they were undecided, the rest were of the opinion that the party of Owal was much more preferable than that of General Samsal. Besides, the election rallies of Owal were much more successful than those of Samsal.

At their debates and electoral speeches on television, Owal was distinguished from Samsal. Thereupon, being sure that his "popularity" still existed, General Ecevit were on television to address the voters with a thinly veiled appeal to support the MDP and not vote for the ANAP.

In effect, one year ago more than 80 percent of the electorate, having no alternative and being intimidated, voted for General Ecevit's election as "President of the Republic" and said "yes" to a constitution which provides the latter with extensive new powers. This vote was deplored by Turkey's official publications and even by the world press as a sign of deep affiction for the "man who rescued his country from the scourge of terrorism."

But one year later, that image was shattered.

Boycotting the elections turned out to be dangerous for the voter. General Ecevit declared that those who would not vote, were traitors or their puppets. The Interior Ministry announced that all those who rode propaganda for the boycott would be prosecuted. And many people were arrested for distributing leaflets calling for a boycott. The military government banned the introduction into Turkey of 204 newspapers and periodicals published abroad, calling on the people to boycott the elections.

Instead of risking being branded a traitor and, consequently being detained, the voter prefers to give a clear slap at the Generals by rejecting the military's choice.

As emphasized by The Guardian, there cannot be any real doubt that it was the mil-
itary who let in Mr. Oral. By suppressing all other right-wing parties, including the suppor-
ters of Demirel who was Prime Minister at the
time of the coup, the way was cleared for Oral
to pick up most of Turkey's conservative votes.
Without a bias on his rival, the Correct Way
Party (DYP), Oral's party would perhaps have
been confined to the sidelines. But in the
absence of a reliable alternative, the conserva-
tive voters and even some centerists and left-
wing voters thought that a vote for Oral's party
would be a vote for civilian political supre-
mac
So, the MDP paid the invoice for the past
3 years' repression and unpopular economic
measures carried out by the military.
The most paradoxical aspect of the election
result is that the winner was, in fact, the princi-
pal author and mastermind of those unpopular
economic measures imposed by the Interna-
tional Monetary Fund.
The day after the coup, The Financial
Times of September 13, 1980, published the
following commentary from its Washington
correspondent: "Both the IMF and World
Bank negotiations had been conducted very
closely with a small number of former Premier
Demirel's advisors, in particular Turgut Oral,
the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's
Office. Oral's fate will be a pointer to whether
IMF and World Bank relations will continue
smoothly with Turkey."
In fact, Turgut Oral stayed at a key position
as Deputy Prime Minister in the military gov-
ernment and a few weeks later, on October 5,
1980, he flew to Washington to reassure the
IMF and World Bank directors. They soon
proved to be satisfied with the economic policy
led by the Junta, approving a few weeks later
fresh credits.
Although he was compelled to resign from
the post of Deputy Prime Minister, when a
major scandal broke out following the bank-
rupcy of numerous brokers who had mush-
roomed as a result of the application of the
IMF policies, this withdrawal from the scene
proved also to be an opportunity for financial
circles who were looking for a new "civilian
figure" to represent their interest in the case of a
"transition to a parliamentary regime." Just
after his resignation, Oral started to declare
that he contemplated forming a political party
able to achieve the mission of "returning to
civilian rule." As a matter of fact, the ban on
political activities of the former conservative
party leaders provided Oral with the possibility
of carrying out this mission. Although the mil-
itary might have preferred to entrust a former
Out of its 211 deputies, 187 held at least a university diploma. The distribution of these 211 deputies according to their professions:

- 50 architects and engineers
- 45 lawyers
- 40 economists
- 15 doctors
- 8 teachers
- 7 high bureaucrats
- 6 retired army officers
- 5 pharmacists
- 12 businessmen
- 4 religious dignitaries
- 2 farmers
- 1 journalist

On the other hand, because of his personal views which were close to those of the defunct fundamentalist party MSP, of which his brother had been one of the distinguished leaders, Oral had also enjoyed the solidarity and indirect aid of the oil-producing Islamic countries.

During the two months' electoral campaign, the two right-wing parties used enormous funds, for their American-style propaganda: whereas the total expenditure of the center-left Popular Party stayed at 26 million TL, the MDP spent 246 million TL, and ANAP 238 million TL. The daily Cumhuriyet highlighted the fact that the ANAP collected within the last week preceding the polls a sum of 47 million TL, the sources of which have not yet been disclosed.

There is no doubt that the election result was an unexpected loss for the military and, particularly, for General Evren's personal prestige. Nevertheless, as underlined by the Wall Street Journal of November 9, the military has reason to rejoice at the election of a government that will hold an absolute majority in parliament, even if it isn't the government they preferred.
6. with the election of the Speakership Council of the Grand National Assembly, the National Security Council which had ruled Turkey since the coup of September 12, 1980, was automatically dissolved and turned into a Presidential Council.

First, Motherland Party’s deputy from the province of Trabzon, Nevemret Karakulan, 57, was elected Speaker at the second turn supported by the ANAP and the MDP. In fact, retired Admiral Billent Uluos who headed the military government for three years, was an early favorite to become Speaker. However, his candidacy was strongly opposed by the deputies of the ANAP which holds 211 seats in the 400-seat Parliament. Party officials and deputies warned Oztal that Uluos’s election might embarrass the new civilian administration in the eyes of the international community, because the Speaker would be No.1 in State protocol and would assume all powers as acting President of the Republic, should General Eren travel abroad or die. The argument put forward by the deputies was accepted by the Presidential Council and by Uluos himself, and Karakulns, a former governor who later turned business manager, happened to be the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly. Two days later, the posts of deputy Speakers were shared out without any problem among the three parties.

The election of the Speaker’s Council opened the way to hold pretentious ceremonies, well planned by the Junta, to celebrate the conclusion of the “return to democracy” process.

On the retirement of five army chiefs who formed the military junta, new heads of the Armed Forces, Chief of General Staff Necdet Urag, Commander of Land Forces Haydar Sabik, Commander of Air Forces Halit Sizer, Commander of Naval Forces Tahsin Oztal and Commander of Gendarmeries Mehmet Bayrak, officially started their new duties, following separate ceremonies held at their respective headquarters.

As for the four retired commanders, they settled themselves this time in the seats of the 4-man Presidential Council.

Nevertheless, before leaving legislative power, the National Security Council enacted at the last moment a new law which strictly forbade 242 top leaders of pre-coup political parties, already banned from politics for 10 years, from making ‘derogatory statements’ on Turkey’s past, present and future; but making “positive” statements was allowed.

The valedictory law of the Junta also forbade leaders, former administrators and members of parties, banned either by the Court of Constitution or the NSC, from making statements that might resurrect the “politicalUCKing” of the pre-September 12 days, on pain of three months to one year imprisonment. Another article extends this restriction to all citizens, who face an equal term in prison should they violate the law.

Most important, the decrees passed and decisions made by the NSC would not be subject to discussion or criticism according to the law, which imposes a three months to one year prison term for violators. If any of the offenses mentioned in the law are committed within martial law zones, trials will be held before military tribunals.

Military rule, had it really ended? As pointed out by the Guardian of December 8, “the phasing out of military rule has left the army entrenched in many key areas, and through General Eren it can exercise a veto should the new Parliament try to undo the political system created in the past three years.”

In effect, the stringent version of democracy set up by the generals will continue only on the terms set down by them. All potential crises and debates have been proscribed, and a tough new press law went into effect only a few days after the elections.

As for the new chiefs of the Armed Forces, although they were not members of the military junta, new Chief of Staff Necdet Urag and new Commander of Land Forces Haydar Sabik had already figured in the planning and execution of the coup of 1980. In fact, following the military takeover, the International Herald Tribune of September 13, 1980 reported: “One of the key leaders, General Haydar Sabik, who was named secretary general of the new ruling security committee, attended numerous seminars and planning sessions of the NATO command and was described by one NATO source as a ‘familiar figure.’” General Urag, Commander of the 1st Turkish Army in Istanbul at the moment of the coup, was also another familiar figure for NATO sources since he had worked in NATO headquarters. Both of them were distinguished during the 2-year period of military rule as the two ‘strong men’
of the Army. In 1981 they exchanged this post, while General Saltik was heading the 1st Turkish Army and Martial Law Command of Istanbul, General Uygur assumed the post of the Secretary General of the NSC. So, they both had enough experience in the army's interference in State affairs.

Furthermore, according to the new Constitution, a new National Security Council would be set up and this new council, chaired by the President of the Republic and made up of the Chief of Staff, the four commanders of the Armed Forces as well as the Prime Minister and the ministers of National Defense, Interior and Foreign Affairs, would submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring necessary coordination for formulating, establishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers should give priority consideration to the decisions of the new NSC.

Once this mockery of parasol to civilian rule was concluded, the next day, four retired generals appeared in civilian clothes in public for the first time as they listened to the speech of their chief, "President of the Republic" Evren, from the parliamentary gallery.

In this speech claiming that the army was withdrawing to barracks, Evren told the new Parliament: "The September 12 Military Intervention of 1980 was carried out in order to stop the terrorism which had hampered democracy in the country. The Turkish Armed Forces should not be left in the face of circumstances in which there is no solution other than military takeover."

He did not forget to defy western critics of the regime he created: "It is not possible for me to equate the good will of certain European countries with their negative attitude towards Turkey while she is aiming to return to full democracy. I sincerely believe that you (new deputies) will give an appropriate reply to such countries in the future, whenever they attempt such an approach again."

And after these ceremonies, receiving Turgut Özal in the Presidential Palace, evren named this Turkish Chicago boy Prime Minister of Turkey. It was not a surprise since Özal was the winner of the elections. Moreover, after his election despite the opposition of Evren, Turgut Özal assured the "Chief" that his future government would share the military's attitude on human rights questions. After his designation as prime Minister, he confirmed his loyalty to Evren: "Thank you and the Turkish Armed Forces for bringing the country back from the brink of the abyss. I strongly believe that under your guidance we will emerge successful through this period."

The only anxiety was to set up a Cabinet acceptable to Evren and to put into practice his monetarist programme. A week later, when he went to the Presidential Palace to present his Cabinet list to Evren in the hope of obtaining its immediate approval, he returned empty-handed. It was announced that the President was exercising his right to scrutinize the names of ministers. In fact, it looked very much as if a struggle for supremacy was taking place.

On December 13, the cabinet list of 21 ministers headed by Özal was approved by Evren. The new government was dominated by 10 engineers and 6 economists who had already worked with Özal in the past and shared his monetarist views. The cabinet also included 2 medical doctors, one former governor, one retired Air Force general and one career diplomat.

The new Prime Minister reaffirmed his free market stance on December 19, when his government's programme was presented to Parliament.

As expected, to assure the boss at the Presidential palace and the army commanders, the government programme pledged to continue the fight against terrorism and aid martial law would be lifted in phases. As for human rights, the new government gave verbal allegiance to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

The Özal Government was in complete accordance with the directives of the Juntas as formulated in the Constitution.

On the other hand, despite the centralization of the economic administration, the key posts at the head of many state economic enterprises had already been occupied by members of the military. Before leaving the Prime Minister's Office, Admiral Uluhan signed more than 2,000 appointments with whom the new administration of Özal will be obliged to collaborate. Besides, the National Security Council extended for one more year the terms of the army officers who had been appointed to civil posts after the coup. Under these conditions, it would be rather difficult for Özal's "brain trust" to apply its programme without problems.
LOCAL ELECTIONS 1984: A STRIKE AT THE POLITICAL SCHEME

At the local elections held on March 25, 1984, Özal's party, through obtaining 41.26 percent of the votes and taking over the control of the city administration in 54 out of 67 provincial capitals, strengthened its power and ruled out, at least for a few years, an early parliamentary election.

However, this second election after the military coup of 1980 was, in fact, a new strike at the political scheme of the military. All those political parties which had had the privilege of participating in the general election and being represented in Parliament lost, without exception, the support of the masses in the local elections. On the contrary, the three other parties which had been excluded from legislative elections, the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), the Correct Way Party (DYP) and a new fundamentalist formation, the '70s Party (RP) took part in the local elections and made successful scores.

The three "favourite" parties managed to obtain 10 million out of 17.6 million cast votes (57.15 pc), while they had previously won 17.1 million out of 17.3 million votes (98.85 pc) at the general election; as for the three other parties, they obtained 7.3 million (41.51 pc).

Özal's party, in spite of its party claim of "victory" -lost 500,335 of its votes obtained in the general election. This result represented a 3.89 pc fall in the confidence of the electorate. But the fall in votes for the two other favorite parties was quite disastrous for them. The MDP lost 2.7 million of its 4 million votes. So its percentage fell from 23.27 to 7.11. As to the HP, it lost 3.7 million of 3.2 million votes cast for it at the general election and its percentage fell from 30.46 to 8.78 pc.

Thus, the non-representative character of the National Assembly came to light in the aftermath of the local elections. Since then, this fact has been one of the main preoccupations of Turkey's democratic forces as well as of European institutions. In fact, the European Parliament, in its Resolution of October 23, 1984, recognized that "political democracy cannot be considered to exist in Turkey."

As for the Council of Europe, the rapporteur of its Political Affairs Committee stated, "The Turkish Parliament elected in this way presents an anomaly which can only be removed by fresh elections."

Nevertheless, this anomaly will subsist as long as the present Constitution remains in force, because it is this fundamental document that makes enjoying a political pluralism in Turkey impossible.

A radical change in this Constitution depends first on the formation of a two-thirds democratic majority in the National Assembly and later on, the replacement of General Eren by a new President of the Republic coming out of this majority.

According to the Constitution, the new legislative elections will be held in 1988 while the term of General Eren as head of State will end in 1989.
STRUCTURE OF THE MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY"

After 5 years of military rule, what kind of state it is has been made clear. It is a military state, and the key organ body has been attached to the President of the Republic. This structure has been provided for in the Constitution. The new laws detail the foundation and functioning of each institution. Since the adoption of a proposal for a constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority of the total number of members of the National Assembly and considering that the first National Assembly will be made up of deputees enjoying the confidence of the Military Junta, it will be impossible to amend the Constitution. Thus, the new structure of the State based on a military presidential system will exist at least until the next legislative election due to be held in 1988.

1. President of the Republic: Whereas before the military coup the President of the Republic was a symbol of the State, now he has extensive powers for "ensuring the implementation of the Constitution and the regular and harmonious functioning of the organs of the State". He is now empowered mainly to promulgate laws, to return draft bills to the Assembly to be reconsidered, to submit to referendum if he deems it necessary, legislation regarding the amendment of the Constitution, to appeal to the Constitution Court for the amendment of laws, to call new elections for the National Assembly, to dismiss ministers. He is no longer accountable before the National Assembly. In the exercise of his functions, the President of the Republic commands organs which either did not exist before the coup, or were independent of him.

2. Presidential Council: According to a provisional article of the Constitution, the four members of the President's military junta act as the title of members of the Presidential Council. For a period of six years, this council examines laws adopted by the National Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, gives advice on matters relating to the holding of new general elections, the use of emergency powers and the measures to be taken during a state of emergency, and investigates matters relating to internal and external security.

3. General Secretariat of the President of the Republic: Already the former commander of NATO Forces of South-East Europe, Retired General Sicil (generally, he has been reported as Secretary General, Advisers are attached to his office for major affairs, intelligence and state security. It is noted that, apart from the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) and the Armed Forces Intelligence, the President of the Republic has his own intelligence service.

4. The Armed Forces: The President of the Republic represents the office of the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, empowered to declare war and to decide to use the Turkish Armed Forces. According to a law, been drawn up by the military government, a High Council of War will be set up under the absolute authority of the President of the Republic. This council will be entrusted with evaluating the situation in case of war or mobilization and with taking all necessary measures and employing all citizens, both civilians and the military, in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Thus, despite the fact that General Evren has already retired from the post of Chief of General Staff, he remains the real military chief of the Armed Forces.

5. Judicial Power: Although the Constitution provides that judges shall be independent in the discharge of their duties, the key posts in the judicial apparatus are dependent on the President of the Republic. According to the Constitution, the Constitutional Court, the Constitutional Court of the State, the Supreme Military Administration Court, the Military High Court of Appeals and the Supreme Control of Judges and Prosecutors as well as the Chief Public Prosecutor are appointed by the President of the Republic and act in conformity with the directives of the latter.

6. Scientific and Cultural Life: In order to reshape the country's scientific and cultural life within the ideological framework imposed by the military junta, the President of the Republic has been provided with extensive powers. Firstly of all, universities and other higher educational institutions have already been placed under the authority of the Higher Education Council (YOK), all members of which have been appointed by the President of the Republic. Besides, the latter is also entitled to appoint the rectors of all Turkish universities. In order to express their gratitude, the rectors who have already been appointed by Evren,
bestowed on him, on January 14, 1983, the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" and an honorary university professorship for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order in the country and for respecting the law while doing it". A similar honorary title was also conferred on the military chief of Pakistan, General Zia Ul-Haq during his visit to Turkey.

The Constitution provides also for the establishment of the " Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History" under the supervision of the President of the Republic, in order to "develop scientific research, to produce publications and to disseminate information on the thought, principles and reforms of Atatürk, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and the Turkish language."

7. Executive Power: Although the Constitu-
tion provided for forming a Council of Mi-

nisters from the members of the National As-
sembly, or from those who are eligible for elec-
tion as deputies, this organ merely is a rub-
ber-stamp council, designed to implement the general policies determined by the military.

According to the Constitution, a National Security Council has been set up under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. It is made up of the Chief of Staff, of the Commanders of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, and of the general Cenmzander of the Gendarmerie as well as of the Prime minis-
ter and the ministers of National Defence, In-
terior and Foreign Affairs. It is this council which shall submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring the necessary coordination for formulating, estab-
lishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to the decisions of the National Security Council. The Agenda of the NSC shall be drawn up by the President of the Republic.

Moreover, a State Supervisory Council, whose Chairman and members are appointed by the President of the Republic and attached to his office, has absolute authority to supervise the functioning of the administration. All public bodies and organizations, all enterprises in which those public bodies and organizations share more than half of the capital, public pro-
fessional organizations, employee's associations and labour unions at all levels, as well as public benefit associations and foundations shall be subject to inquiries, investigations and inspec-
tions carried out by this supervisory body. Then, the Council of Ministers has no authority over the state apparatus which has been placed under the direct supervision of the President of the Republic.

Moreover, the President of the Republic has the authority to raise over the Council of Ministers and to dismiss any minister.

AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

What is the composition of the political life of Turkey two years after the elections? Are they part of a development which can give way to radical change of this anti-democratic con-
stitution after future elections?

The European Parliament, in its Resolu-
tion of October 23, 1985, recognizing that political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties remain unrepresented in the country's parlia-
ment, while leading political figures remain excluded from active political life, while the Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban, called on the Turkish regime to remove all these restrictions.

Since then many former political leaders such as Enver, Emets, Ethemhan and Turks have been able to express their opinions, des-
pite a formal ban, through the new political parties set up by their followers, and the Social Democracy Party (SODEP) has achieved the possibility of being represented in parliament, thanks to merging with the Peoples Party (HP).

No doubt, all these new developments can give rise to greater satisfaction regarding the right to engage in democratic politics in Turkey. Yet, it should not be forgotten that this progress is not the consequence of a voluntary democratization carried out by the present rulers of the country, but rather a gain of Turkey's democratic forces who, with the support of the popular masses, oblige the regime, which has lost all its credibility, to step back.

Whatsoever the level of this progress, anti-
democratic practices continue and an impor-
tant share of the political life, the majority of Kurdish parties, cannot take their place in the legal political life.
Right-wing parties

The Motherland Party (ANAP). For the moment it appears in the right side of the political fan as the most powerful one. Preferring from the lack of serious rivals in the 1983 elections, it obtained an absolute majority at the National Assembly and enjoyed financial, economic and political support from national and international business circles.

In the course of the 1983 electoral campaign, Turp Ozal managed to group together, within his electoral members and sympathizers of the three defunct right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) as well as some electors of the Republican People's Party (CHP).

It is a fact that, in the absence of organizations with these tendencies, respectively liberal, fundamentalist, neo-fascist and social-democrat, Ozal succeeded in gathering these four antagonistic tendencies within the ANAP. But the hard-core of his party has been composed of activists of the fundamentalist and neo-fascist parties.

After the 1984 local elections, the ANAP suddenly found itself in a multi-dimensional turmoil, having failed to maintain its popularity because of the concurrence of the DYP and the SDP. It is a matter of fact that, due to rapidly rising inflation, Ozal had already begun to suffer from a fall in popularity. Even the daily press close to big business launched a campaign of criticism against the Government's policies by dramatizing the effects of the high inflation rate, General Erozan, who had been obliged to name Ozal as Prime Minister in 1983, attempted to lay the responsibility for all unpopular economic decisions on Ozal when he began to receive complaints from citizens: "If the President of the Republic interferes in the economic policy of the Government, in that case it will be regarded as the policy of the President of the Republic. Furthermore, if I interfere in the government's policy, they can claim, in case the situation should deteriorate, that it happened due to interference by the President of the Republic." The Premier Ozal's troubles have been aggravated especially because of conflicts among the four opposing tendencies which allegedly had come to terms within the framework of the ANAP. In order to maintain the cohabitation of these tendencies within the party, Ozal has been obliged a few times to make shifts within his government. However, the 1st Grand Convention of the ANAP held in April 1985, unveiled the conflicts between the different tendencies.

While certain ANAP founder-members coming from the defunct right-wing parties, were keeping their posts in Government or in party administration, a shift towards other parties that claim to be real heirs of the defunct parties has been observed in the rank and file. An opinion poll showed that the percentage of those who would vote for the ANAP was 31.05 in November, 1985, while its election score was 45.15 in 1983.

In the fear of losing his absolute majority in the National Assembly because of the possible transfers of some deputies to the DYP, Ozal has already launched a series of political manoeuvres, even before the general elections of 1985, in order to draw some deputies of the MDP who are looking for another alternative because of the electoral disasters of their party. The Correct Way Party (DVP): Overly supported by former Prime Minister Demirel, it pretend to be the legitimate heir of the defunct Justice Party (AP). Nevertheless, in the 1984 local elections, it hardly obtained 1.35% of cast votes while the latest score of the AP prior to the coup d'etat was 47.84%. Disappointed with the feeble performance of the DVP, Demirel suggested to the party officials that they change their chairman at the 1st Convention held in May 1985. Of the two candidates running for the party's presidency, Lawyer Hazanettin Cindemir and Businessman Mehmet Yazar, it was the former who obtained Demirel's support and was placed at the head of the party. Yet, since his convention, the new chairman has not succeeded in drawing the former electors of the AP to the DVP. Some partial local elections which were recently held showed once more that the DVP is still very far from arriving at the level of the ANAP.

The opinion poll gives it a chance of 17.24 p.c., which is hardly a few points higher than its electoral score in 1984.

As a last remedy for overcoming this stagnation, Demirel has recently taken initiative to his own hands and, by defying the ban on making political declarations, he has started to give press interviews and to make significant visits to the electoral strongholds of his defunct party.
NEW STRUCTURE OF THE TURKISH STATE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
Chief of the State

RESIDENTIAL COUNCIL
Made up of the four-regions of the State

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PRESIDENCY
A former NATO Commander

ADVISORS FOR STATE AFFAIRS AND INTELLIGENCE
Mainly former army officers

EXECUTIVE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
Made of the Army commanders and four ministers. Chaired by the President of the Republic.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Appointed and chaired, if necessary, by the President of the Republic. In the absence any of the members appointed.

LEGISLATIVE

GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Makes up of 400 deputies at seat every three years, out of which seats are considered compatible with the Constitution. Parties of the working class and of the Kurdish people are outlawed.

JUDICIAL POWER

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

COUNCIL OF STATE

CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

SUPREME MILITARY ADMINISTRATION COURT

MILITARY HIGH COURT OF APPEAL

SUPREME COUNCIL OF JUDGES AND PROSECUTORS

All of them are appointed by and attached to the President of the Republic

SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL LIFE

SUPREME EDUCATION COUNCIL (YÖK)

UNIVERSITY RECTORs

ATTATÜRK INSTITUTE OF CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND HISTORY

All of them are appointed for President of the Republic and are under his authority

SECURITY FORCES

ARMED FORCES
Commander-in-Chief is the President of the Republic.

HIGH COUNCIL OF WAR
Chairled by the President of the Republic, in the case of war, he is the Supreme Commander of the country.

GOVERNORS

In a state of emergency, they can act as martial law committees; e.g., in a normal situation, they can ensure law and order.

STATE SECURITY COURTS
Made up of military and civil judges. They ensure judicial supervision when martial law is in effect.

STATE SUPERVISORY COUNCIL
Appointed by and appointed to the President of the Republic. It can control each public administration and institutions as well as assess 

tivity and union.
The Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP);

Considering that this favorite party of General Ecevit does not have any chance as long as former general Turgut Sunalı remains chairman, the rank-and-file of the MDP, following the example of the DYP, resolved to the same remedy at their 1st Convention held in July 1983. A former bureaucrat Ekke Soydemiroglu was elected chairman with 425 votes against 198 for Sunalı.

It is clear that the change of the chairman is not enough to overcome a party's disastrous situation as long as it does not have external support as in the case of the DYP.

The MDP's new direction, being aware of this fact, immediately entered in a dialogue with the new chairman of the DYP with the purpose of merging the two parties so that all members of the defunct AP who have been divided among three different parties can be grouped within the new structure. This step was first welcomed by the DYP leadership and the two sides have had a series of talks. But all these efforts failed to bring about a fusion because the DYP leaders insisted that the MDP should join their party.

The opinion-poll gives the MDP a chance of 6.89 pc while its first score in the 1983 elections was 23.27 pc. If it cannot manage to merge with the DYP, the General Ecevit's favorite party will definitely disappear from the political scene of Turkey to the coming legislative elections. The possible shift of some of its deputies to the ANAP will no doubt accelerate this process.

The Welfare Party (WP); Head of the defunct Nationalist Salvation party (MSP), this fundamentalist party, despite its feeble score (4.76 pc) in the 1984 local elections, continues to draw religious electors who earlier voted for the ANAP in 1983 and 1984.

Its first grand convention held in July, 1985, was more spectacular than those of the other right-wing parties. Coming with their religious-style clothes the delegates expressed their will to foster religious and traditional values and to fight for the lifting of secular barriers laid down by the State.

Led by Ahmet Tekdal, the WP enjoys the total support of Necmeddin Erbakan, chairman of the defunct fundamentalist party, MSP. Like Demirel, Erbakan, by defying the bias on political declarations of former leaders, also began to speak in public and to give political interviews to the press with a view to supporting the WP.

Despite the fact that it is challenged by another fundamentalist party, the Reformist Democracy Party (IDP), which has also held a very spectacular convention, the WP is considered the principal representative of the fundamentalist movement in the political fan.

The Nationalist Labour Party (MCP);

While the leaders of the defunct neo-fascist party, MHP are still being tried before a military tribunal, this tendency has made an unexpected resurrection in legal plan with the first convention of this new party.

Based on some activists (Grey Wolves) of the MHP in 1983, under the name of the Conservative Party (MCP), this party did not show itself in public until that convention.

All the same, the Turkish press claimed very often that the Grey Wolves who infiltrated the ANAP began, on the confrontation of different antagonistic currents in that party, to turn towards the WP.

After the release of Alparslan Türkes, leader of the defunct MHP, the Grey Wolves again started their activities by launching new publications or by organizing meetings or soirées.

The climax of this climax on the legal political scene was the first Grand Convention of the WP during which the name of the party was transformed into the Nationalist Labour Party (MCP). Shouting slogans proper to the neo-fascist movement, the delegates adopted as the symbol of the party a crenelated energee with nine stars representing nine principles of the Grey Wolves.

So, the neo-fascist movement has taken its own place in the new political fan of Turkey. This is a phenomenon that bothers first of all the ANAP whose hard-core as well as an important part of whose electors had been taken over from the former MHP. In the meantime, it is a serious threat against the democratic forces of Turkey which had given numerous victims to the Grey Wolves political terror. The great bourgeoisie already proved before the military coup that it never hesitates to use these terrorist troops as a striking force for intimidating democratic forces when it cannot prevent their progress through parliamentary means.
As has already been explained beforehand, the military junta, in its project for militarist "democracy," foresaw the existence of a "left-wing" party which works within the framework imposed by the new Constitution.

During the legislative elections of 1963, the Popular Party (HP) played this role very well. But a few months later, with the participation of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP) in the local elections in 1964, this project was doomed to failure.

The disastrous defeat of the HP and the success of the SODEP showed clearly that the social-democrats minded electors would never accept being represented by a party "favoured" by the military. After the local elections, the deputies of the HP lost their entire popular basis and turned into a phantom "opposition".

On the other hand, Mr. Ercvit, the leader of the Peasant and Democratic People's Party (CHP), announced that he would never accept the HP nor the SODEP as the representatives of the socio-democratic movement, and the social-democrats would find in the near future their own party, the Democrat Left Party (DSP).

Fatastricken by these two examples of defiance, some deputies as well as local officials of the HP began to look for a solution to get out of this deadlock. In the confusion, the Secretary General of the party, Aydin İlişen Gürgan, put forward the idea of merging with the future DSP of Ercvit. This proposal was enthusiastically welcomed by the rank-and-file of the party and at the 1st grand convention held in July, 1965, the delegates, overthrowing party's founder Çay, elected Gürgan chairman and charged him with getting in touch with Ercvit with a view to merging with the DSP.

But Ercvit categorically rejected Gürgan's approach to this issue and claimed that his future party would be the only representative of the social-democratic movement. Disappointed with Ercvit's attitude, Gürgan did not delay in getting in touch with the chairman of the SODEP, Mr. Erdal İnönü.

Already, the first grand convention of the SODEP, held in June, 1964, had adopted a resolution calling for the fusion of all social-democratic parties.

At the very first meeting, the two leaders, coming from academic backgrounds, gave a proof of conciliation which is unprecedented in the history of Turkish politics. They agreed to take all steps with the view to realising the fusion of the HP and the SODEP and to do their best to overcome any difficulties which could arise because of the restrictions imposed by the Constitution and the hostilities that appeared between the puritan of the two sides during the local election campaign.

In a very short time, the two parties respectively held their extraordinary conventions and merged into a new social-democratic party: the Popular Social-Democratic Party (SHP).

The fusion of the two parties, despite some local discord, has been welcomed with great enthusiasm by the social-democrat electors.

The campaign led by the duo Gürgan-Inönü in provinces where they called on all social democrats to unite within the SHP, played an important role in merging the rank-and-file of the two parties.

The undeniable proof of the success of this new movement had been the scores obtained at local and state elections by the common candidates of the two parties. While the SODEP candidate was elected mayor of the Izmir district by obtaining 50 percent of the votes, in September 1965, prior to the fusion, the candidate of the SHP was elected mayor in the Sarıçam district, after fusion, on November 17, by obtaining 57.45 percent of the votes.

After these two victories, the Turkish press began to talk of a possible victory of the SHP at the coming legislative elections in 1968.

What is more, since the merger of the two parties 84 deputies of the HP at the National Assembly have become the representatives of the SHP which enjoys a massive popular support.

According to the calendar established between the two components of the new party, the SHP will be chaired until May 1966, by A.G. Gürgan while Erdal İnönü remains as the counsellor of the chairman. The SHP, after making all its local congresses, will hold its first grand convention and the delegates will make a choice for chairman between İnönü and Gürgan, of both of them offer themselves as candidates.

However, it is rumoured in social-democratic circles that İnönü and Gürgan will respectively assume the posts of chairman and secretary general after the convention. The same circles estimate also that, in the case of an electoral victory, İnönü will be the candidate
for the President of the republic while Gürkan will assume the post of prime minister.

No doubt, the crystallization of all these hopes depends upon a more healthy cohesiveness of the rank-and-file of the two components within the new party, on a more determined and coherent attitude concerning human rights as well as on the failure of rival initiatives by former social-democrat leaders Ecevit.

Phenomenon Though he had every chance in 1983 to orient all members of his defunct party to a new political party, Ecevit failed to carry out this political mission by refusing all proposals and suggestions in this same coming from his former collaborators and sympathizers. As explained beforehand, instead of taking such an initiative, he preferred to attend the meetings of the Socialist International abroad and to court only on the solidities of his European credentials.

But the social democrat masses did not delay, taking the initiative in their own hands and finding new personalities to lead their movement.

Angry with this new momentum of the social democrat movement, Ecevit tried first to discredit the two new social democracies by accusing them of working within the legal limits imposed by the military. But this argument was not convincing enough for the social democrats who knew that Ecevit himself and his wife made many visits to Western capitals with special permission from the military while other political leaders were deprived of this right.

Secondly, Ecevit attempted to set the rank-and-file of each party against the other with a view to preventing their possible merger. But this attempt, too, was doomed to failure after the birth of the SHP. Thereupon, just as the social democrat masses were enthusiastically celebrating the birth of their unified party, Ecevit, taking no heed of all warnings coming from his former comrades, changed his wife with founding a rival party: The Democratic Left Party (DSP).

Although Ecevit claimed that the SHP was founded by certain politicians having no contact with the social democrat basis, everyone knows that in fact it was the DSP which was founded, without taking into consideration the will of the grass roots, by Mrs. Ecevit and a few confidants of the Ecevit family. All fundamental documents of the party were drawn up and even printed by the Ecevit family many months prior to the foundation of the party. The creation of Mrs. Ecevit as Chairman of the DSP is another proof of her influential character of the founding assembly of the party.

Ecevit also accused the HP of having the deputies in the National Assembly elected in an anti-democratic way. It is true that the 1983 elections were very far from being a democratic election. But is Mrs. Ecevit herself who transferred four of these deputies to her party and included them in its founding assembly.

On December 7, 1985, following all transfers, the DSP had four seats in the National Assembly while the SHP had 84, the ANAP 208, the MDP 33 and 44 deputies remained independent.

The opinions split in November 1985 show that the Ecevit family's party had a minimal

| LEFT | Local assembly | 1977 | LEFT |
|-------|----------------|------|-------|-------|
| SHP (former left) | 4398 | 4712 | SHP (former left) | 1127 |
| DPD (former left) | 3032 | 3097 | DPD (former left) | 945 |
| Total left | 4712 | 4709 | Total left | 1427 |

| RIGHT | Local assembly | 1977 | RIGHT |
|-------|----------------|------|-------|-------|
| DPD (former left) | 5076 | 5095 | DPD (former left) | 2073 |
| DPD (former left) | 936 | 951 | DPD (former left) | 247 |
| Total right | 5169 | 5146 | Total right | 2476 |

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chance in the electorate with 6.26 percent while the SHP had 32.76 percent. With this minimal electoral chance, Ere- vi's rival party will serve only to widen the division of left-wing votes and consequently to maintain a right-wing government after the 1983 elections. As for the Socialist International's solidarity with Ereveli, until now it was a gesture in favour of a distinguished comrade deprived of his political rights.

But after the foundation of social democrat parties, their counterparts in the world will have to take into consideration the political realities of Turkey and to manifest their solidarity not in the concern for a former acquaintance, but with a view to contributing to the development of the social democrat movement, one of the principal components of democratic forces of Turkey.

Extra-parliamentary left

As is explained in detail above, the Marxist left, still considered illegal by the present regime, cannot enter the parliamentary scene or legally organise itself. It appears that until radical modification is made to the Constitution, it has to establish itself in the popular masses through democratic organisations, and to support legal left-wing formations, with a view to assuring a two-thirds majority in the future parliament, a majority which is indispensable to the modification of the Constitution and to emerging an end to the arbitrary rule of General Evren and the military.

Being the main targets of the 5-year repression during which tens of thousands of its militants were arrested, tortured, imprisoned and deprived of political and civil rights, the left for the time being is in a period of weakness.

What is more, quarrels between the different factions of each underground organisation have weakened them. Each organisation has suffered from fractures and desertions.

Although the arrested leaders of each organisation suffered at the hands of the military, some of the leaders who have been able to flee and take refuge in Western Countries have tried to consolidate their control within their organisation, declaring that their opponents in the bosom of the party are "excluded".

During the five years of military repression, even the parties with the same political tendencies have not been able to bring about a fusion. Hence, some initiatives in this sense are doomed to failure.

The oldest among them, the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), is also split in two. The faction in England has declared itself an independent party under the banner of TKP-İnsan Selçuk (Workers' Voters).

Following this division, the leaders of the party have taken on a new initiative in 1984 with a view to regrouping other political parties of the same line within one alliance. The Union of the Left. On this appeal, the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TS İP), the Communist Worker's Party of Turkey (TKP), the Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP) and the Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PPKK), a faction of PKK-KIP, are formally allied with the TKP. Although three of them, the TKP, the TIP and the TŞİP had already announced before the coup their intention of fusing into a sole Marxist-Leninist party, they have still not reached this stage, and the TKP, acting as the only Marxist-Leninist party in Turkey, continues to present the other parties as its "allies" to the international forums of world communist parties.

In his article which appeared in the September 1985 World Marxist Review, the theoretical and information journal of Communist Parties throughout the world, the Secretary General of the TKP outlined the position of his party as follows: "The bourgeois press tries in various ways to make the country feel that the communist party keep 'equidistant' from the two social systems and opposed to 'Soviet Marxism'. The best answer to this is to go on building up the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the name of peace and social progress. Our party contributes its share to this struggle by working to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in Turkey, increase its influence on the left movement and foster proletarian internationalism in contrast to bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. We popularise the historic achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and show the decisive role which they are playing in today's world."
As for the other left-wing parties whose names have already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, an attempt to continue the "United Front of Anti-Fascist Resistance" (FKBDC) with the participation of Dev-Sol, PKK, TEP, TKP and the Worker's Voice (TKP/JS) is doomed to failure, after some joint actions in Europe.

Like these five groups, the others, notably the TKP, the TKP/M, the PKK, B. Kurnut- lus, the Dev-Sol, the KUK and the TKP, tried also to make themselves heard through publications edited by their leaders or through some specific actions in the foreign countries which have welcomed them.

Of course, it is not possible for the time being to evaluate the strength lost by each organisation and to determine their capacity to gather new forces for future struggles. The majority of the militants of the Marxist left of the Kurdish Movement, some in prison and others underground, are still in a state of "wait and see".

Some unidentified activities of these parties try to pay the legal possibilities in trade unions, associations and social-democrat parties in order not to lose their contact with the population.

Unless the Marxist and Kurdish parties are legalised and take their place in the political game, it is not possible to say that a pluralist political life was established in Turkey. Even the legalisation of one or a few of these parties will not signify the establishment of political pluralism as long as the others are deprived of the same right.

Only such a democratisation of the political life will allow each political opinion to express itself and to organise freely. And only after such a democratisation that Marxist and Kurdish parties can save themselves from dispersion, and identical or similar tendencies can merge or the weaker ones join the stronger ones. After such a process, they will constitute, on the left of social democracy, one of the essential forces of Turkey's future democracy.

Until that day, whatever may be the composition of the political far, democracy in Turkey will remain a shaky "democracy" à la turque.

1983-1985 in Brief

November 1983
6. First legislative elections after the coup are held. ANAP obtains absolute majority.
11. NSC adopts a new law on the Press.
14. 24 leading members of the Turkish Peace Committee are condemned.
15. The proclamation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.
24. The National Assembly opens.
30. A retired army general, Sert, then is appointed by Evren to the head of Atatürk University.
Language and History Supreme Council.

December:
5. General Nedic Oruç is named Chief of General Staff.
6. NSC, before ending its legislative function, adopts a law banning all politics on the describing and practises of the military role. Then, the four members of the NSC begin to carry out their new functions: Members of the Presidential Council.
13. Turgut Özal announces the new government of the ANAP.

January 1984:
10. Market Law Command of Istanbul bans all petitions on "announcements of the government.
17. Evren attends the Islamic Summit in Casablanca and is elected Vice-Chairman.
25. 12 members of TIP are condemned to prison terms of up to 15 years.
26. The World Bank mission to Turkey announces the bank's support of Oktar's economic policies.
27. Condemnation of MSP leaders is overruled by the Military Court of Casablanca.
30. Farewell conference at the Council of Europe. New Turkish deputies attend the Parliamentary Assembly meeting without any invitation.

February:
6. Seven prisoners are reportedly killed during the hunger-strike in Diyarbakir Military Prison.
March:
8. Eleven deaths during hunger-strikes in military prisons.
9. The rules of state of emergency enter in force.
10. Evren says he is categorically against any political immunity.
11. Mental law is lifted in 13 provinces, but replaced by state of emergency in eight of them.
12. Senior German politicians from the Green Party are expelled from Turkey after staying a mini-
   mum in the Turkish capital against prison conditions.
13. First local elections after the coup. SDP and DYP surpass the votes of HP and MHP.

April:
7. Legal proceedings against the DYP.
11. Hungarian strikes start at the military posts of Melka and Sevendiklar in Istanbul.
20. Non-governmental organizations condemn the continuing violation of human rights in Turkey at
    a public hearing held in the European Parliament.

May:
2. State security courts begin to work in eight provinces.
7. A second mass trial against 120 members of the TIP.
8. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe re-integrates the Turkish regime.
11. A bill proposing amnesty for press offenses is turned down by a majority of the National
    Assembly.
19. 1,250 distinguished intellectuals give Evren a petition demanding the restoration of fundamental
    rights and freedoms.
22. Military prosecutors start inquiries against the signatories of the petition.
23. European Parliament adopts a Resolution asking the Turkish regime to speed up the “return to
    democracy.”

June:
12. Chief Prosecutor opens legal proceedings at the Constitutional Court to close down the DYP.
13. It is reported that 270 military personnel were arrested for Turkey’s escape attempt from military
    prison.
17. Death of two more naval deserters in military prison.
19. Two more dead in military prison.
27. Military prosecutor indicts 59 out of 1254 signatories of petition.
30. While DSIK is still suspended, the fascist-oriented labour confederation MSK is reopened with
    the military’s permission.

July:
8. Projection of 537 different cinema films is banned.

August:
15. Armed clashes between Kurdish militants and Army units in Eski and Sembirlk.
23. Release of DSIK Chairman Abdul jacket Basfirik and other leading members.
27. Condemnation of the Turkish Peace Committee’s leading members is overturned by the Military
    Court of Cassation.

September:
27. Second trial against the Turkish Peace Committee. Forty-eight other leading members of the
    committee face prison terms of up to 10 years.
30. MSP leaders are freed again.

October:
7. Left-wing militant Huseyin Gey is executed.
26. Left-wing militant Mehmet Arif is executed.

November:
9. Four defendants of the Peace Committee trial are released.
23. Turkish Foreign Minister is withdrawn from the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe,
    protesting against the suspension of Turkish citizenship in the Council.

December:
2. It is reported that 794 university professors have lost their posts; 259 have been tried by YOK on
    charges of an academic autonomy violation.
24. Swiss Premier Thronlon concludes a series of talks with the Turkish Government during his
    visit to Turkey.
January 1985:
17: 400 political detainees go on hunger-strike in Mexican military prison.  
19: The Justice Ministry announces the interception of 200 books.  
23: Visiting members of the Western Union of Turkey (EYÜP) are acquitted.  
30: ETUC decides to grant affiliation to DISK.

February:
3: A mission of the European Commission on Human Rights ends its contacts in Turkey.  
6: Ocalan visits Algeria.  
13: Supporters of the Turkish regime set up a "lobby" for the European Parliament.

March:
3: The Associated Press reveals findings of the European Commission on Human Rights about too many violations of human rights made in Turkey, unable to have been among real democracies.  
22: Following their visit to Turkey, representatives of the International Press Club, Arthur Miller and Harold Pierre, say "Turkey is a very country of the western world where one cannot being protestated for its actions!"  

April:
8: Notable leader Ayoudur Turkis is released.  
18: European Parliament's resolution accuses the Ankara regime of "having launched a systematic campaign of harassment against the Kurdish minority."  
22: The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decides to hold a mini-session in Turkey in 1986, and adopt a moderate resolution on the human rights situation.

May:
29: In answer to the European Parliament's resolution. Evin says: "We have enemies who have implemented bands abroad to destroy the current atmosphere of security in our country.

June:
5: The Law on Reparations becomes effective.  
6: In an interview to the International Herald Tribune, Ocalan claims that DSIK's activities were financed by communists.  

July:
12: The publication of Aziz Aslan's defense statement before a military tribunal is banned.  
15: It is announced that 133.667 books of a left-wing publishing house were destroyed on the order of martial law authorities.  
16: The National Assembly adopts a new law increasing the powers of the Police.

August:
8: Four European radical politicians are expected from Turkey.  
14: It is reported that all citizens will be killed by the authorities.

September:
1: Evin reiterates that he is against any kind of political amnesty.  
11: It is reported that 20 political prisoners benefited from the Law on Reparations by demoting their former sentences.

October:
15: Evin claims that at opponents of the regime are in the service of communists and separatists.  
23: The European Parliament adopts a Resolution laying down five prerequisites for respecting Turkish-European relations.

November:
10: An opinion poll shows that the percentage of those who would vote for the ANAP is 31.03 whilst it was 35.15 in 1983.

December:
8: The European Commission on Human Rights, if a friendly settlement between Turkey and five European countries, decides to terminate the contentious proceedings.
12: ETUC protests against the European countries' consolidation with the Turkish regime.  
31: It is reported that 313 legal cases have been started against journalists in the last 2 years.
STATE TERRORISM

MASS ARRESTS
MASS TRIALS
DEATH SENTENCES

Within a 5-year period of repression, political violence was replaced by state terrorism and more than 200 people were arrested, more than 50 thousand were tried before military tribunals, military prosecutors asked for more than 7 thousand death sentences, 429 political activists were condemned to capital punishment and 27 of them were executed. In 1985, martial law was replaced by a police state reinforced with the adoption of new repressive laws and decrees by the “civilian” rule.
The Militarization of the State under the guise of a "parliamentary regime" has not met any organized opposition because, from the very first day of military rule, all democratic political organizations and trade unions have been faced with unprecedented repression.

The military junta which came to power under the pretext of putting an end to political terrorism has replaced it with State terrorism. In addition to the anti-democratic practices in the political field, already explained in preceding chapters, all high-ranking officers and public servants who might resist the militarization of the State have been dismissed and replaced by those who enjoy the generals' full confidence.

About 1,600 majors, 18,000 public servants, 2,000 judges and prosecutors, 4,000 policemen, more than 700 university professors and 5,000 school teachers have been either fired or forced to resign under pressure.

During a recent meeting of the National Assembly, a populist deputy Seyf Oktay disclosed that ever since the military takeover, the number of those dismissed by order of the martial law authorities had exceeded 100,000. "There are many people who have never been subjected to any legal proceedings, nor summoned to any police center... When they apply for a public service job, the intelligence service makes an investigation about them. This is a situation entirely incompatible with the Constitution and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. I am afraid that this number may reach 200,000 thousand," he said.

According to the daily Milliyet of October 27, 1985, 3,370 of those dismissed on orders from martial law commanders have been found "innocent" by the judicial authorities, but the public services still will not allow them to regain their former posts.

On September 21, 1984, the same newspaper published the following data on mass arrests and consolidations:

From September 1980 up to 1984, within a four year period:
- The security forces took into custody 178,565 persons for preliminary investigation without any court warrant.
- Among them, 64,505 persons were arrested later through a court decision and kept in prison for their trial, the others being released after a long detention of up to 90 days.

According to the daily Hayat of April 24, 1984, by that time 233,645 people were still wanted by the security forces, 18,695 of whom had been indicted for their political actions or opposition.

The great majority of the victims of repression were detained during the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,584. They included:
- 203 members of Parliament.
- 79 journalists or writers.
- 93 judges or prosecutors.
- 35 district governors.
- 330 majors.
- 6,191 teachers.
- 6,758 state employees.

The very first day, the junta launched a denunciation campaign against the wanted people and within a 3-year period the NSC received about 130,000 letters from informers.

At the beginning of 1983, the military announced that 400,000 citizens were deprived of the freedom to travel because of legal proceedings pending against them.

Besides, a Data Collecting Center was set up at the Ministry of Interior, and all citizens of Turkey have been registered with complete data relating to their private and professional life, and their political opinions. In 1982 already, the Ministry had announced that 36,771 political activists had been apprehended due to this computer system. Computers have also been set on the borders to check dissidents' trips more efficiently.

The Ministerial Council decided in April 1983 to replace national identity cards with national security cards from 1984 onwards. The fingerprints of the holder as well as the usual information on his identity would be indicated, and a photograph would also be attached to the new cards.

Although the maximum capacity in civilian prisons is 55,000, the Ministry of Justice said in an interview with the Cumhuriyet of July 29, 1983, that, at that time, the total number of inmates in civilian prisons amounted to 74,206, of whom 48,977 were convicted and 26,129 under arrest.

The number of political prisoners or detainees in civilian prisons amounted to 3,769 of whom 2,945 were in special prisons at Bartın, Burna, Canakkale, Gümüşhane and Antalya.
Many of them were brought there from military prisons after they were sentenced. To this figure should be added 15,307 inmates who were still in military prisons at the end of 1984. Le Monde reported on July 20, 1985, that, according to a high official of the ruling ANAP, 8,000 people were at that date under detention "in connection with anarchy." According to a survey by the Interior Ministry of Switzerland, among the 21 member countries of the Council of Europe, Turkey holds the record regarding the proportion of prisoners in relation to the population. In 1984, 178 of 100,000 inhabitants were in prison in Turkey, against 114 in Austria, 104.4 in the FRG, 83.3 in the Great Britain, 76.3 in Italy, 74.2 in France, 72.2 in Belgium, 70 in Denmark, 50 in Switzerland, 38 in Holland and 1 in Malta. By changing legislation on the martial law regime in ten times, the NSC empowered martial law commanders to order to shoot down any suspect in the streets, to confiscate and ban publication, records, cassettes, films, to search individuals and their residence without court warrant. The number of people who have been shot dead during mass hunts is estimated at more than 700. After the coup, all the police forces also were placed under the authority of martial law commanders. The military junta assigned 99 billion TL to the reorganization of the police forces. It was decided to raise the number of police officers from 50,000 to 121,000 and to set up a rapid deployment force in each major city of Turkey. With the assistance of the FRG and the USA, the police forces have been equipped with modern weapons, helicopters and armoured vehicles. According to a law adopted by the NSC on June 4, 1983, persons whose activities are considered harmful to law and order can be deported in a certain way, by being confined to a certain locality. For four years, the whole territory of Turkey was under martial law and those who were indicted for their political opinions and activities were tried by military tribunals set up in Turkey's major cities. The procedure at military tribunals was proven that the right to a fair trial provided by the European Convention on Human Rights was entirely violated. The bills of indictment were based on confessions obtained under torture. At mass trials, prisoners were judged without their identity being proven beforehand, without previous judicial inquiry; in some cases the defendants never appeared in court. Witnesses were intimidated or brainwashed before being brought to court; defendants were given no possibilities to defend themselves; they were not even allowed to read their petitions. The time allowed for the defence was very short and sometimes the defendant was not allowed to speak in the court room. Prior to the local 1984 elections, the Turkish Government began to lift martial law in some provinces. In many provinces martial law was replaced by a state of emergency and the civilian governors took over all the martial law commanders' authority. According to the Constitution, under a state of emergency, provincial governors can impose curfews, ban meetings and public rallies, order an end to strikes, close publications, forbid broadcasts, films and theatre performances. They are also empowered to issue all means of communication in case of need, to issue search warrants and to close schools. To reignite martial law tribunals in accordance with the Constitution, State Security Courts have been set up in eight cities of Turkey, Ankara, Diyarbakir, Erzincan, Istanbul, Izmir, Kars, Konya and Malatya. 126 judges and prosecutors act as 414 administrative workers are being charged at these courts. The judges and prosecutors include military officers. They have cases relating to State security, committed after the lifting of martial law. The acts committed earlier are still being tried at military courts. Moreover, the law authorizing police authorities to remand an individual in custody for 45 days without any contact with his family or lawyer is still in force. Access on the charge of "communist or separatist or fundamentalist propaganda or organization on these bases" continue. Those accused on these accusations are tried before State Security Courts according to Articles 141, 142, and 162 of the Turkish Penal Code, borrowed from Mosaic's Penal Code in the 30s. The National Security Council, adopting on January 22, 1985, a new law modifying these articles, increased the punishment for these acts. The prison term for those who found "separatist" organizations was raised from 3 to
10 years, for founding "fundamentalist" organisations, from 7 to 12 years, and for "fundamental" propaganda, from 5 to 10 years. Additionally, some have been sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In January, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In February, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In March, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In April, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In May, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In June, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In July, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In August, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In September, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In October, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In November, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties. In December, several members of the Justice Party (AKP) were sentenced to up to 12 years in prison for organizing meetings of the parties.
Union of Turkey (TYS) were tried before a military tribunal for having cooperated with DISK. Military prosecutors brought distinguished intellectuals before tribunals for having signed a petition demanding the restoration of human rights and freedoms. That also happened during the period of "civilian government".

Since the foundation of the Higher Education Council (YOK) which is directly attached to the "President of the Republic", 794 university professors have left their posts; 259 have been dismissed by YOK on the order of marital law authorities, while 535 resigned or asked for early retirement in protest against academic autonomy violations.

Man-hunts, torture, threats and intimidation have been the daily practice both of the military government and the civilian one. The military regime justified measures derogating from the European Convention on Human Rights by recalling that, prior to the 1980 coup, the country went through a wave of political violence with an average toll of 20 deaths a day. However, one has to face up to the fact that over the first few months of the regime, in 1980-81, "law and order" was already established. There was not even any considerable armed resistance against the security forces.

In a "White Book" published on July 20, 1984, the civilian government boasted that during the first six-month period of its term of office, the number of politically motivated incidents had fallen to 8, with only 11 casualties. This figure is not higher than those recorded in some other European countries. Despite this fact, all the extraordinary repressive measures are still in force and the civilian government add many new ones.

Before the lifting of martial law, the civilian government drafted many repressive laws and had them passed by the National Assembly. According to a law adopted in July 1985, the police is invested with the task of maintaining "law and order" and, in this connection, entitled to apprehend any person and to keep him in custody for 24 hours, during which time this person has to be duly filed. As for people who are held as suspects in connection with collective crimes, police custody is set at fifteen days. The police is also empowered to search without court warrant, to question prisoners in jail, to decide to suspend any trade union, association and professional organization, and to close down theaters and places of entertainment.

Another law adopted on June 5, 1985, ensures that people who inform against "resistance groups" will be pardoned and, if need be, will benefit from free esthetical surgery. Denouncers who inform against organizations that were involved in "crimes against the
State," are to be cleared of all charges — provided they themselves did not take part in acts of violence, — or otherwise are to benefit from significant sentence cuts. The informer will be given a new identity card (with a different name) and sent abroad.

All these laws are aimed at tightening Turkey's police state and widening the range of repressive measures against opponents of the regime.

During the adoption of these laws, the Director General of the State Security Department Saffet Bektas, Ankara went to the FRG in order to ensure that the Turkish police will be supplied with very sophisticated devices. In addition, he visited the German Anti-Terror Brigade (GSG9) with the purpose of setting up a "Thunder Force" to be equipped with West-German helicopters.

According to the daily Cumhuriyet of August 14, 1985, the Ministry of Interior ordered the headmen of 72,438 villages of Turkey to file all inhabitants of either locality. These files consist, among other things, of information concerning the political tendency and ideological choice of each inhabitant.

The same ministry announced in December 1985 that, according to another new regulation, intelligence services since 1984 had started a security inquiry on 190,791 public servants. Also some new criteria have been established for new candidates to public service posts: Even those:

- who were born in a hostile country, but have not yet lived in Turkey more than ten years after his arrival there,
- who have close relatives sentenced as communists or suspected communists,
- who have any characteristics that might lead them to being influenced by a foreign state,
- who are married to people who are not of Turkish origin, or who have not joined the ideal of Turkism, would not be given a "security card", necessary for access to the public service.

It should be reminded that those who are not of Turkish origin have already been deprived of the right to be State officials.

Many police centers have been equipped with lie detectors to interrogate suspects.

During the debates of the 1986 budget at the National Assembly, it was announced that the amount of funds allocated to the National Intelligence Service was increased to 418 million TL, although it was 172 million in 1984 and 264 million in 1985.

In short, although martial law had been lifted in many provinces at the end of 1985, a very well organized and equipped "police state" has been established and consolidated in Turkey.

MASS TRIALS

One of the most striking images of the military rule has been the abundance of political mass trials and the capital punishment demands for political activists.

All those who had attempted to organize for a radical change in the unjust social order or to write in this sense have been brought before military tribunals and tried according to articles 141, 142 and 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Articles 141 and 142 were borrowed from Mussolini's Italian Penal Code which is no longer in force in Italy.

"Article 270 of Mussolini's Code reads: "... whoever attempts to create associations, establish, organize or direct them with the aim of imposing by force the dictatorship of one social class over others or of abolishing a class is liable to a penalty of 5 to 12 years imprisonment."

Article 141 of the TPC reads:

"1. Whosoever shall attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society with the aim of establishing the hegemony or domination of a social class over other social classes, or eliminating a social class, or overthrowing any of the fundamental economic or social orders established within the country shall be punished by heavy imprisonment of not less than eight and not more than fifteen years. Those who direct several or all of such societies shall be condemned to the death penalty.

2. The same penalty — except for the clause providing for capital punishment — shall apply to those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society aimed at the complete or partial
overthrowing of the political and legal orders of the State.

"3. The same penalty — except for the clause providing for capital punishment — shall apply to those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society against republicanism or aimed at the governing of the State by a single person or a group contrary to the principles of democracy.

"4. Those who attempt to form, or form, or organize or direct the activities of, or provide guidance for, under whatsoever name, any society aimed at arrogating parity or totally, or weakening, as a result of racial discrimination, any of the civil rights consecrated by the Constitution, shall be condemned to a term of heavy imprisonment not less than one year and not more than three years.

"5. Those who enter any society enumerated in sections 1, 2 and 3 shall be condemned to a term of imprisonment not less than six months and not more than two years.

"6. Those who perpetrate the above-mentioned crimes in the offices or departments of the State or of the municipalities, or within the premises of economic enterprises to which part or whole of the capital belongs to the State, or in trade-unions or workers’ associations or schools or any other establishments of higher education, or among the civil servants, employees or members of such, shall have their legal penalties augmented by one-third.

"7. In case any of the authors of the crimes enumerated in this article should divulge the crime and its co-authors to the responsible authorities before the opening of the trial, and provided that the accuracy of the denunciation is established, the capital punishment shall be replaced by heavy imprisonment not less than ten years and the other punishments shall be diminished to a fourth at maximum, according to the circumstances and the particularities of the case.

"8. A society, in the sense of this Article, is constituted by the coming together of two or more persons bound by the same purpose."

Article 272 of Maximilian’s Penal Code reads: "... whoever makes propaganda with the aim of introducing by force the dictatorship of one social class over another is liable to a penalty of 3 to 5 years imprisonment."

Article 143 of the CPC reads: "1. Whosoever shall be found guilty of ar-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Number of those sentenced to prison</th>
<th>Number of those sentenced to death</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DSU (V.O.)</td>
<td>1,512</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISU (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCPP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/Western Leninist)</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>TKP (Communist Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>KURTULUS (education)</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>DEV-SOL (Revolutionary Left)</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>KMARA (Kurdish Organizations)</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>MLGSI (Marxist–Leninist Guerrilla Propaganda Unit)</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>DHP (People's Revolutionary Union)</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIP (Workers' Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>193</td>
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<td>THUM (Popular Liberation Party/People's Front of Turkey)</td>
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<td>KIP (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)</td>
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<td>GEL (Union for Action)</td>
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<td>DS (Revolutionary Struggle)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Ali Nadir (Kurdish organization)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOG (Provisional Union of Kurdistan)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGL (Emergency Group)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasan (Kurdish organization)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HČK (Provisional Revolutionary Vanguards)</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDKP (Communist Labour Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDKP (Communist Party of Turkey/IMK)</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDR (Kurdish Workers' Association of Turkey)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKP (Revolutionary Communist Union of Turkey)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDP (National Liberation of Kurdistan)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TK (Union of Turkey's Revolution?)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCDD (National–Revolutionary Youth Association)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHP (Revolutionary People's Path)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey/Workers' Voice)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKP (People's Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY (Farhat's Way)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KX (Liberation)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİHA (Popular Liberation Army of Turkey)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİH (Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatvan Workers' Committee</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİHA (Revolutionary Union of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİP (Revolutionary Communist Labour Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FK (Nationalization of Labour)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC (Revolutionary Front)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD (Revolutionary Vanguards)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OY (Ocalan Support)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DİDV (Progressive Cultural Association of the East)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGIR (Socialist Youth Union)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERGİM (Kurdish organization)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YİH (People's Party)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİHYOC (sympathizer of TİP/ML)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İG (Union of Labour)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LY (Third Path)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWP (Workers Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TİPA (Revolutionary Workers' Peaceful Party of Turkey)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGÖ (Revolutionary Intellectual Army)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENT WORKER GROUPS</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENT KURDISH GROUPS</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENT LEFT-WING GROUPS</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENT RIGHT-WING GROUPS</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENT UNLABELED GROUPS</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Article 146 reads:

"Whoever forcibly attempts to alter or change the whole or part of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and to overthrow the Grand National Assembly constituted according to this Constitution or prevent it from performing its duties shall be punished by the death penalty."

"Those who, either by themselves or together with more than two persons, and in the forms and through the means enumerated in Article 65, shall, either by instigating sedition orally or by writing or by acts or by delivering speeches or hanging placards in public squares or streets or in places where people gather, or by publication, instigate and incite others to perpetrate these crimes shall be condemned to death even though the conspiracy constitutes only an attempt."

"Those who conspire in the commission of the crimes enumerated in section 1 by any other means than those enumerated in Article 65 shall be condemned to a term of heavy imprisonment from five to ten years and to permanent disqualification from public office."

Four other Articles of the IPC have been constantly used.

Article 159 provides a sentence of up to six years' imprisonment for anyone who insults the government, the armed forces, or the security forces. Under martial law, of course, the military themselves decide whether they have been insulted.

Article 158 provides a sentence of up to five years' imprisonment or anyone who insults the President.

Article 312 provides a sentence of two years' imprisonment for anyone who incites one class against other classes.

Article 161 provides a sentence of 5-year imprisonment for anyone who disrespects the secular principle of the State.

According to the Military Code of Criminal Procedure, military prosecutors and judges are under the authority of local military commanders. These military commanders have also been authorized to intervene in investigations at any time.

Defendants, even if they be civilians, are considered military personnel by the military court of martial law and are tried under the Military Code of Criminal Procedure.

Defendants are deprived of the right to reject a military judge and to demand other judges, even if the military judge displays partiality. It is no longer possible to inform public opinion of the partiality of a military judge, since the latter is authorized to impose censorship.

If a defendant or his lawyer object to an objection, the military court can remove either or both from the court room and even put them under arrest. In this event, the trial can be held without the presence of the defendant and/or his lawyer, and judgement can be made by default.

If there is only one witness in any given case, the military court is not obliged to hear him in the court room. The military judges are authorized to accept witnesses' written statements, obtained and filed during the preliminary investigation. That is to say, the military judges can take a decision on the basis of a false statement. The defendants do not have the right to verify the authenticity of the statement or even to verify whether the witness actually exists or not. According to this amendment, military prosecutors and military judges can send someone to jail without any concrete evidence.

Military courts are authorized to restrict the time allotted to defense as they wish.

Moreover, the NSC decreed that sentences of up to 5-year imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Cassation, and the convicted person should immediately be incarcerated.

At mass trials military judges can apply the rules proper to "war conditions."

For these reasons, all trials held before military tribunals are in full contradiction to the "fair trial" principle of the European Convention on Human Rights, and the military's whole juridical system is a sham.

According to data given on December 31, 1985, by the General Headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces, during a 7-year period of martial law, military tribunals have tried 45,613 cases, of which 44,507 ended in judgements:

- 15,897 convictions
- 13,003 acquittals
- 15,007 withdrawals.

Since a majority of the cases are related to the mass proceedings, the total number of people arrested within the framework of these 45,613 files has risen to 67,300.

The same source reports that the number
of the condemned people in 15,897 proceedings entered in conviction has risen to 44,725. Details of punishments are as follows:

- 22,912 persons to up to a year in prison;
- 10,733, from 1 to 5 years;
- 6,166, from 5 to 10 years;
- 2,396, from 10 to 20 years;
- 939, to more than 20 years;
- 630, to life in prison;
- 429, to death.

At the end of 1985, there were still 1,106 cases being tried by military tribunals, notably those of the leaders of DISK, the Turkish Peace Committee, the Workers' Union of Turkey, and the different cases of left-wing political parties or groups and the neo-fascist MHP. Although the distribution of the sentences to the organizations has not been detailed by the state authorities, we are drawing up a table on the basis of information which appeared in the Turkish Press. (See: Page 176)

Although 429 political activists have been condemned to capital punishment and 27 of them executed, the total number of those for whom military prosecutors demanded capital punishment has risen to more than 7,000 within the same period. Just before the November 1983 elections, this number was established as 6,351. Distribution of these demands for capital punishment to different organizations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEV-YOL</td>
<td>2,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THKP/C</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEV-SOL</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKP/ML</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDK</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAVA</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KURTYLUS</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISK</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSLPB</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHB</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AICILCILER</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDO</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIKB</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUK</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKP/IS</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIEGARI-ALA RIZGARI</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THTKO</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEKOSIN</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TKEP</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BY</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many mass trials in connection with these capital punishment demands were not yet concluded at the end of 1985. As for the trials which ended, while 429 Anfrodans have been sentenced to prison terms or simply acquitted.

The General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces reports that 67,30 people were the object of arrest order. But on November 17, 1985, there were only 15,307 people in military prisons—9,805 sentenced and 5,502 awaiting the start of their trial while under arrest. However, figures given by the authorities at different times and those published by the Press have always been in contradiction.

In May 1981, the Turkish Government announced that in the first seven months following the ousting 122,659 "suspected extremist" had been arrested. The New York Times of May 24, 1981, reported a figure of "more than 100,000" attributing it to a NATO report. Therefore, to claim that only 67,304 people have been arrested over a 7-year period is very far from being believable.

Nevertheless, even using the contradictory official reports given by the authorities, we can figure out an undeniable fact. The proportion of leftist activists among those arrested is only

Denunciation Office at the Turkish Western Border
14 percent. A great majority of them have already been released and only a handful well-known Grey Wolves remain in prison. Even the neo-fascist chief Alparslan Türkleş has been set free, and he continues to propagate his chaunistic ideas.

A report entitled "Terror and Evaluation of the Fight against Terra", issued in 1983 by the Office of the Prime Minister, gave the following data on different characteristics of 60,481 people who were in military prisons by February 2, 1983:

POLITICAL TENDENCIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
<td>32,956 (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>3,923 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>8,198 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15,406 (25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between 16-25</td>
<td>33,377 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 25-35</td>
<td>17,859 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 35-45</td>
<td>6,680 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 45</td>
<td>2,565 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>9,487 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>21,360 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education</td>
<td>17,801 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11,833 (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIAL STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>8,573 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>6,384 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>9,087 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>9,786 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>12,042 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>960 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6,925 (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the political tendencies of those who have been sentenced to different terms, one can easily notice the low proportion of rightist activists. The same report from the Prime Ministry indicated that within a 51-month period (from December 30, 1978, to March 31, 1983) martial law tribunals had condemned 32,650 people for political acts and opinions. The distribution of this number according to different political tendencies was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
<td>17,494 (53.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>689 (2.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>4,258 (13.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10,209 (31.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering that the great majority of political murders prior to the military coup had been committed by right-wing activists, nobody can claim that military justice works in a just way. This whole judicial machinery invested
DEATH SENTENCES

Up to the end of 1985, the military regime condemned 429 political activists to capital punishment. Thirty-two of those condemna-
tions have been ratified and 27 carried out. Four of these sentences have expired from prison and one has been shot dead by security forces during an act of resistance. Besides the political activists, in the same period, 12 other persons who had been con-
demned for theft offences were also executed with the approval of the NSC, and the total number of the people executed has risen to 39. At the end of 1985, eighty death sentences that had already been approved by the Military Court of Cassation were on the agenda of the National Assembly for ratification. Besides, thousands of people were still being tried before military tribunals and risking capital punishment. In fact, among the 21 member-countries of the Council of Europe, Turkey is the only country where capital punishment is still in force. Practically, all other European countries have abolished or suspended this inhuman method of "justice." On April 26, 1983, an additional agreement to the European Convention on Human Rights, regarding the abolishment of the death penalty was opened for the signature of the 21 member states, but up to the end of 1985, Turkey had not manifested any intention to ratify it. On the contrary, General Erem, in his many speeches, repeated that capital punish-
ment is indispensable for maintaining "law and order" in the country. In answer to protests from the Council of Europe and the European Parliament against executions, by delivering a fierce speech at Mas in early October 1984, saying: "Can the Execu-
tors be forgiven? Would you accept their not being hanged if they were apprehended, put on trial and sentenced to death? If we hang them, this will encourage the terrorists." Death sentences had not been carried out for the previous twelve years in Turkey. The military's hangmen had executed on May 6, 1972 three young resistance leaders, Besik Gencso, Yavuz Akarsu and Mahmut Yilmaz, during the preceding military rule between 1971 and 1973. On the great reaction from public opinion, the National Assembly did not ratify any other capital punishment since 1980. After taking power, Eren's junta, acting as legislators, resuming the carrying out of this abhuman punishment as one of its first prac-
tices. The first victims were Necdet Abbas (left-child) and Mustafa Polatkinici (right-
wing), both executed on October 9, 1986, in Ankara. They even executed a young student, Erdal Eren, on November 13, 1986, despite the fact that he was a minor at the time of the act in question and that there was no concrete proof against his participation in it. Executions con-
tinued until June 1983 with the hanging of 25 persons. Prior to the legislative elections of November 1983, the NSC adapted this practice as a token of the "return to democracy." After succeeding in having themselves reint-
tegrated into the Council of Europe Parliament-
ary Assembly, the Turkish General's forced the Turkish Parliament to ratify death sentences. As it turned out, for the first time, on October 4, the "elected" members of Parliament ratified death sentences passed on two political prisoners. On October 7, 1984, Hulus Hic, a Mil-
itant belonging to Dev-Yoli (Revolutionary Path) was hanged in Izmir. This execution was followed by the hanging of Hıdır Aslan, who belonged to the same organization, in İzmir on October 25, 1984. In his indictment bill, the military prosecu-
tor had accused Aslan of "attempting to eliminate by violence the constitutional order." Yet, they failed to prove anything against Aslan, neither homicides that he had ever held a leading post within Dev-Yoli. Before Aslan's execution, European Parlia-
ment Speaker Mr. Pierre Pflimlin sent a tele-
grap to the permanent representatives of Turkey to the European Communities for the latter to inform the Turkish authorities of the European Parliament Speaker's wish that Aslan be granted to the condemned persons on humane grounds. In West Germany, the "Hirsch Commis-
The position of the Turkish Republic was in the midst of a fast-moving situation in Turkey, as reported on October 15 to the "President of the Turkish Republic" and to the West-German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Dr. Martin Hirsch, a former judge at the Federal Constitutional Court, along with several other German public figures said in their appeal to Mr. Gemeker: "The elimination of human lives, ordered by the state, is deeply inhuman. A state which does not protect the lives of its citizens but destroys them, should not benefit from the Federal Government's support, neither economically nor financially nor morally." (Frankfurter Rundschau, 16.10.1984)

After Atalay's execution, the Socialist, Communist and "Rainbow" Group Heads at the European Parliament in Strasbourg sent a letter to the EP Speaker requesting him to express to the Turkish authorities Parliament's "most absolute indignation". They also called on Mr. Pilgrim to intervene with the Council of Ministers of the Ten member countries to prevent the EEC-Turkey Association Treaty from being resumed.

On the other hand, the Council of Europe "regrets the execution of the Turkish militant. Its Spanish-born Secretary-General, Marcellino Oregia, and the Speaker of the Parliamentary Assembly of the 21-member Council, the German Karl Ahrens, said they "expect" all member countries to "align gradually" with the principle of the abolition of the death penalty."

In Strasbourg, the Senate paid tribute to Atalay. This gesture aroused the Turkish authorities' anger. On the other hand, 34 French intellectuals made an appeal to stand "an 18-hour democratic award in front of the Turkish Embassy" on November 6.

In its October 26 issue the French daily Le Monde made the following comments on Atalay's execution: "It is strange that the (Turkish) authorities should be represented within an organization whose 'principles of pre-eminence of law' is acknowledged by its member countries, as well as the principle whereby any individual falling within its jurisdiction must enjoy human rights and basic liberties. The Greek Colonels were ousted from the Council for much less. One cannot but be amazed at seeing French public opinion, so sensitive to what happens elsewhere, responding with indifference to this news."

Opposition to executions has always been manifested on every occasion, even in the darkest days of the repression. A juridical error which provided the injustice of capital punishment gave way, even in the Consultative Assembly appointed by the Junta, to an attempt to abolish this practice.

A leftist activist, Ahmet Ethem, was condemned by a military court on the charge of killing a rights activist in 1979. The death sentence, based on only one person's evidence, was approved by the Judicial Committee of the Consultative Assembly on March 25, 1982, despite the fact that the same witness informed the Assembly that he had lied to the tribunal. Fortunately, because of a press campaign against this injustice, the Military Court of Cassation was obliged to withdraw the file from the Assembly.

At that time, a member of the Consultative
HSIR ASLAN'S LAST LETTER

My dear evil brother,

I'm not going to write a lot. I had prepared myself for this moment. My entire voyage should be as beautiful as my heart has been. Should we be able to clean this place, it's enough. Life, life, life! Gravel works.

Everyone should be plain and simple as our lives.

Like a song, I've been trying to sing it as well as I could. The days will also come when people will sing victory. I'm leaving happy because even if it was short, I have chosen to live proudly. Even if I live for just a cause, there is nothing one can nor bear. Even death becomes simple when death has a little, isn't it beautiful as life.

While writing this letter, imagining tea and smoking a cigarette, slowly meditating. I'm feeling sad. I'm trying to go over in my mind my life as a whole. It's difficult, it's a short period to follow everything from the beginning to the end.

"You had asked me to write a testament. I was too happy, but I will make it the last time. Stand for the just cause, that's my wish. For all of you. Give all my friends, all people, my warm affection. I'm leaving without being ashamed, with head erect, and expect no one to be disdained by it or distrusted about it. That would harm me very much. Man must be able and is able to live with grief."

You have given me a lot of trouble for so much that I couldn't possibly have told. I have been told to be worthy of you and of the others, all representatives of winning people of our country, throughout the world. And if I failed to do so, I could, with head erect, and expect no one to be disdained by it or distrusted about it.

As many rights I have, I'm-taking them to you and to Aydin. I know that you will use them properly. I would like to say a few words, but you're quiet. I have a mild election, but I can't stop it. Don't be so crazy to get you down. Be strong in the face of life, like I am. Give my affection to Sultan. I cannot list all your names, nor those of our friends. This letter is written for all of them.

With all my affection, with all my heart, I steep all of you in my arms. I embrace you: satisfaction. Be strong. Keep your head erect. I will be ashamed you on the beautiful days.

Your uncle, your brother, your friend.

Assembly. Sitqoul Altay, drew up a draft bill which called for commutation of death sentences to life imprisonment. But he failed to collect the 10 signatures from other members of the Assembly to put it on the agenda.

In May 1983, a petition signed by three thousand people asking for the abolition of the death penalty was presented to the NSC and the Consultative Assembly, but it was not given a suit.

Lawyers of defendants sentenced to death made a new move to get the death penalty abolished in Turkey. Attorney Hacett Celik, in answer to questions from the Turkish News Agency on January 26, 1984, stated that the issue of the death penalty should be approached objectively, not emotionally. He added: "The most basic human right, the right to live, is being prevented by the application of the death penalty and this is opposite to the principles of democracy and civilized legislations. The government's responsibility should be to protect human life. Anyone, for whatever personal or social reasons, can be driven to commit a murder. However, a level-headed government cannot eliminate human life." Stressing that these penalties were not "preventive," Celik called for their removal.

Another lawyer, Sergen Can Ozyah, said: "As someone who has accompanied several defendants to their place of execution and beard the laments of their families, I am asking for the immediate revocation of the death penalty. No to do so would be harmful to future generations."

Lawyer Mehmet Bekas who has been present a few times at the execution of his clients: "I do not think I could stand witnessing another such event. To see someone's life eliminated by rules is an experience that no one who did not see it can understand."

Ismail Cakmak, another lawyer questioned by the Agency, said: "Capital punishment is not a punishment but, as many lawyers have said, a primitive method of revenge. As a matter of fact, in certain period the application of the death penalty decreases and in others, it increases. It is also apparent that the application of the death penalty does not reduce the number of crimes committed."

Another important initiative to obtain the abolishment of capital punishment has been the petition signed by 1,256 intellectuals and sent to the "President of the Republic," a petition which provoked the anger of the latter.
In December 1985, the Central Council of the Turkish Doctors' Union (TTB) introduced a petition to the same demand to the 'President of the Republic.' But this initiative, too, has not been welcomed by the civilian government, and the Minister of Justice ordered the Public Prosecutor in Istanbul to begin proceedings for taking away the posts of six members of the council, all of whom are very distinguished medical specialists in Turkey. The trial of the six signatories, Nurett Fotuk, Asaay Yurukoglu, Halil Ozbar, Nevbat Evren, Ragip Cam and Fethi Gokturk began on December 23, 1985, before a tribunal in Istanbul.

**DISK’S TRIAL**

Among the political trials of the last period, those which have provoked world-wide interest and reaction have been the cases of DISK, the Turkish Peace Committee, the 1,256 signatory intellectuals, the Writers’ Union of Turkey and that of the population of Fatsa.

The Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK) is the second national union of the country, with about one million members. Though the other, TURK-S, has an affiliation higher than DISK, it is organised mainly in the public sector and has always pursued co-ordinated policies with regard to employers. Conversely, DISK was very well organised in the private sector, especially in the industrial zones surrounding Istanbul and other big cities, and distinguished as a dynamic trade union center fighting for the working class’ interests.

It is DISK that was the major obstacle to the application of drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF and applauded by big business in Turkey. One of the principal objectives of the coup was to destroy this obstacle. Thousands of trade union officials and militants were taken into police custody on the very first day of the new regime; trade union activities were suspended, and military prosecutors, after working for about one year, lodged charges against DISK with the military tribunal on October 26, 1981. The indictment itself covered some 1,000 pages and the whole dossier exceeded 6,000 pages.

The charge was mainly based on two paragraphs — paragraphs 144 and 146 — of the Turkish Penal Code that dates back to the time of Mussolinis. These two paragraphs state that no social class has the right to dominate any other social class and that it is a punishable offense to attempt to overthrow the social and economic institutions of the country.

The military prosecutor called for the death penalty for 52 of the accused, and charges were also brought against 2,000 members of DISK.

The Prosecutor based the charges on three main points:
- the nature of DISK meetings,
- the nature of strikes,
- the content of publications.

**Nature of meetings:**

Legislation covering freedom of association had been in existence since 1961. According to this law, prior notification of intended meetings was required. If the authorities did not respond within 24 hours of receiving this notification, the meeting was considered to be within the law. Although the authorities had never banned any of DISK’s activities in all the 12 years of its existence, the Prosecutor contested the legality of several of its meetings.

**Strikes:**

It was perfectly legal to organise strikes in Turkey, providing they were organized during a period of collective bargaining or within the
MONSTROUS TRIAL IN ISTANBUL
(Le Dropeau Rouge, 28.12).

AN OUTLANDISH TRIAL TO SAVE THE LIFE OF 52 MIGRANTS, AN APPEAL OF THE CGT. (A Humani té, 28.12).

ISTANBUL, TRIAL COMPLAINTS ON TORTURE DISAPPEARED (Le Main, 28.12).

A MACKERY OF A TRIAL IN ISTANBUL (Le Dropeau Rouge, 29.12).

Jurek lawyers (K. N. Dahl, Norway), S. Pecher (Denmark), and Mrs. A. Lagostena Baso (Italy), acting as observers on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), have just attended the opening and first sittings of the trial in Istanbul of the 52 defendants of DISK. The trade union lawyers witnessed grave incidents which marked the opening of the trial and expressed their indignation against the restriction of the rights of the defence. The two trade union organizations will continue to be represented at the main sittings of the trial, which is likely to last several weeks or even months. (Press Release, 29.12).

- On Dec. 29, France expressed its "very gross worry" because of the trial of 52 Turkish trade unionists. The Co-ordinator of the Turkish Embassy was invited to Quai d'Orsay for this reason. (Le Monde, 31.12).

- An alarming report on the trial of trade unionists in Turkey. Two lawyers, M. Weyl, representative of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and Mr. Van Drogenbroeck, charged by the World Confederation of Labour, have given explanations yesterday, in Brussels, about their mission in Turkey where they attended the trial of the DISK leaders. (La Cité, 31.12).

- A FACADE TRIAL. The trial of the DISK leaders will be, according to M. Weyl, followed by another trial against members and militants of DISK, of which about 2,000 would be arrested. (Le Soir, 31.12).

- A voluminous book of 850 pages with tight typography and black and golden binding. No, it is not new addition of the Bible, but the first volume of the documents in the trial of DISK leaders. Reporters could see it yesterday in Brussels in the hands of Mr. Van Drogenbroeck who had just returned from Istanbul.

The Turkish authorities have the im-

period of validity of collective agreements if these had been violated.

With two exceptions, DISK always complied with these requirements. The exceptions were two general strikes which were called spontaneously by the workers. These were adjusted to legal proceedings, but in the meantime the military prosecutor denied that any legal action was taken.

Publications:

All DISK publications confronted to legal requirements. The law provided that the Government could intervene within a period of several months of publication. Over a period of 12 years this was never the case. The Prosecutor took no account of this law in the indictment.

The DISK Trial opened on December 24, 1961, at a military tribunal in Istanbul. It provoked world-wide reaction. We are reproducing below extracts on the ease from world press.

- On the eve of worldwide celebrations for peace and brotherhood, 52 trade unionists of DISK in Turkey will go on trial for their lives even though no act of violence is alleged against them. Curiously enough, 205 members of the Communist Party — always forbidden in Turkey — only heard stiff prison sentences demanded for them, whereas DISK is accused merely of having committed sympathies. The trade unionists are being judged under clauses in the Penal Code which are vague, ambiguous and which open the door to gross injustice. Once democracy is truly restored, one of the first acts must surely be to scrap these infamous clauses. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions demands a halt to the trials and the release of all trade unionists against whom no valid acts are charged. (International Trade Union News, 17.12).

- The Democratic French Labour Confederation (CFDT) asked the French government to take necessary steps against the Turkish Government at the European Commission for Human Rights. (Le Dropeau Rouge, 26.12).

- 30 ex of 52 officers of DISK, tried in Istanbul, lodged complaints about torture, but these documents were not put in the minutes of the military tribunal. Mr. Bastid, president of DISK, declared that he had been beaten many times on the head during his interrogation. (The Sunday Times, 27.12).
A TRADE UNION LEADER IN THE SHADE OF THE GALLOWS

Abdullah Baslak, the president of DISK, was born in an Anatolian village in 1929. Because of his family’s poverty, he had to leave high school at the beginning and start his career as an agricultural worker from the age of 14. Later on, he worked in the public and industrial sectors. He entered the trade union struggle while he was working in the municipality of Istanbul and set up a local trade union. In 1962, he founded with his comrades the national trade union GENEL-İS, gathering all employees in the public sector in Turkey, and was elected the president. The GENEL-İS was first affiliated with the confederation Türkiye-İş. Citing its conciliatory attitudes, the GENEL-İS shifted to DISK with its 100,000 members and became the largest trade union in this progressive confederation. Meanwhile, Mr. Baslak was elected deputy of the People’s Republican Party (CHP) of Mr. Evren. He was elected the president of DISK at the 6th congress held at the end of 1977. Prosecuted several times because of actions taken by DISK for the defence of trade union and democratic rights, Mr. Baslak was arrested by the state authorities in order to prevent the massive celebration of May Day, twice in 1979 and 1980. Mr. Baslak and his comrades were among the first persons arrested and tortured following the coup PRESS of September 12, 1980.

dency to give the image of an open trial by accepting the families of the accused, journalists and foreign observers to the sessions. In addition to this, even a relative resounding of this dimensional trial in international opinion will serve to keep away attention from a series of other trials which pass in a more discreet manner. Both lawyers underlined the numerous violations of the rights of the defense that they observed in the course of this trial. “The Bar of Istanbul is the last democratic institution of the country, but the lawyers who plead in the DISK trial are also threatened with persecution. The fate of the 52 leaders of DISK, and also the destiny of the thousands of democrats actually detained or persecuted before the Turkish military courts will dearly depend on the interest that international public opinion will manifest,” the lawyers concluded. (Le Droit de l’Homme Rouge, 31, 12).

A trial without defence

On world opinion reaction, the Turkish General Staff spokesman attempted to justify the trial, on January 8, 1982, by declaring: “DISK had applied many times to be affiliated with the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC), but each time its demand was refused on grounds that DISK was an extreme-leftist organization.”

The ETUC immediately denied this claim. To deprive the DISK leaders of their rights to defence, the military has resorted to every means possible. The last day of 1981, defence lawyers Haydari Felmit Gümüş and Turan Karay were ousted from the court room by the military judge for having asked for parole during the reading of the indictment. On this decision, all other defence lawyers left the tribunal in protest against the judge’s partiality.
On January 5, 1982, the defence lawyers lodged a complaint against the partial attitude of the military judge who conducted the case and asked the National Defence Ministry to change the judge.

The following day, the Vice-President of the Bar of Istanbul, defence lawyer Mrs. Günsel Çağlıoğlu, lodged the same complaint at the tribunal.

On January 13, 1982, the defence lawyers of 45 defendants in the DISK trial refused to enter the court-room in protest against the military prosecutor’s behaviour and asked the court to start proceedings against him.

At the trial of January 15, Bastürk, in a paper presented to the court, asked the military court to file suits against President of the Turkish Union of Chambers Memet Yazar, President of the Turkish Employers Associations Confederation Hâkim Nam, and editorialist Ahmet Kabıkhil on charges that they were trying to distribute false reports about the trial. The military 3-member panel rejected Bastürk’s demand.

Since the partial attitude of the Court’s panel did not change, all defence lawyers declared on January 29, 1982, that they were withdrawing from trial until the end of the indictment reading.

They included Orhan Apaydın, Chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association.

When the reading of the indictment ended, chief defence lawyer Apaydiz could not return to the court room because he too was arrested for another political case. To prevent Apaydın from revealing the irregularities and to intimidate other defence lawyers, Colonel Taşkı, who is also the prosecutor in proceedings against the Turkish Peace Committee, included him on the list of the accused and arrested him along with 22 other pacifists.

Colonel Taşkı, going further, declared on March 8, 1982, to the Agence France Presse: “We wish to finish with DISK, which, under the cover of trade-unionism, led aimed to destroy the State with the purpose of founding a Marxist-Leninist regime in Turkey.”

Bastürk’s alarm-cry DISK Chairman Bastürk, in the course of the December 15, 1982, session, introduced a charge setting forth the illegality of this trial and calling for their release.

This declaration was a real alarm-cry in the shade of the gallows.

1. The 967-page indictment prepared for the DISK trial is a totally unlawful document, ‘Crimes’ which do not exist in laws have been ARTIFICIALLY created to be crimes. The accusations have been based on methods of ANALOGY and SUGGESTION, which have been declared unlawful in the Penal Code.

“These accusations are assertions of subjective apprehensions like predictions, druthers and hypothetical statements. The indictment is a basis political document of polemics full of contradictions and false-reasoning based on the effort to create chain crimes based on collective accusation, which is contrary to the principles of the Constitution and the codes defining the personal character of crimes. According to us, the Military Prosecutor has resorted to FRAUDULENT ALTERATION of facts, in order to find basis for his unlawful method.

The most striking peculiarity of the indictment is that it is not based on evidence. There is not one single piece of evidence in the indictment proving that DISK is an illegal organization conspiring to overthrow the state order, and showing that DISK was guilty of deliberate violation of articles 146, 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.

“The identification of the defendants in the indictment is uncertain. The legal basis of the accusations is not presented. The offences are not described, which is contrary to article 1 of the Turkish Penal Code. The attempt to penalize the cases which have already been brought to Court and finalized, is a very concrete example of violation of the basic principles of Law.

“The indictment has not been able to assert a single case which can be considered under the titles of ‘physical compulsion’, ‘psychological compulsion’ and ‘evil intention’ in the Turkish laws. Moreover, it is not possible to look for evil intention in the trade union activities we have undertaken, nor in the posts we have been elected to through secret vote and public census. None of our activities can be declared unlawful.

“The Military Prosecutor has openly declared that he will not, asst to any decision taken by the Supreme Courts and law authorities.

“The papers we were forced to sign under
heavy torture and oppression, have been used for the preparatory statements. The Public Prosecutors, by implication, seem practically to approve of torture in his observations on page 81 of the indictment. Our petition concerning tortures has been removed from other files.

"All of DISK's actions so far have been legal and in line with the principles of the Constitution. The trade union activities of DISK have always been within the framework of the trade union heritage sustained in Western Europe for 200 years. In accordance with the P.O. principles and the approach adopted by the FTUC, of which DISK is a candidate for membership.

"Nothing has been concealed from the Turkish and world media. The activities and actions have been published through the daily papers, radio and TV.

"All the domestic and international activities of DISK have been under the strict control of the State through Law No. 274 on Trade Unions, especially Items 10 and 29. The documents at the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, particularly, are good evidence of this fact.

"The activities of DISK have either been carried out under judicial supervision or else have never been prosecuted at all. All of DISK's press-publication activities have been pursued within the limits of the relevant law and all its publications have been inspected by the Press Prosecutors. According to the Press Law, publications which have undergone censorship cannot be further prosecuted; nor can new accusations be brought forward based on them.

"The authorities have attended all the Congress meetings held by DISK, its by-laws have been approved, its resolutions certified by the public ministry, and presented to the relevant office upon request.

"The meetings and conferences have been held under the consent and supervision of the State, which granted the necessary legal authorizations. The strikes carried out by the affiliated trade unions are in accordance with Law No. 275 on Collective Bargaining and Strikes. No suit was brought against any of these strikes at the time.

"It is against both the law and democracy to regard our views and activities as crimes after so many years. This approach is a total violation of the principle of 'Permanence of the State'. Likewise, the Penal Code Law, which states that no deed can be punished which was not considered against the law at the time it was committed has been violated. Acts which were legal and in agreement with the Constitution under normal conditions, are proclaimed illegal in extraordinary periods.

"DISK has always defended the idea that the Constitution should be entirely implemented and perfectly applied, and that democracy should be practiced wholly with all its institutions and rules. DISK has taken offices of representation at various institutions of the State, its members serving as members of Parliament, its projects have been taken as models for Court resolutions. DISK is also mentioned in university textbooks.

"On the other hand, DISK has always expressed a clear attitude against terrorism and anarchy and has always been on the side of democratic rights and freedoms.

"During the trial, DISK and its affiliated members were accused by some authorities of being responsible for and taking part in 'anarchy and terror'. It can be understood from the contents of the indictment and from the study of documents in the case file, that the accusations have no material foundation.

"On the other hand, even though no judgement has been rendered and, though we believe it impossible for such a sentence to be given, the death sentence that was prayed for us has slowly but correctly begun to be executed. The conditions of the confinement we are suffering.

"Indeed, 18 of us are squeezed into each cell, a description doctors as 'dangerous to life' because of the extreme difficulty in breathing. Because of the chlorine's smoke which fills our airy yard with smoke and gas, we are in danger of dying from slow poisoning in our cell. Under these conditions, we are unable to get fresh air for a total of 60 minutes a week, in getting fresh air means breathing poisonous gas in an even more concentrated form.

"Except for these poisonous gases which may cause many diseases, including cancer, the general conditions also threaten our health: the cells and the airy yard receive no sunlight; the dishpan must be washed with cold water, each person has to 3 minutes of bathing water per week, etc.

"The lighting system is in a position to
severely damage the eyes. Watering and burn-
ing of the eyes are frequent. Those among our
friends who have asked to see an eye doctor,
have been put on a list of 200 people still wait-
ing to be examined. According to an announce-
ment, their turn will come in nine weeks. Regu-
lar medical control is made by looking at the
face of the arrested person through a keyhole
every week or every ten days. Prescribed medi-
cine cannot be obtained on time.

"On the other hand, our talks with our
lawyers are curtailed under the supervision of
soldiers, which is unlawful. A lawyer is allowed
a total of 20 minutes to talk with his 10
- 15 clients. We are not given the trial minute
statements and defense documents which our
lawyers bring for us. A book including the
Constitution of 1924, 1961 and 1982 is forbid-
den to the defendants; the word 'harmful' has
been added under the title of the 1961 Constitu-
tion.

"In short, our defence rights are extremely
limited.

"The ten-minute talks we may have with
our families are threatening the family institu-
tion and are very humiliating.

"On the other hand, in the jailhouse, get-
ing searched, being hit with chains on the
back, being insulted, being subject to dishonor-
ing manners and words are things which occur
frequently and are very hard to endure.

"Being under arrest does not mean that the
arrested person should be physically, mentally,
psychologically sick. But under the prison con-
ditions that are imposed upon us, it is even
doubtful if we will live to the sentence stage of
the trial.

"I hope that History will not be the witness
of the execution of innocent trade unionists,
who are put to trial on the basis of an unlawful
indictment and in view of the death sentence,
before the verdict which — according to us —
will acquit these men.

"All the requests we have submitted to the
office concerned about our living conditions in
prison, have remained unanswered.

"This trial, as the Military Prosecutor who
has his signature under the indictment stated
himself in one of his remarks, is a political trial.

"By this unlawful indictment, it is not the
things we do nor our activities, but rather our
ideas and views on trade-unionism, which are
under accusation.

"It is not so much DISK which is being
accused and sentenced by this indictment, as it
is trade union rights and freedoms, and the
United Nations and ILO principles, the prin-
ciples of the European Trade Unions Confedera-
tion, to which we are a candidate member, that
are being interrogated and tried.

"DISK, as a national, independent and
democratic workers' union, has worked for the
development of basic rights and freedoms, and
democratic workers' rights. It has defended the
Constitution, democracy and national liberty,
has protected labour and has struggled against
exploitation, anarchy and terrorism.

"DISK has defended progress, truth, real-
ity and labour. Our greatest witnesses is History
and the social realities of our times. Reality will
abolish DISK."

**Military prosecutor's retreat**

The military prosecutor, over the following four-
year period, initiated other proceedings against
all trade unions affiliated to DISK.

According to the daily Cumhuriyet of March
19, 1984, after the military coup, 3,298 offi-
cials of the trade unions affiliated to DISK
have been prosecuted, but at the end of the
inquest, 1,138 of them were set free, the files of
1,379 others suspended because they were at
large, and 1,177 officials sent up for trial before
military courts:

- 104 of Madem-I's (Metal Workers), 60
  of Oleyen (Hotel, Restaurant, Entertainment
  Workers), 18 of ASIS (Wood Workers), 37
  of Findik-I's (Nut harvesting Workers), 58
  of Tekstil-I's (Textile Workers), 28 of Devrimci
  Yapilis (Construction Workers), 21 of TIS
  (Agricultural Workers), 36 of Limiter-I's (Sea-
  port and Dockyard Workers), 15 of Tepo-I's,
  78 of Bankcen (Bank Employees), 20 of
  Tumka-I's (Doormen), 46 from Lasik-I's (Rub-
  ber Workers), 40 of Tel Ges-I's (Gas-electric
  Workers), 89 of Geneli-I's (Public Workers), 21
  of Saklak-I's (Health Workers), 15 of Astar-I's
  (Naval Dockyards Workers), 14 of Hic-Cam-
  is (Glass Workers), 16 of Dev Maden-Sen
  (Metal Workers), 89 of Petkim-I's (Petro-
  Chemical Workers), 31 of Sosyalist-I's (Social
  Security Employees), 42 of Nukhayat-I's (Trans-
  port Workers), 61 of Gida-I's (Food Workers), 14
  of Yeni Haber-I's (Com-
communication Workers," 13 of Bayes (Public Workers), 43 of Topraş-Iş (Agricultural Workers), 25 of Yeralit Maden-Iş (Miners) and 54 of Basin-Iş (Printing Workers).

As a result of the Prosecutor's decision to join all the trials of DISK-affiliated trade unions to the main DISK Trial, the total number of defendants climbed to 1,478 in October 1984. The DISK Chairman and 78 other top officials faced capital punishment.

The military also launched proceedings against 184 other unionists who were not affiliated to DISK. Of them 159 were the officials of the TÜRK-IŞ affiliate Highway Workers' Union (Yol-Iş) and the rest belonged to independent unions.

On pressure from the international trade union movement, all DISK leaders were released in September 1984, though their trial continued.

Besides the trade union officials, military prosecutors brought thousands of workers before tribunals for their actions prior to the military coup.

The biggest of these trials started on April 15, 1982, at Amasya. Nine hundred and one miners of the Yeni Çeltek Lignite Mines were accused of going on strike and organizing on their own initiative the mining and marketing of lignite when the employer decided on a lock-out.

The trial ended on May 17, 1985 with one death sentence, 12 life sentences and 608 prison terms of up to 20 years. One of the people sentenced is a 65-year-old woman who is accused of having participated in the workers' action.

Cetin Uysal, chairman of the DISK-affiliated Yeralit Maden-Iş, was among the defendants in the principal DISK Trial in Istanbul.

One hundred and fifty-three who resisted the mass dismissal at the Tarlı Agro-industrial complex in Erzurum before the military coup were also brought before a military tribunal, and 24 workers were sentenced to prison.

In Adana, 85 workers of the textile factory SASA were also condemned for their resistance prior to the coup.

Another legal proceeding against the progressive trade union movement has been the confiscation of all of DISK's property and assets by the military.

Despite the lifting of martial law in Istanbul, this unjust repressive measure was still carried out and all demands for realization of DISK's property were categorically refused.

The trial of 1,478 DISK officials reached its final phase at the end of 1985. Although the military prosecutor claimed in 1981 that DISK had resorted to violence and coercion and called for the application of article 146 of the TPC (carrying the death sentence on account of "attempts to overthrow the constitutional order") against 76 leaders of DISK, no action of violence has been proven during the 4-year trial. So, the military prosecutor was obliged to rewrite his earlier request for the death sentence and called instead for prison sentences (under article 141 of the TPC) ranging from 6 years and 9 months to 20 years for 78 of the accused, and acquittal for the rest.

TURKISH PEACE COMMITTEE'S TRIAL

Another political case which has provoked world-wide controversy and reaction has been that of the Turkish Peace Committee—The Military Court No. 2 of Martial Law Command of Istanbul issued on February 26, 1982, in absentia, 44 arrest warrants for people associated with the Turkish Peace Committee.

The warrants, issued on the request of the Military Prosecutor's Office, accused the Peace Committee and its members of "forming a secret organization, propagating communism and separation and praging activities that the law classifies as felonies."

The 44 accused are intellectuals from a wide range of professions, including newspapermen, authors, trade union leaders, lawyers, doctors and engineers. A number of them are former members of Parliament, mostly from the banned Republican People's Party.

The list of 44 consists of the executive board members of the Peace Committee, whose activities were banned along with those of many other associations following the September 12, 1980, military takeover.

The list includes former Ambassador Mehmet Dikmen, who was the Committee's chairman, lawyer Orhan Ayypad, the chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association, former

On the court's warrant, 3 of 44 members of the Turkish Peace Committee were arrested in Istanbul including four former deputies. Fourteen other members have not yet surrendered to the authorities. Some newspapers claimed that they fled the country.

It was the first time that the executive board of the Union of Turkish Bar demanded to take part directly in a trial and charged its president, Attila Sar, with lodging an appeal against the arrest of Orhan Apaydin, president of the Istanbul Bar. This request for appeal was also rejected.

Trial started on June 24, 1982.

At the first session the Court proposed that the defendants attend the trial one by one in alphabetical order and that the proceedings be recorded on tape. On behalf of the defendants, Orhan Apaydin said twenty-six of the 37 defendants in the case were under arrest and it would be unnecessary to continue the trial individually. "I am being tried here for having defended freedom, democracy and peace prior to the 12th of September. These acts can never be considered a crime," he said.

Amnesty International announced in a press release on July 30, 1982, that Mahmut Dilekden, 66 years old, had been transferred to a military hospital, suffering from prostate tumour (probably malignant), colitis, an ulcer and allergy. He was uninitiated. In fact, Dilekden and three other defendants, journalist Hilmiyes Bas, journalist Ali Sirman and former deputy Kemal Anadol could not be present at the trial on July 28 because of their illnesses.

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

On the other hand, in relation to this process, the military prosecutors started new legal proceedings against 100 intellectuals in Istanbul and 60 in Ankara.

The military court no. 2 of the Istanbul Martial Law Command announced on November 14, 1983, (exact days after the polls) that 23 of the 30 defendants at this trial had been sentenced to prison terms ranging from 5 to 8 years, for having infringed Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code by carrying out activities aimed at enforcing the rule of one social class over the others. The military prosecutor accused them of "receiving orders from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through the World Council of Peace."

Eighteen defendants were sentenced to 8 years imprisonment: Mahmut Dilekden (ex-ambassador and chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee), Mrs Reha Iyan (wife of the former Mayor of Istanbul), Dr Erdal Aras (Chairman of the Technicians' Union), Cemal Tukus, Ufukhan (engineer), Sefik Asan (teacher), Haluk Tosun (university professor), Aykut Goker (engineer), Ali Taygun (stage manager), Dr Mehmet Cek (University professor), Attila Behramoglu (poet, secretary general of the Turkish Writers' Union), Ali Sirman (foreign desk editor of the daily Cumhuriyet), Gencay Sahin (university professor), Ergin Elgun (engineer), Orhan Taylan (painter), Niyazi Tarhan (former member of Parliament, chairman of the Union of Peace Co-operatives), Hilmiyes Bas (journalist), Nurrettin Yilmaz (former member of Parliament).

Five defendants were sentenced to 3 years imprisonment: Orhan Apaydin (lawyer, chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association), Niyazi Doyan (academic, Ismail Haci Kilin (former member of Parliament), Gundogdu Gorics (publisher), Melih Feriter (university professor).

Five other defendants had been acquitted for lack of evidence establishing their "guilt."
Just after the pronouncement of the verdict, all defendants who were present at the trial, were immediately arrested and jailed. The Court also passed a warrant of arrest against the eight defendants who were absent during the pronouncement of the judgment.

The Military Court of Cassation, after reviewing the file of the Turkish Peace Committee, overturned, on August 29, 1964, the sentence against the 23 members of the Committee on procedural grounds but turned down their request for release.

The Military Court of Cassation annulled in its judgement that the lower court had not based the condemnation of well-established evidence and ordered a new thorough investigation.

Thereupon, on the September 12th meeting of the European Parliament, Greek Deputy M. Ephraimis asked the foreign ministers of the Community if they intended to intervene in favour of Mr. Dikerdem, who is suffering from cancer, and his friends.

The written answer to the question was far from being satisfactory: "The specific case of Mr. Dikerdem has not been the subject of discussion by Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. The Ten remain concerned at the human rights situation within Turkey and particularly at the circumstances of those imprisoned on account of their beliefs. They expect the Turkish Government to respect fully basic human rights and freedoms. The Ten will continue to follow closely the evolution of the situation in regard to human rights within Turkey."

As the 23 members of the Turkish Peace Committee were being tried again by a military court, 48 other members of the same organization were indicted by a military prosecutor on charges of attempting to stage a communist revolution in Turkey. They also faced prison terms ranging from five to fifteen years if convicted.

Those who have been indicted include Aazi Nesin, renowned Turkish humorist and chairman of the Turkish Writers' Union (TÜS), movie actors Tanik Akoz and Gencio Ergbil, former Members of Parliament Metin Tüzün and Erkut Gümüş, university professor Salim Aris as well as several journalists, lawyers and doctors whose names are below:


Trade-Union leaders: Ali Riza Göklen, Celal Kökçü, Nurettin Cevadoglu.

Architects and engineers: Güner Elıcik, Yavuz Buğulmen, Tefik Ercan, Gündüz Gelen.

Artists: Gökhan Tunçer, Rüdyat Arslan, Sadık Sarımuftuu, Yaşar Onay.

Retired Army Officer: Ahmet Yıldız.

Others: Gürd Aydınlı, Ihsan Alkan, Mustafa Nidir Orkut, Bende Born, Esat Halim, Sadettin Ufker, Ferruh Yaşar.

During their interrogation on January 22, 1985, Aazi Nesin rejected the accusations of allegedly making propaganda in favor of the USSR. He went on: "As a conscious writer, I never make propaganda for a state, not even for the Turkish state. Such an accusation brought against a writer like me is nothing but a humiliating act."

Furthermore he declared that he would not hesitate to reconstitute a new peace committee to defend the cause of peace in Turkey as soon as this was allowed by law.

While the trial of the second group was going on, the first group was concerned for a second time by the military tribunal, and this second sentence, too, was overturned by the Military Court of Cassation on December 19, 1985, on grounds of insufficient evidence. However, the same court refused to free the pacifists.
FATSA TOWN'S TRIAL

Another mass trial which shows the real aim of military "justice" opened on January 12, 1983, before a military tribunal in Arnavutkoy against 741 habitants of the Black Sea town of Fatca.

In this case, the military prosecutor accused the defendants according to Articles 146 and 141 of the TPC and asked for the death penalty against Mayor Filko Sotmez and the 219 others accused. This trial has been linked to a series of mass trials brought against DEV-YOL (Revolutionary Path), the most representative and powerful left-wing organization of the pre-coup period.

In 1979, ex-councillor Filko Sotmez was elected independent Mayor of Fatca, a town of 15,000 inhabitants on the Black Sea coast (dependent on the province of Ordu). He embarked on an original experience in municipal administration. Through a network of district committees he worked out a form of local self-government. His success is in solving, in a very short time, problems relating to highway maintenance, cleanliness and public health, and his success in the field of transportation brought him the sympathy of all local organizations and political parties even that of the right-wing ones (except, of course, the neo-fascist MHP).

In a national context, where, as in many developing countries, the problems of daily life remain unresolved, Fatca's achievements aroused a lively interest in the other parts of the country. For this very reason, the military did not forgive him. Besides, before the military coup of E'rat (September 1980), army units, operating within the framework of Operation Point, had raided the town of Fatca and had detained Filko Sotmez as the leader of this local self-government experiment.

During the trial, Sotmez refused to give a detailed deposition because all the accused were not in the court-room. He reminded the court that he was the first mayor in Turkey charged with membership to an illegal organization and stated that all the accused should be present at the sitting of such a political trial.

Because of his dignified stand, Sotmez was kept in solitary confinement and subjected very often, like other defendants, to ill-treatment and torture.

In June 1983, the prison administration announced that Sotmez was found dead in his cell and claimed that he died of a heart attack. He was 47 at that time. His comrades said that his death occurred because of the inhumane prison conditions to which he had been subjected.

His remains were carried to his native village Kalahadik and buried with a modest ceremony despite efforts by righteous circles to prevent it.

European solidarity with Fatca

The European Committee in Defence of Refugees and Immigrants (CDHRI) announced at a press conference held on November 15, 1983, in Brussels, that at the very moment when the Turkish junta was organizing "democratic" elections, a delegation consisting of elected town councillors had been brutally barred, to prevent it from observing the polling in Fatca.

It was the 4th delegation of European elected town councillors, which was supported by over 300 European cities. It consisted of Anne-Marie Huguet (town councillor of Liège, Belgium), Heidi Detens (a Swiss deputy), Fernando Abad Becquer (Spanish mayor of Legunzun) and Frédéric Furet (French town councillor).

At the press conference, Mrs Huguet declared that the delegation had not been permitted to enter Amasya military camp, where this trial had been going on for two years. At the entrance of the camp, they were told by the officers that because of the elections the trial was not public. The commanding assistance colonel showed them a circular from the Ankara authorities marked "Secret", which had been sent to all military camps, pointing out that "since we are not in a position to know whether these sorts of delegations - Amnesty International, Council of Europe, EEC, Human Rights Commission - come here to make propaganda either in favour of or against Turkey, all these delegations and suchlike are not permitted to attend the trials until the end of the general elections of November 6, 1983."

In the minister of the delegation's mission, the story of its briefing from Fatca is stated in this way:

"On Saturday, November 5. We arrived in Fatca at 2 p.m. As we left the bus, we were arrested by three plain-clothes officers, with guns at their waists. They refused to give their
PROSECUTION OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

During the 3-year period of military rule, all political leaders considered harmful to the future projects of the junta have been subjected to different types of repression or intimidation. All the leaders of left-wing political parties have been used before military tribunals and many of them have already been condemned. Even the socialist parties which were legally founded and which took part in legislative elections could not save themselves from this practice. The list of pursued left-wing parties have been given on preceding pages.

As for the political parties which were represented in the National Assembly prior to the coup, their leaders, too, have been kept under arrest for different periods and some of them have been sentenced and incarcerated.

CHP Chairman Evci K., AP Chairman Demirli (both former prime ministers), MSP Chairman Erbakan, MSP Chairman Tůkş and many leading members of these parties have been taken into custody many times. Erbakan was condemned with other members of the party administrative board but released on the cassation of the sentence by the higher court.

Evci K. has been condemned a few times for declarations he gave to the foreign press. He served his prison terms.

One hundred and thirty-eight deputies of the Republican People’s Party were pursued for having supported D.K.’s actions, and their freedom to travel abroad was suspended for months.

355 municipalities of 19 European countries demonstrated their solidarity with the Municipality of Fatih in Turkey.

The European municipalities which demonstrated their solidarity included 61 from Switzerland, 54 from Spain, 53 from France, 45 from the Netherlands, 40 from Portugal, 34 from Belgium, 30 from Austria, 16 from Norway, 7 from Great-Britain, 5 from Denmark, 3 from Iceland, 2 from Italy, 1 from Ireland, 1 from the FR of Germany, 1 from Sweden and 1 from Greenland.

personal particulars and asserted that they were colonels. They held no summons and forced us to follow them to the tourist office which is also used as an additional police station in Fatih and as an office for the deputy prefect also was the same time a captain in the army and the new mayor of Fatih, appointed by the government the day following the 1980 military coup. He was present and ordered us to leave Fatih immediately. As he said, we could disturb public order on the eve of the ‘democratic’ elections. As mayor of Fatih, he added, he represented the inhabitants and was not willing to answer our questions before we returned to Samsun. We reaffirmed our wish to stay in Fatih until Sunday night, unless we were notified officially by a letter of the mayor for such a refusal. We demanded to be released so as to be able to find a hotel-restaurant. There are no more rooms available in the Fatih hotels they said, but they agreed to take us to a restaurant for dinner. So we followed them and they decided unilaterally to take us to the outskirts of the town, to a hotel-restaurant situated 4 km farther on the road to Samsun. There we asked the receptionist if any rooms were still available. ‘Yes’, she first said, then, as one of the three policemen stared at her, ‘No’ came corrected herself, making a gesture of helplessness. Frédéric Foret asked then if he could telephone CEDRI head-quarters in Rueil and the French Embassy in Ankara, the policemen refused, pointing out that we would do anything we liked from Samsun. (...) We reiterate our request for an official letter notifying us in person from which law we were forbidden to stay in Fatih. (...) Then they left their temperhood them seized Mr Foret by his jacket’s revers, lifted him up out of his arm-chair and dragged him into the lounge of the hotel. The rest of the delegation were seized too and all of us were brought back to the Fatih tourist office, (...). Their proposal: ‘Either you leave Fatih at this moment or you will go to jail!’ We considered that we had learned enough about ‘democracy’ on the eve of the polling day and we kept the ‘tourist office’, escorted by the policemen and gazed upon by numerous inhabitants.”

This ill-treatment of an international delegation called forth protests to the Turkish authorities from the French, Spanish, Swiss and Belgian ambassadors.

In response to the appeal made by CEDRI,
Even the political parties established after the military coup have been pursued by the military. After the local elections, Correct Way Party (DYP) Chairman Yalınur Akıvi was sued by the military prosecutors for his electoral speeches. The party itself was subjected also to inquiries by the Chief Prosecutor and faced the risk of dissolution.

The leaders of the Social Democracy Party (SOLED) were also pursued many sins because of their electoral speeches and because of the rally for liberty and democracy that they organized on June 9, 1985.

One of the practices that upset the political circles was the case against former social President of the Republican Bismillah Sabit Caglayan, former Senate Speaker Sırrı Akany, former Premier Süleyman Demirel and a group of former politicians. After being placed under surveillance in a military camp, just before the legislative elections of 1981, they were accused of having violated the bans imposed by the NSC.

Violations were equally accorded of having sent a letter to West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher concerning the political situation in Turkey.

The last victims of this practice were five leading members of the newly-founded Welfare Party (RPJ) who were convicted at the end of 1983 for antischolar declarations.

As for the democratic and professional organizations, the military initiated many legal proceedings against their leading members after closing down most of these organizations.

A few examples:

21. 10. 1981: Ten Administrative Board members of the Architects' Chamber were each sentenced to a 2-month prison term for having violated martial law orders.

2. 5. 1982: Chairman of 13 democratic associations were indicted for a common declaration issued in 1977.

20. 7. 1982: The Trial of 16 Administrative Board members of the Union of Architects and Engineers' Chambers (TMMOB) began before a military tribunal.

4. 10. 1982: The Interior Ministry ordered a legal act against the Foundation of Language and History.

20. 4. 1982: The Rural Affairs Ministry opened a lawsuit to close down the 'Kay-Köprü, progressive peasants cooperatives.'

3. 5. 1982: On the eve of the Congress of the Traders' and Craftsmen's Union in Giresun, 36 union members were arrested for communist propaganda.


13. 1. 1983: The Public prosecutor called for the imprisonment of 9 Administrative Board members of the Popular Houses (Halkevi) and the final dissolution of the association.

6. 5. 1983: Chairmen of the Agriculturalists' Association, the Agriculturalists' Chamber and the Agriculturalists' Chamber were brought before a military tribunal for having criticized the agricultural submission policy of the government. This was the first application of the new Associations' Code which bans associations from making any declaration on governmental policies.

VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO DEFENCE

One of the most shameful practices of the military has been the constant pressure on defence lawyers and their associations.

As a matter of fact there have been only a few lawyers in Turkey prepared to accept the cases of the thousands of political prisoners. The military regime applied different methods of pressure to intimidate and dissuade this handful of courageous lawyers from assuming the defense of those politically accused.

On September 2, 1983, at the start of the new judicial year, Chairman of the Turkish Bar Association's Union Teoman Evren declared that the authorities applied the following methods to prevent lawyers from defending their clients:

- At military tribunals or State Security Courts, defense attorneys can be expelled from the hearing room on a simple decision by the judge.

- During the preliminary investigation, defendants are not allowed to see their lawyers. In political cases, an investigation goes on for months and even years. Deprived of any possible contact with the outside, the
defendant can easily be subjected to torture and forced to sign any deposition drawn up by the police.

- All lawyers who assume the defence of political prisoners are considered “suspect” by the judicial authorities.

In 1963, 82 lawyers from the Istanbul Bar Association received an official order calling on them to inform the Ministry of Finance about the names and addresses of their clients whom they defended without payment in the years 1960-81. Thus, the military aimed to tax lawyers for their gratis defence as if they were paid.

What is gravest is the fact that many defence lawyers have been pursued by military prosecutors for declarations they made in defence of their clients or for acts in which they participated.

A few examples:

In July 1982, the military prosecutor of Istanbul started legal proceedings against all lawyers who took part on the administrative board of the Istanbul Bar Association. Chairman Orhan Apaydın and his colleagues were accused of having taken part in DISK actions.

In October 1982, the martial law prosecutor instituted proceedings against famous lawyer Halit Celenk for insulting the command officers. He had addressed a petition to the Martial Law Commander of Ankara, asking him to be allowed to see his client detained for many months in military prison.

On September 2, 1982, four lawyers were expelled by force from the military court for criticizing the bias of the judge in the Peace Committee’s trial.

In April 1982, 17 defence lawyers in a political trial were indicted by the military prosecutor. At a preceding session, they had quitted the tribunal in protest against the limitation of the right to defence. They were accused of having done so without permission of the judge.

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

On November 25, 1982, lawyer Halit Celenk was brought before a military tribunal on charges of insulting his clients in military prison to illegal acts.

In May 1983, seven lawyers from the Istanbul Bar Association were brought before a military tribunal on accusations of signing a report on judiciary practices in Turkey, published later in the FRG.
Restriction on the right to defense has been applied most strictly at the military tribunals functioning in the Kurdish region. Thousands of defendants have been deprived totally of this right because there have been only a few lawyers who could assume the defense. Two of these lawyers, Hüseyin Yıldırım and Mehmet Kaya, were also arrested by the military and subjected to torture after attending a few sittings. When they were released, they could not continue practicing their profession and had to flee the country.

The most unbelievable manoeuvre to deprive the prisoners of the right to defense was carried out after the opening of the DISK Trial. Chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association Osman Apaydın was one of the chief defense attorneys in this trial. Just after the opening, the military prosecutor launched an arrest warrant against Apaydın in connection with the Turkish Peace Committee trials. Like many other Turkish intellectuals, Osman Apaydın also was a member of this organization but did not take part in the administration. However he was arrested for depriving the DISK defendants of a competent defense lawyer.

Then, the military carried out pressure on the Administrative Board of the Bar Association to strip their chairman of the right to practise the profession of defence lawyer in future, on grounds that he had been arrested. When the 10 members of the Administrative Board did not take heed of this pressure, the Justice Ministry on January 28, 1985, brought a lawsuit against 10 members of the board for not having lifted Apaydın’s license of attorney.

The coup de grâce on the Istanbul Bar Association was the transfer of its administration to conservative-minded lawyers at a congress held under military pressure.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to deny Apaydın the right to exercise his profession, arguing that he had been sentenced to 5 years’ imprisonment for taking part in the Peace Committee’s activities.
NEVER-ENDING PERSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS

From the very first day of the coup, the military junta, like all tyrants, exerted all kinds of pressure on the country's intellectual life. Mass media were subjected to censorship and self-censorship. Radio-TV was turned into a parrot of the military, hundreds of thousands of books were destroyed, hundreds of journalists, writers, translators and artists were prosecuted and condemned, and universities and schools were made the tools of the military's ideological brainwashing.
It was the time of summer holidays in 1984. Four years after the military coup. Everywhere in Northern Europe attractive gaily-coloured advertisements were full of praise for the sunny Mediterranean countries which were racing with one another to welcome foreign tourists. Among them was Turkey, a country which had been integrated, after a 3-year interval, into the Council of Europe on the conviction that "the timetable for a return towards democracy has been formally respected."

While Northern Europeans were preparing themselves for a joyful holiday in Turkey, 1,383 distinguished Turkish intellectuals were summoned to interrogation centers for having signed a very innocent petition addressed to the "President of the Republic."

This was the most spectacular manifestation of the "witch-hunt" to which Turkey's intellectuals had been subjected for four years.

The petition, submitted to the Presidential Palace on May 16, 1984, on behalf of 1,360 leading intellectuals (the number subsequently rose to 1,383) called for an end to torture and the restoration of political freedom.

Among the signatories of the petition were world-famous authors such as Ali Nihat, chairman of the Union of Turkish Writers, and Yasar Kemal, who was recently made a member of the Legion d'Honneur by French President Mitterrand.

A very great number of academics have signed it: former professors who have resigned or who were dismissed after the universities were subjected to the law of the Higher Education Council (YÖK) imposed by the military; or professors in office who were forbidden by the military to engage in any way in politics. One of them was Professor Mithat Göçek, a world-famous carcinologist, and Professor Pelin Yavuz, a former Minister of Education.

The movie world was also represented by one of Turkey's most popular actresses, Turan Sarosy, and by Serif Gözüm, director of the film "Yeşil" (Production by Yılmaz Güney, "Palace of O" at the 1982 Cannes Festival) and by many others.

The press world was represented by, among others, My Nadif Nadi, owner of the center-left daily Cumhuriyet, Mr. Ögu Aral, who runs the humorous weekly Girgin, and several journalists who were members of the International Press Institute.

The military has responded to this very innocent petition by the Turkish intellectuals with new legal proceedings against all of them. On May 21, the military prosecutor of the Ankara Martial Law command started interrogating them one by one on order of the General Staff Headquarters.

Two weeks later, on May 28, General President Evren unleashed a fierce attack on the signatories. Speaking in his home province of Manisa, in western Turkey, Evren accused the petitioners of trying to embarrass Turkey internationally with their allegations of disrespect for human rights. He said the "well-educated intellectuals upheld the right of free association so that at the former (pre-coup) wickedness could be reversed under the noses of innumerable associations, trade unions or professional bodies."

"If they are so interested in politics why don't they find themselves a place in one of the political parties? I stand as a guarantor for the constitution and I will oppose to the end any change of the Constitution."

"These pseudo-intellectuals in Turkey become traitors in the end. They say that human rights are being violated in Turkey. They forget the fact that the country is still under martial law. They say that torture is a crime committed against humanity. We do not say any differently. Torture is a crime and that is why we punish offenders. These pseudo-intellectuals carry on with this campaign and try to belittle Turkey in the eyes of the world. In fact, this is what they are really after. We are quite aware of their real intentions, and have evidence against them. They say that capital punishment should be lifted and those already sentenced should not be executed. But they forget that the death sentence exists even in the United States. They have the electric chair there."

"One of their aims is to force us to announce a general amnesty which would include all those terrorists who brought us to the point of destruction. We know that there would be such groups making demands; therefore, we felt the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the way for these terrorists to enjoy amnesty. These same thieves, murderers and rapists used to return to prison a few days later (after their release from prison) for the same crimes. How can we be sure that they will not commit the same mistakes again. Has anyone asked the relatives of those who
suffered whether they had pardoned them or not. Those who call themselves intellectuals do not want sincerity for these people. They want anarchists to be pardoned.

"They ask for the production of ideas. What they really mean by this is that they want books on fascism, marxism, leninism, maoism to be published freely. All they want is the new generation to be poisoned by reading such publications. Other things they want is freedom of the press and the autonomy of the Turkish Radio and Television. First of all, I would like to point out that we do nothing against the freedom of the press, but we are now under martial law. The whole nation witnessed how the communists made good use of the TRT before September 12 (1980).

"A third thing they want is that the universities be autonomous. They do not want State interference in their work. We have witnessed also now these universities turned into doms of anarchy in the past.

"These people who define themselves as intellectuals claim that their only views are right. Your thoughts and my thoughts are not important for them. Only they know best. We have seen too many such intellectuals who chose to flee to foreign countries in the end. Some even died there... What can I do with such intellectuals?"

This speech of General Evren was in fact aimed at influencing the legal proceedings against the petitioners. All of them had already been summoned before the military law prosecutor for questioning. Each of them faced a prison term ranging from one year to 3 years.

By condoning in advance the signatories of this very serious petition without waiting a judge's decision, Evren made it clear that he did not respect justice at all.

Neither did he respect popular will... The views expressed in the petition were shared completely by the major opposition party. The Chairman of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP), Professor Zeki Ibrahim, in reply to a question on May 26 said that these views were in harmony with the ideas contained in the program of his party. He pointed out the need for the democratic mechanism in the country to start working as soon as possible and stated: "Just because Turkey is recovering from a long illness, it should not stop us from touching on certain vital issues. In fact I believe that politicians have a bigger responsibility during this recovery period. If we stop moving at this time, it may be too late afterwards. Democracy in Turkey will flourish, as our economic, social and intellectual life flourishes."

But the chief of the junta took no heed of overtures by a political party... which obtained a fourth of the votes in the recent local elections.

At the end of the inquiry, 59 of the signatory intellectuals were charged by the Ankara military prosecutor who asked for prison terms of up to one year for each of them for having criticized the administration.


The other intellectuals charged:

Enver Tüsipp, Dr. Haluk Gergen, Mahmut Taki Olgun, Halit Coşkun, Emin Deger, Talat Sarc, Nusret Iman, Inci Güraral, Güler
Tanyolaç, Güngör Aydın, Haldun Özen, Bü- 
lel Tanık, Gönül Dilmen, Vedat Türkeli, 
Ozay Erkül, Talip Sencan, Kemal Demirel, 
Veddi Sayar, Sururi Şönenç, Onat Kullar, 
Ümit Ergöçmen, Mine İhaca, Emre Kapkaya, 
Caht Tamer, Yılmaz Tokman, Sinasi Acar, Ali 
Oral Basın, Rüştü Hakki Opşenç, Hayri Tu- 
uçmezler, Gönül Türkeli, Atif Yılmaz Ba- 
tebki, Basar Sabuncu, Sahap Balıkoğlu, Erdal 
Oz, Turat Kazan, Talat Mete, Ercan Ulker, 
Ahmet Keçeci, Yılmaz Belat, Güney Döng, 
Cemal Nıdret Erdem.

At the opening session, foreign journalists 
were barred, although the Ankara Martial Law 
Command had pledged previously to 
them. The same happened to the observer dele-
gated by the West-German Embassy in Tur-
key.

Aziz Nesin, called General Evren's state-
ment anti-democratic prior to the opening of 
the trial. Evren had branded the intellectuals 
"Turkey's internal enemies."

Then cancerologist Bülent Gökbel 
denounced the total lack of democracy within 
the universities subjected to the mighty Higher 
Education Council (YOK), which is directly 
attached to the office of the "President of 
the Republic."

At Turkey's intellectuals were being hit 
by a wave of repression, Portugal's former Presi-
dent of the Republic F. da Costa Gomes, three 
former Premiers, A. Jürgensen (Denmark), 
Dr. B. Kreisky (Austria), M.M. Pinhalilgo 
(Portugal), and over 2,000 Members of Parlia-
mant, authors, journalists and academicians 
from a dozen European countries and the United 
States issued an appeal in support of the peti-
tioners.

Along with Turkey's intellectuals, these 
proliferate figures insisted on the abolition of 
"the laws and practices conflicting with the 
Universal Declaration on Human Rights," of 
which Turkey is a signatory.

Those who signed the petition also included 
N. Kinneck, chairman of the British Labour 
Party; C. Spinoza and K. Van Miert, Chairman 
of two Belgian Socialist Parties; E. Glenc, 
Chairman of the European Parliament's Social-
ist Group; M. Hentschel, General-Secretary 
of the ETUC; Raymond Durly and Anne-
marie Lainé, Belgian members of the European 
Parliament; Ramsey Clark, former US Atto-
ney-General; Laurent Schwartz, Pierre Vidal-
Naquet, Günter Grass, Alan Ginsberg, Noam 
Chomsky, Bobi Anderson, David Steel, Mikis 
Theodorakis.

On September 12, 1985, the 5th anniver-
sary of the coup, an outstanding group of in-
tellectuals from all over Europe said: "We hereby 
declare our full solidarity with writers, artists, 
jurists or scientists in Turkey who are being 
persecuted for 'crimes' that, had we been in 
Turkey, we would very probably have commit-
ted ourselves."

In this declaration made public by Prof. 
Server Tanlı, in name of the Initiative for 
Solidarity with the 1,256 Intellectuals in Tur-
key, the group has underlined his refusal to be 
part of the "conspiracy of silence" surrounding 
the brutal repression of their colleagues in 
Turkey and called upon intellectuals all over 
the world to join their voices to theirs.

The signatories of this declaration include 
Bobi Anderson, Amir Boustani, Peter Dan-
kert, Max Frith, Costa Gomes, Yannis Ritson, 
Antoine Sanguinetti, Otto Schily, Alain Tan-
ner, Mikis Theodorakis, Per Wansberg and Jean 
Zagier.

They demand that "all cases involving 
'crimes' of thought and the press be dropped, 
that all persons being held under arrest on such 
charges be freed and that all curbs on the free-
dom of thought, press and association be lifted."

Aziz Nesin accuses General Evren of 
During the defence phase 
of the trial, on July 12, 
1985, Aziz Nesin, the 
Chairman of the Writers' 
Union of Turkey (TVS), 
declared that he was going to lodge a complaint 
with the courts against General Evren, who had 
accused the signatories of treason.

The 70-year-old Nesin, also Turkey's most 
famous humorist, had suffered a heart attack 
during the campaign to collect signatures for 
this action.

Mr. Nesin also accused the military pro-
secutor of falsifying the facts.

In a letter, the publication of Nesin's 
defense speech was banned by a Court ruling 
given on the same day.

This defense speech, of which we are re-
producing an excerpt below, is also an 
indictment of General Evren and his regime:
"Even before we were brought before the Court and interrogated, the Head of the State, in his speech delivered in Manisa and subsequently broadcast three times by the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), accused us of treason.

"Is there anything worse for a human being than to be considered a traitor? As a man is entitled to live in dignity, it is my duty to defend my honor against anyone.

"The President of the Republic, he too, is a citizen like any other. Moreover, his penal responsibility is just as great as that of any other citizen. In democratic societies, the President of the Republic enjoys immunity from certain responsibilities, given that his powers are entrusted to Parliament and the Government. On the other hand, in our country, by virtue of the 1982 Constitution, wide-ranging powers are vested in the President of the Republic; consequently his responsibilities are wide-ranging too.

"In short, I solemnly declare that I will lodge a complaint with the court against Head of State Kenan Evren who branded us traitors before the very eyes of the Turkish nation. I will institute actions for damages in accordance with articles 41 and 49 of the Code of Obliga-
tions and article 24 of the Civil Code. In addition, if, for the time being, it were impossible to institute a penal action because of his immuni-

ity, I will do so by virtue of articles 480-482 of the Penal Code, as soon as his immunity is lifted. If I do not live long enough, I leave it to the judges of history, which is the supreme and most impartial judge.

"According to the Head of the State, the signatories of this petition are allegedly so-called intellectuals.

"By signing this petition we expected no benefit, nor did we try to benefit from the advantages inherent to our being intellectuals. We who, knowing perfectly well the present administration's unfair any of behaving, were expecting to be persecuted, but not to get advantages, to be punished but not to get a reward, we are proud to consider ourselves intellectuals.

"Those who signed this petition include artists, writers, journalists, scientists, jurists and former ministers who have a reputation not only on the national level, but also world-wide. If they weren't intellectuals, there would no longer be intellectuals in Turkey, except the province of Aydin (a Turkish word meaning 'intellectual'—Ed.).

"The Head of the State has said: 'I will oppose to the end any change in the 1982 Constitu-
tion, for which I act as a guarantor. I will never tolerate that holes are being made here and there in the Constitution, for which I act as a guarantor.'

"This is why Professor Osaka of YOK University (Higher Education Council—Ed.) surely knows that a constitution is the main guarantee a country's citizens have at their disposal. Apart from dictators and monarchs, nowhere can any citizen, not even Kenan Evren, act as guarantor for the Constitution; and in world history there is no record of someone who regarded himself as guarantor for a constitu-
tion. As far as changes in the Constitution are concerned, since the Head of the State consider-
eurs himself vested with the mission to tolerate by no means holes being made here and there in the Constitution, it is our duty to strive to modify this constitution. This constitution will be amended in accordance with the procedure provided for in the same constitution. The final victory always belongs to Old Father Time.

"We have seen a great many intellectuals turning traitors. What can I do with intellectu-
als of that sort?" he said. We did not become intellectuals in order that the Head of the State,
COMPLETE TEXT OF INTELLECTUALS' PETITION

Our society is not to be treated as a mere collection of individuals. The existence of society is based on the social relations that exist among its members. It is in these relations that we find the essence of society. The petitioners believe that the government should take steps to ensure that these relations are not distorted by external influences.

The petitioners believe that the government should take steps to ensure that these relations are not distorted by external influences. They argue that the government should ensure that the social relations that exist among its members are not distorted by external influences. They argue that the government should ensure that the social relations that exist among its members are not distorted by external influences. They argue that the government should ensure that the social relations that exist among its members are not distorted by external influences.
Published (monarch in the Ottoman Empire — Ed.) was an intellectual. But he matched the country capitol to the enemy. What use can such an intellectually be? Thus, he makes a comparison between himself and the state being accused of treason by him for submitting a petition to him. Treason is a relative notion that changes according to the era and according to each person's assessment. Abdullah Abdulhamid (The Red Sultan — Ed.) had Mustafa Pascha's 19th century reformer who is now regarded as one of the greatest heroes in Turk-

everyone and for receiving this exclusively for certain persons by one person or for a certain group of persons. Politicians cannot be excluded from administrative decisions. The will of the nation is a constant only in the form of public opinion. The voice of the nation is the collective will of the people. The will of the nation is the supreme power. The legitimacy of the supreme power depends on the nation's attitude towards fundamental rights and liberties.

Circumstances preventing the will of the majority from determining itself freely, are contradictory to democracy. Liberals, expressing basic rights on the pretext that their exist is minority will, is incompatible with democracy. The problem of constitutional development, the need of democratic constitutionalism to guarantee the rights and liberties of the individual. Processes that lead to the individual's view of the state, to a matter under which they are produced — is a democracy from democracy. In such a situation, the Constitution which ought to be the source of democratic life, becomes an obstacle to democracy. Trade unions, professional associations, etc. have the right to participate in the political parties, the opposition parties have the right to participate in the participation in democracy. Therefore, we believe it is necessary to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution contain the fullest guarantees to the right of legal union are the right of participation. In the life of any society, the essence of participation is to contribute to society, to be in harmony with the needs.

In this document, there is no literary style or personal expression. The text is clear and concise, focusing on political and constitutional aspects. The emphasis is on the importance of individual rights and liberties, and the need for a democratic framework that allows for the participation of various groups and institutions.
TRIAL OF THE WRITERS' UNION OF TURKEY

Another significant collective prosecution of Turkish intellectuals was the trial of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS). Chairman Aziz Nesin and 17 other leading members of this union were brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on January 9, 1983. Aziz Nesin, Bekir Yıldız, Aydin Özyalı, Sükrün Karakulak, Demirtas Ceyhan, Aşag Yakaçli, Osman Süber Arolat, Altıa Yakın, Atel Beşikçi, Hayrettin Zeybek, Orhan Apaydın, Atif Bezirci, Tekin Şemza, Aziz Çalişlar, Emre Garp Sandal, Kemal Süker, Vedat Türkali and Mehmet Ali Sebil have all been accused of transforming the TYS into a clandestine organization and the military prosecutor requested prison terms of up to 15 years for each.

The indictment was based on the Union's cooperation with DİSK and the organization of a strike to honour the memory of the greatest Turkish poet Nazım Hikmet who had died in exile in 1963.

On January 21, 1985, the military court

thousands of books are burnt without a warrant issued by a judge. With regard to these books, no legal proceedings have ever been taken. The publisher of these books has got no compensation. Can we call this democracy? In Turkey, films are also burnt, even those films that were produced by the TRT at the cost of millions. Can we call this democracy?

The appalling practice of torture since September, 12th, 1980, has even been documented by State officials. As soon as law 2990 is lifted - banning any criticism as regards the practice of torture - all these practices will be publicized. Then, all people will learn that we have experienced practices that are a disgrace to our state.

While writing this defense, I don't know if I will be permitted to pronounce it entirely. Yet, I have written it, hoping to be allowed to do so. Nevertheless, this defense is not intended for only the tribunal and the prosecutor. I wish it be read, above all, by those who seek and benefits it.
concluded that the military prosecutor’s accusations were groundless and acquitted all the defendants. Moreover, the tribunal declared that it was incompetent to give a ruling regarding the request to ban his books.

Nevertheless, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul appealed to the Military Court of Cassation with the demand to overrule the acquittal.

TYS Chairman Neşin was included also in the Turkish Peace Committee Trial. Besides three other trials in which he has been tried, Neşin was brought before a military tribunal for a novel which he wrote 29 years ago. This humanistic work entitled “Azr. Çerel, 112 Çerel” had been reprinted six times since 1966 and never been subjected to legal proceedings. The military prosecutor ordered the confiscation of all copies of the books and asked the tribunal to condemn the world-famous Turkish humorist to imprisonment of up to ten years.

During these trials, Aziz Neşin had a heart attack on November 26, 1983, in Istanbul at the age of 69, and part of his body was paralyzed. The military also denied him the right to travel abroad while he was in need of treatment in a foreign country where cardiology is more advanced than in Turkey.

On October 13, 1985, he was invited by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) of Cevat Behman to a closed conference on Media in Turkey, but the "military" government would not allow him to go abroad. Therefore, Aziz Neşin sent a letter to General Eren and declared that if his letter was not answered, he would be obliged to inform the NUJ of the "Turkish authorities’ arbitrary crime.

Neşin, 71 years old in 1985, is the author of 72 humorous books. He has always been one of the principal targets in the campaign against intellectuals in every period of repression. Since the beginning of his career, prosecutors, spell or military—have turned more than a hundred legal proceedings against him, and he has already been kept under arrest at different times for various periods totaling 5 years.

Neşin has a great reputation in the world and his humorous works have been translated and published in more than 30 different languages.

His defense text in connection with the trial of 59 intellectuals, of which the publication is banned in Turkey, is a historical document putting General Eren’s regime in the dock. (See: Aziz Neşin accuses General Eren)

A new experiment: Ekin-Bilir Inc.

Neşin’s ordeal did not end with his numerous legal prosecutions; neither did that of thousands of intellectuals. The best proof of this is the obstacles the government put before a very legitimate enterprise started by intellectuals.

Since the military coup d’état, thousands of intellectuals and university professors have been dismissed from their posts. Most of the victims of repression measures are living under very difficult conditions, all the more since private companies do not dare to employ them.

In order to overcome this obstacle, a group of intellectuals, including Aziz Neşin, tried to set up a ‘share company’ with a view to promoting a number of cultural activities.

Whereas under the ultra-liberal Oral Government businessmen are being favored by every possible means and private enterprise of any kind—provided it has a commercial purpose—is being given incentives, this initiative, Ekin A.B. (Ekin Inc. Co.), has been rebuffed by the Ministry of Trade. In its answer to the Santers, the Ministry claimed that this initiative did not fit the requirements of Article 271 of the Turkish Commercial Code.

The intellectuals did not give up and established their company under the name of “Ekin-Bilir A.Ş.” Neşin being the chairman and Professor Yakın Kocki, one of the victims of the repression, the director. This time, the company was registered.

Kökçül said, “The country was being culturally sterilized. Thus, we wanted to open a new coffee-shop as part of our tradition, a place where people from all walks of life could come to read, play games or have discussions. We ventured we were not to establish culture clubs, where there will also be music.”

One of the most successful activities of this self-funded company has been the cultural nights called “Ekin’s Wedding parties.” On organizing these, the administrators of the company were questioned for 14 hours by the State Security Courts on accusations of organizing illegal political rallies.
HOW A PUBLISHER WAS ASSASSINATED UNDER TORTURE

Another flagrant crime committed by the military against the freedom of expression was the assassination of a publisher under detention. Mr. İhan Erdoğan and Mr. Mustafer Ebul, publishers of the Saul Yayıncılık Publishing House in Ankara, were taken into custody by the military on November 7, 1980, for having published Marxist classes. After their interrogation, when they were taken to the Marmar Military Prison, İhan Erdoğan was beaten to death without of his brothers, Musafir Erdoğan.

A certain notification issued in my name was left at my cousin's bookstore on "Zafer Cariyan" by the authorities, indicating that an investigation file was opened on me by the Political Section of the Ankara Department of Security. Furthermore, it was stated that the subject file was at the Press Affairs Branch of the Political Section and I was requested to phone the authorities at the said department as soon as possible. Upon receipt of the notification, I proceeded to the given number on the morning of November 3, 1980 and talked to a certain Mr. Cevey, the senior superintendent of the "Press Affairs Bureau". He told me that it was necessary for me to report to the Department of Security. When I asked him about the subject, he answered that he knew nothing about the subject and added something about the existence of an official notification from the Martial Law authorities requesting them that the notice be forwarded for further investigation. During the same day, I reported to the "Press Affairs Bureau" of the Political Section. I was met by my brother. Iven Erdoğan, who was not with me. In their notification, the authorities had not requested İhan’s presence and we knew nothing about that matter. There was a piece of paper on the desk, containing my and my brother’s home addresses. Under our addresses, there was a short handwritten note saying, "Even if no concrete proof is found, a profound investigation should be made..."

The same day, a search took place in my and my brother’s homes and workplaces as well. No evidence of guilt was found during the search. The searches made a complete list of all the books we had at our dwellings. Most of those books were published by our publishing house, "Saul Yayıncılık". The subject file was turned over to the Political Section in order to find out whether any restricted books were among them. After checking the list, they stated that three of those books were already banned by the authorities. Ministry of Internal Affairs; therefore, they confiscated them. That night, I stayed in the security chamber on the 6th floor of the Main Security Building (Emniyet Sarayı). Nest morning, the second commissioner of "the Press Affairs Bureau" took my deposition. He asked me full details about my place of birth, my parents’ and my brother’s occupation, where I attended elementary and high school, my student years at the university, my married life and my children. He also interrogated me about evolution in my political ideologies, my cultural and political points of view, religious beliefs and similar subjects. He did not put forward any question accusing me of any specific crime. In my deposition, I stated fully that the interception on those three books were never justified. Furthermore, we had published new editions of the books in question. I also stated that the notification order was issued for certain other books which were published by other publishing houses under the title "Cariyan".

The morning of November 5, 1980, İhan had come to the Department of Security and reported to the Press Affairs Bureau of the Political Section. Husudestan was also taken in the same manner but much more briefly. İhan was the owner of "Oruç Yayıncılık-Oruç Publication" and "İksar Printing House" as well. Since he had lost a considerable amount of money in the business of "İksar", İhan decided to liquidate the printing house by the New Year and closed it in June 1980, to minimize the employees' services. Since the closure of "İksar" had come to an end, the electricity of the building was disconnected and the printing machines were put aside. Although he was the owner of the printing house, İhan hardly came to the office. The place was watched by a certain manager who was responsible for all aspects of the business. Copies of all books printed by this enterprise were forwarded to the appropriate offices of the Department of Security and of the District Attorney as well, always within the legally designated period of
time. The legal responsibility of a printing house stops with the delivery of the appropriate copies of each printed matter to the authorities designated by the Law within the designated period of time. These obligations were always fulfilled without delay or failure. Furthermore, there was no "Decree of Cancellation" given by any tribunal and no interdiction or restriction ever issued on any book that was printed by the said printing house.

After completion of his deposition, my brother Ihage was brought around noon of the same day, to the same security chamber where I was kept. There, he told me briefly about his deposition and added that he made his interrogator write down exactly in his deposition, everything concerning the printing house.

In the afternoon, we were taken to the "Public Relations Bureau" of the Military Law Headquarters at Mamak under escort by a plainclothes police officer. When we arrived there, it was 3.30 p.m. The NCO on-duty told us that telephone instructions had been received from the Legal Advisory Bureau at 3 p.m., requesting them not to admit and/or register any more new cases for the day. Therefore, we returned to the main building of the Department of Security, accompanied by the same police officer, and we spent the night at the same security chamber on the 6th floor. The next morning, at 9.30, we were taken back to the Military Law Headquarters. This time a certain Zoya Bey from the "Press Affairs Bureau" escorted us. Our written deposition and an official letter from the Department of Security were turned over to the "Legal Advisory Bureau" of the Military Law Headquarters, together with four of the books confiscated from our houses; one (Dialectic of the Nature - Engels) belonging to Ihage and the other three belonging to me (Dialectic of the Nature - Engels; On the Youth - Lenin; Socialism or Anarchism - Stalin).

The "Legal Advisory Bureau" is responsible for studying and investigating all the files submitted to it, and the judge who makes the preliminary study of or investigation into a file can decide either to release or detain the suspect or to transfer the suspect's file to the civilian legal authorities, namely the "District Attorney's Office", when he believes that the case is not a subject for the Military Law Jurisdiction. He can also decide to return the file to the Department of Security for additional legal
elements when he thinks that the file is incom-ple-

Concerning our cases, we believed that they should be transferred to the civilian Dis-

sectionary Bureau" should release us if of the charges

bring against us for "keeping restricted pub-

lications at our residences" since such a deed

was not classified as a crime within the Law,

although the books had been banned by the

authorities. There was no legal reason what-

soever for our detention. Normally, within 1 or

2 hours at most, a certain decision would have

been made on our cases. However, no decision

was reached on us until mid-day. At 3 p.m.,

the officer who escorted us went to the "Legal

Advisory Bureau" and checked with the duty

NCO about our cases. He was told that the

judge had just started to review our files. When

we went back to the same office again at 5 p.m.,

we were told that the judge had left his office

to handle another matter. We were also told

that the judge would definitely return to his

office later and come to a conclusion on our

cases by 8:30 p.m. However, at 7 p.m., our

escort was called and he was told that the judge

could not return to his office for the rest of the
day. Therefore, they requested us to be taken

back to the Department of Security.

That night, we stayed at the Security

Chamber of the Department of Security. Next

morning, November 7, 1980, we were taken

to the Martial Law Headquarters. We were

kept waiting there until evening. At 5:30 p.m.,
after normal working hours, our escort

officer was asked for by the "Legal Advis-

ory Bureau". When he returned a little later,

he told us that we were going to be detained.

Generally, on every detention order issued by

judges, the number of the Penal Code Article is

shown as reference for the accusation. When

we asked our escort officer which Article was

referred to on our detention, he replied that no

Article number was mentioned, but "keeping restricted publications" was shown as the

motive.

The penitentiary is located in the same mil-

itary compound, on a small hill. During our

case, my uncle had been waiting for us outside

the Martial Law Headquarters. When he heard

the news, he came with his car to drive us to the

penitentiary. My wife Rana was with him.

Under the police officer's escort, we drove to

the penitentiary, Ilhan and I got out of the car

near the gate. Since I had been in and out of

penitentiary a few times before, my wife was

accustomed to such scenes. She knew how to

be strong under such circumstances. When we

got out of the car, we saw that my wife was

crying. Snailing, Ilhan said, "Rana Sister, this is

the first time I see you crying at the penitentiary
gate." Rana replied "Ilhan, it seems to me that

this time, there is something else in the whole

thing! We tried to console her.

While we were waiting outside, the prison

authorities were completing the necessary for-

malities for our incarceration. They booked us

for the "C-Block." Since I had been at the same

penitentiary previously, once for 2 years and

the last time for 15 days, I told Ilhan that "C-

Block" was much better than the other pri-

son buildings. From "C-Block" we could see the

surrounding territory and nature. For the

first time in his life Ilhan was entring a pen-

itentiary.

There are three separate block-buildings

inside the compound of Mamak Military Peni-

tentiary. "A-Block" is the newest and was

built after the March, 12, 1971, Coup d'Etat.

"B-Block" is located just beside "A-Block" in

the old penitentiary building. Approximately,

within a 10-minute walking distance from

"A-Block", there were some dormitory barracks

for soldiers. Later on, these barracks were

transformed into prison quarters and were

named "C-Block". Four more dormitory bar-

racks on the same line were also transformed

into prison quaters and were connected to

"C-Block" at C, D, E, F and G sections. Before

we entered the prison compound, they asked us

about our political tendencies so as to indicate

it on our detention forms. We said "leftist" and

they wrote "leftist" on our forms.

First, they took us to "A-Block", a 10-room

room with a stairway in the corner, for regis-

tration and taking our pictures. There were

three other detainees in the room who had

been brought there before us. While we were

there, they brought two more detainees. They

lined us up on the steps of the stairway, standing

with our backs against the wall. First, they took

our pictures, with our hair and mustache. Then,

they cut our hair and mustache with an electric

razor. This time, they took new pictures, one

from the front, one from the side. They gave

each of us an inscription card and we filled it

out. Our physical descriptions were also entered.
on our inscription cards by one of the soldiery on duty. He was getting us in front of none by one and asking questions, either keeping us standing or ordering us to turn left or right or to bend over. Whenever they thought that some-one was not executing their orders properly, they insulted that person and beat him with their truncheons or fists or kicked him all over. While we were lined up, the soldiers hit my and my brother's palms with their truncheons for no reason at all. Then, they separated us from the others.

 Afterwards, the soldiers who wrote down our physical descriptions on the cards photographed somewhere. He said on the phone that there were two detainees to be taken to the "C-Block," and he asked a big vehicle. The person on the other end must have told him that there was no big vehicle available, for the soldier replied "No little vehicle!" After a short conversation, the soldier asked again "Do you have Rco available. Rco is O.K. Send it over." Then he phoned to "C-Block" and informed them that there were two detainees for their block and he had already asked for a vehicle. He also added that one of the NCOs in duty should come and pick up the detainees.

 After a while, an NCO entered the room. "Which one?" he asked the soldiers. They showed him me and my brother. After him, another soldier entered the room. There were two other soldiers standing by the door. We (my brother and I) were standing up with our backs against the wall where the door was. The soldier behind the NCO asked us what we were accused of, "Keeping restricted publications", we said. "What about?" he asked. At first, I could not understand what he meant by that. This time he asked me if we were "leftist or rightist publications?" "Leftist", we said. They took us 'from the room. In the hallway leading to the entrance of A-Block, they searched our belongings again. Putting our toothbrushes and toothpaste with his foot, the NCO told the soldiers they could give them to someone. In an insulting manner he said, "you have poisoned 10-year-old children. Inside is full of those whom you poisoned. Because of you, we can't have peace." Painting to the other soldiers, he added "these soldiers cannot even go to sleep at night because of your people? When we were entering in the vehicle, they started to kick us and hit our backs with their truncheons. I rushed into the prison vehicle. My brother also rushed into the vehicle after me. We sat on the seats facing each other.

 The inside of the prison wagon was divided into two sections, one for inmates, the other for guards. There was a door with a sliding security latch on separating the two sections. Our military guards were holding rubber truncheons in their hands. As soon as they got in the prison wagon, they ordered us to take a "stand-up!" position. Two of the guards started to hit my palms with their truncheons and at the same moment, the other two were doing the same thing to my brother. They were merciless and were hitting us very hard without stopping. After a while, I started to scream, but my brother did not. Our military guards, were clubbing, kicking and punching us from every side. Once, during their attacks, I was pushed forward with my back against the front side of the wagon. There, I saw my brother falling on his face to the floor and then trying to stand up. He was having great difficulty staying on his feet but two of the guards were still clubbing and punching him. I remembered that my brother had undergone an operation about six years ago for his backbone. A disc hole was removed from his spine. Therefore, I shouted to the soldiers that "his spine was broken once!" Please do not hit him. You'd better beat me instead!" I begged the soldiers to stop beating my brother. Nobody was listening to my plea. They were punching and slapping my face so hard that I saw stars around my head and I simply could not see my brother any more. There were no lights inside the prison wagon and it was dark. While the wagon was taking us to the prison building, from time to time, I saw lights coming through the windows of the wagon which were covered with iron bars. The prison wagon was moving very slowly, like an ox-cart. For a while, I saw again that the guards were beating my brother while he was standing. I thought their harassment lasted about half an hour. Then, the wagon stopped. The back door was opened. While they were getting us out, they were still clubbing us with their truncheons and were punching us all over as well. When we started to walk towards the prison building, they shouted at us to "stop!" The NCO and his soldiers attacked us again and started beating. This time, their harassment lasted about five minutes. My brother and I hardly had any strength to stand up on our feet. We begged the NCO to stop
beating. "You should think of and realize everything before you came here, not now!" he replied. His words encouraged the guards and they continued lashing us even harder. After a short while, my brother fell on the ground. He tried, but he couldn't stand up. They went on kicking and clubbing him. Finally, he barely stood on his feet. Then, they ordered us to take a "stand-up" position without moving, but we couldn't. We were tottering. Our hands were swollen, therefore we couldn't keep our hands at our sides. They shouted at us to "Keep your arms straight at your sides and stay properly in a stand-up position!"

"They burst every organ in your bodies but not your testicles yet!" the NCO shouted. "They will now burst them too!" he continued. Then, the beatings went out. After a while, the NCO ordered the soldiers to stop beating us. We were brought to the gate of the prison building. We passed through two iron-barred gates. There was a courtyard towards the entrance of the dormitories. They stopped us and pointed to another door on the right side of the courtyard. They ordered us to go by that door. When we arrived there, they started to beat us up again. They were shouting and giving orders. They brought us back to the entrance of the dormitory, clubbing and kicking us. There my brother fell on the ground once more. He could barely stand up again. They ordered us to take "stand-up" positions. One soldier was standing on each side of us and shouting, "stand-up, man!" "Keep your arms straight at your sides, man!"

Then, the soldiers called for some people from the dormitory. Three "senior" inmates came out running. They took "stand-up" positions in front of the soldiers and replied to them by shouting "yes, my commander! Ready for your orders, my commander!"

Our military guards asked them whether there was any place available for us at the dormitory. "We have place," they replied. Then, they opened the door and we went inside. We were placed in the dormitory on the right side. Some of the inmates there came beside me and some were helping my brother to stand up and walk. For a moment, I came eye-to-eye with my brother. Part of his face was covered with blood. His eyeballs were completely red. We glanced at each other without saying a word. Then, my brother tried to walk behind me. After taking 2-3 steps, he said, "my stomach is upset, I think I am going to vomit." He could not stand up any longer, but, when he was falling to the ground, the other inmates helped him by holding his arms. They lay him down on a bed. They also put me in a bed at the inner part of the dormitory. Later on, I saw that some inmates had taken off my brother's shirt and underwear. They brought him to the bed next to the one where I was lying. There, in the bed, my brother was kneeling on one knee with his head and his mouth open. I called out his name "IIham! IIham!" He did not reply at all. "IIham, IIham!" I reproached.

"It is nothing important" the other inmates replied to me. For a moment, I thought he had fainted. They lay him on the bed. There was a 40-50cm space between our beds. One of the inmates helping him said "His legs have no feelings."

"My goodness, he is paralyzed," I said to myself. I could not think that he might be dead. Among the inmates, there was a medical student who was nicknamed "doctor". He started to give him artificial respiration. I told him that my brother might already be dead. "No, no," he replied. "It is not very serious. His pulse is a little weak and we are trying to strengthen it." About a quarter hour later, an NCO came into the dormitory and asked for a medical doctor. About 15 minutes later, a medical NCO (hospit-al technician) came to the dormitory and, after seeing my brother, asked for an ambulance. Then they put my brother on a stretcher and took him away. When he was lying on the stretcher, his eyes were half-closed and his mouth was wide open. I wanted to kiss him but the other inmates prevented me from doing so. My brother was dead and he had passed away right there. How difficult it was for me to accept the reality that he was dead. Just a short while ago, other inmate friends were trying to give him artificial respiration. All of those efforts to keep him alive came to nothing. However, when they were helping him, I still had some hopes that his life could be saved. Only two hours before, when we were waiting to get together at the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" for our case, he was so alive. From time to time, he got up from his chair and walked around the waiting room. How handsome he looked! His cheeks had been reddish due to his excitement. His mustache was gorgious. His beautiful eyes were smiling. When were still there, I was thinking that, if both of us were detained, I would
look after him and take care of him. But he was dead now. What could I say to his 3-year-old daughter, Türküler? What could I tell her if she asked me the whereabouts of her father? I knew how much he loved Türküler and also how much Türküler loved her father. What would I do now? How would his other 5-month-old daughter learn to say "father" any more? What could I tell Gili, his wife now? We were so close to each other. They took our prison photos together and they also beat up together. Now he was dead, but I was alive and was mourning for him.

All the inmates were standing in a straight line beside their beds for the name call. I heard some people crying from the ranks of the progressive detainees and more and more people were crying as the time passed. Then, they took me from the dormitory.

My body was wet all over from sweating. My clothes were entirely and a cold wind was blowing. They took me from the "F-Section", and, on the way, I was shivering. I had a kind of feeling my body would become stiff and would fall to the ground. They covered my head with my vest. They made me walk 300-400 meters. They took me to the Officers' Mess. The NCO who brought me and my brother from the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" to the prison quarters was there, watching television. When he saw me there, he asked:

"Muzaffer Bey, why didn't you tell us that your brother was suffering from a weak heart?"

I knew that my brother never had any heart problem before. I was conscious enough to know that a brain haemorrhage could cause my brother's death. I kept quiet and said nothing. I drank some water.

Then, they took me to an empty room in "C-Section". They put an old mattress on the floor and, later on, the inmate friends from the dormitory sent me 3 or 6 blankets. They also sent me some milk, water and yuğurt. Then, they gave me an injection with tranquilizers. I fell asleep for a while. I was talking to my brother all the time and I also saw that the guards were observing me through the window while I was trying to sleep. I thought I slept for days. Then, it was morning.

On Saturday, the 8th November, they asked me to get ready. Two inmate friends had come to my room and helped me to get dressed. My arms, wrists and hands were swollen. The handcuffs did not fit on my wrists.

"We cannot take you from this place without being handcuffed" said the military guard. Then, he just placed the handcuffs loose around my wrists and did not fasten it. They took me to "A-Block" in a small prison vehicle. I would like to point out two important things that I noticed later on:

The military guards did not handcuff us when my brother and I got in the vehicle which took us to the prison. However, in accordance with the prison regulations, an inmate and/or a detainee must be handcuffed when he is transferred from one building to another even inside the prison compound. That means all their moves had been premeditated. They knew that if we were handcuffed, we could somewhat defend ourselves with our handcuffs. Secondly, when I got in the small prison vehicle on the way to the Public Prosecutor's Office, I realized that it was a small vehicle and a minimum of 10 people could be loaded on it. Since the vehicle was not very high, it would be impossible to stand-up in it without bending the body. Moreover, the small vehicle was not large enough for 4 guards to beat-up someone so easily. The movements of the guards would be too limited in a small vehicle; therefore, we could not be beaten so much. That was why they had asked for the big wagon. This also proves that they had planned beforehand to beat us on the way to prison.

At the Public Prosecutor's Office, the authorities treated me with understanding. First, I could not hold myself and started to cry. They waited until I was calm again. They wrote down everything, exactly what I said. They were honest.

I was back there again next day. This time, my deposition was taken by the prosecutor to whom my file was sent.

I completed my deposition with some facts which were omitted during the previous investigation. The prosecutor told me that, according to his investigations, only 3 military guards were supposed to be on duty in the prison wagon and he was now investigating the identity of the 4th guard who was allowed to get on the vehicle. Later on, the prosecutor confirmed his identity to me.

During the interrogation, the NCO had stated that he had not actually seen that we were eaten up by the soldiers, but he heard about the incident later on. The military guards stated that they had never beaten us. I was
taken back to the prosecutor's office on Monday. This time it was for my testimony. I asked the authorities whether my family was informed about the incident. They told me that it was the obligation of the Martial Law authorities to inform them. Then, they asked me through which person or persons I wished to inform the family about my brother's death, in case the Martial Law authorities had not yet done so. I suggested Mr. Halil Çelevi who had been a friend of the family for long years and represented us as our attorney in court.

My brother's death was made public with an official communiqué published by the Martial Law Authorities. Next day, Mr. Halil Çelevi came to the prison to see me. I talked to him in a room where we were separated by a wire fence. He informed me that he had already applied to the authorities for my release. He added that the Military Prosecutor's Office was in favour of my release and my papers were sent to the commanding officer for his approval. That same night, around 9 p.m., right after the evening same call, they asked me to get ready and said I was going to be released. I went by the same route where my brother and I were brought to the prison together. They brought me to the main gate. My uncle was there waiting.

"We went there together, but I came back alone," I said to my uncle.

When I arrived home, the family members told me that the Martial Law authorities had banned further publications of the "Cumhuriyet" in which my brother was published in six columns. My family decided to arrange a funeral ceremony for the next day. Therefore, a funeral notice was sent only to the "Cumhuriyet" for printing. However, publication of the "Cumhuriyet" was already banned by that time. I had some friends working for other newspaper organizations. Through them, we were able to give a short funeral notice to the Ankara editions of the "Milliyet" and "Hürriyet".

Next morning, I went to the mortuary. The mortuary urn was washing my brother's corpse. As I arrived there, his eyes were slightly opened. His upper lip was stretched as though his complete body was in pain. His beard had grown a little longer. The urn washed his corpse and I mourned. When the urn finished his work, I kissed my brother's eyes and his face again and again.

His coffin was brought from the mortuary to "Hacı Bayram Mosque". We followed his coffin to the mosque. His funeral was attended by some progressive, patriotic and revolutionary writers, newspapermen, teachers, intellectuals and others. He had learned of his funeral by the time. We buried my brother with a quiet but dignified ceremony.

Even if I was sentenced to prison from natural causes, it would normally have been news in all the news media. However, not a single newspaper, except "Dünya", gave even his funeral as news although there was no prohibition on this matter. "Dünya" also gave my tributes in headlines. It is my wish that the death of Hrant should be known by everyone who has respect for the principles of freedom and democracy.

**REPRESSION OF MASS MEDIA**

Repression of the mass media has been carried out through different means over the course of the 5-year period of military rule: ban on publications, theatrical performances, musical representations, censorship for the surviving media, persecution of journalists, writers, translators and artists... All these anti-democratic practices were "crowded" just before the passage to a "parliamentary period" by the adoption of a new press code.

As a matter of fact, the ban on the press and the arrest of newspapermen had already started before the military coup, just after the proclamation of martial law in 13 provinces, in 1978. But the target of this first wave was the politically engaged media and their editors. After the coup, a few remnants of the politically engaged press continued to be the object of persecution. In the beginning, the junta did not revert to the same methods for the commercial media. Although censorship was applied all over the country and especially in Istanbul (the Fleet Street of the Turkish press), the military did not start proceedings against members of the circulation press because they wanted the support of the high circulation newspapers and did not wish to provoke reaction from European institutions.
Appalling all the military junta's practices, big media gave tacit approval to the prosecution of the politically engaged press. But prosecution of the circulation press was not long in coming. After the European Parliament and the Council of Europe changed their stand and began to criticize the antidemocratic practices of the regime, the military, thinking that there was no longer any use in being prudent, extended prosecution to the circulation press as well. Bans on the publication of dailies and periodicals and proceedings against their directors became more frequent.

In the meantime, the NSC adopted a law according to which sentences for political or opinion crimes of up to 3 years of imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Cassation, and the convicted person is immediately incarcerated.

Another step taken against the press was the imposing of the obligation to demand preliminary permission from the martial law commander to publish a new newspaper periodical.

According to a survey made by the Contemporary Journalists' Association, within a 3-year period, martial law commanders 41 times ordered the banning of newspapers or periodicals for a definite or indefinite time. The dailies Demokrat, Aydınlık and Hersek as well as more than 20 political periodicals were closed down for good.

The names of the dailies whose publication was suspended for definite periods are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milli Gazete</td>
<td>4 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumhuriyet</td>
<td>4 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terçüman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Githayın (twice)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Günes (once)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet (once)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan (once)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hürrîyet (twice)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the same survey, over the same period, the Council of Ministers or military tribunals banned the introduction into Turkey of 927 publications printed abroad. They included Info-Türk publications.

The ban or suspension of publications did not end after the legislative elections. This antidemocratic practice was still in force by the end of 1985. Below is the list of publications hit in this last period by a ban for definite periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30.10.1983: Daily Hürriyet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.1.1984: Monthly Sonat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9.1984: Daily Terçüman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.10.1984: Video-Simdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.10.1984: Bimonthly Yeni Gündem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.7.1985: Weekly Hıfızı Sonat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.7.1985: Daily Gunes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.1.1986: Monthly Ebedek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the same survey by the Association of Contemporary Journalists, in the course of the first 3-year period, Turkish journalists were condomsed to prison terms totaling 316 years, four months and 20 days. This number does not include sentences passed on journalists who are accused of being involved in political actions.

The distribution of the sentences, according to the main daily newspapers, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aydınlık (banned)</td>
<td>27 years and 6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hersek (banned)</td>
<td>20 years and 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polîka (banned)</td>
<td>12 years and 6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millî Gazete</td>
<td>2 years and 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derîkınat İzmîrin</td>
<td>1 year and 8 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumhuriyet</td>
<td>1 year and 7 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terçüman</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derîkınat (banned)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millet (banned)</td>
<td>5 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dünya</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others: 245 years and 9 months.

Of these sentences, prison terms totaling 164 years, 4 months and 15 days have been inflicted on the responsible editors.

The distribution of the number of legal proceedings, according to the main publications, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cumhuriyet</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terçüman</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hürriyet</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millî Gazete</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millî Gazete</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dünya</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sos Havâdîya</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hersek (banned)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arşîya (banned)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İlayvat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nokta</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanki</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derîkınat (banned)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polîka (banned)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adabat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Condemned journalists

We are reproducing the list of these journalists, published in the daily Cumhuriyet of March 3, 1986.

1. Aydöğan Büyüköztürk (daily Aydınlık): 91 different legal proceedings. Condemned to a total of 38 years in prison in 27 cases. Eighteen cases ended in acquittal. In 33 trials still pending he risks further prison terms of up to 150 years.

2. Temur Kaynar (daily Politika): 9 different legal proceedings. Condemned to 7 years and 6 months, and to fines totaling 416,000 TL. Two cases ended in acquittal.

3. Hasan Basri Çepil (daily Demokrat): 7 different legal proceedings. One case ended in a prison term of one year and a half.

4. İlker Yurtçu (daily Demokrat): 4 legal proceedings. Condemned to 2 years and 7 months in all, but the sentence was commuted into fines.

5. Veli Sützer (daily Hürriyet): 25 legal proceedings. All the prison sentences in 13 cases were commuted into fines. Three trials still go on.


7. Alaeddin Sahin (periodical Hakim Yolu): condemned to a total of 108 years in 25 cases. He faces another 163 years in 19 other cases.

8. Feyzullah Özer (periodicals like and Kâle): condemned to a 36-year prison term in 3 trials. He risks another 7-year term in one other case.

9. Mehmet Özen (periodicals Bagımız Türkiye and Democrasi Milleti): condemned to 33 years and 6 months in 6 cases.

10. İbrahim Türkcan (periodical İleri Yurtsever Genclik and Gençlik Dünüyası): condemned to 48 years and 10 months in 10 cases.

11. Mustafa Türel (periodical Hakim Seisi) condemned to 42 years in 14 cases and acquitted in 6 cases. He risks 90 more years in 12 other cases.

12. Dogan Yardımcı (periodical Aydınlık): condemned to 18 years in 6 cases. He risks 120 more years in 16 other cases.

13. Ali Haydar Yıldırım (periodical Milli Genclik): condemned to 14 years and 6 months in three cases and acquitted in 5 cases.

14. Erdal Sarıkus (periodical Güney): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

15. Ali Duman (periodical Yurtsever Devrimci Örgünler): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

16. Veli Yılmaz (periodicals Halkın Kurtuluş ve Hakim Kurtuluş Yolu): condemned to 1,170 years in all in 79 different cases.

17. Mustafa Yıldırım (periodical Halkın Kurtuluş ve Hakim Kurtuluş Yolu): condemned to 215 years for different articles.

18. Osman Tas (periodical Halkın Kurtuluş ve Hakim Kurtuluş Yolu): condemned to 770 years in different cases.

19. Nezahat Açıq (periodical Halkın Kurtuluş ve Hakim Kurtuluş Yolu): condemned to 20 years and 6 months in different cases.

20. İrfan Asik (periodical Partizan): condemned to 111 years in 13 different cases.


22. Mete Dağlı (periodical Halkın Birliği): condemned to 20 years in different cases.

23. Haluk Seçkin Mers (periodical Barış ve Sosyalizm Sorunları): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

24. Atila Rbas (periodical Birlik Yolu): condemned to 18 years in different cases.

25. Mabûra Gökkaya (periodical Köşk): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

26. Condensed Otür (periodical Savas
Yolu) condemned to 23 years and 10 months in different cases.

25. *Hüseyin Uğur* (periodical Genc Sokak; journalist): condemned to 8 years and 3 months.

The following is the list of the other journalists, authors and translators who have been condemned by the military since the coup d’etat:

*Süleyman Cevher* (translator):
- 7 years and 6 months.

*Enis Oruç* (translator):
- 7 years and 6 months.

*Leyla Yurdakul* (translator):
- 9 years and 6 months.

*Lutfi Oral* (journalist):
- 1 year and 6 months.

*Fatih Yıldız* (poet):
- 4 years and 2 months.

*Aydın Sene* (journalist):
- 3 years.

Abdullah Gelen (journalist):
- 3 months.

Seydii Çimel (cartoonist):
- 3 months.

Okay Gövenç (journalist):
- 3 months.

Okay Akbaş (journalist):
- 3 months.

Ahmet Tartan (journalist):
- 11 years and 3 months.

Star Yavuz (translator):
- 6 months.

Selçuk Ifaz (journalist):
- 7 years and 6 months.

Nihat Duro (journalist):
- 2 months and 15 days.

Kazım Kara (journalist):
- 2 months and 15 days.

Sadık Albayrak (journalist):
- 1 year and 4 months.

Nazi Altun (journalist):
- 12 months.

Erö Güzeman (journalist):
- 8 years.

Nihat Behram (writer):
- 6 months.

Ayse Esler (journalist):
- Fire.

Erhan Tandik (journalist):
- 1 year and 6 months.

*Demet Sürmünk* (journalist):
- 6 months.

*Aydın Ergin* (journalist):
- 7 years and 6 months.

*Ayse Nurun Saglı* (journalist):
- 7 years and 6 months.

*İkbal Emir* (journalist):
- 9 years.

Yalçın Yavuz (journalist):
- 9 years and 9 months.

Ahmet Erdemir (journalist):
- 3 months and 20 days.

*Üzeyir Turan* (journalist):
- 4 months.

*Mehmet Toher* (journalist):
- 3 months.

*Dogan Heps* (journalist):
- 3 months.

*Duran Dev* (journalist):
- 1 year and 4 months.
Aydın Sencan (journalist): 18 months.
Ramazan Gümutay (journalist): 6 months.
Fehmi Isiklar (author): 6 months.
Osman Sahin (author): 18 months.
Ferhat Akacak (journalist): 8 years and 6 months.
Mehmet Ali Kula (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Yuksel Erdogan (publisher): 7 years and 6 months.
Osman Yeni (publisher): 7 years and 6 months.
Cemile Kirimli (journalist): 1 year and 8 months.
Güzel Aksu Karabey (journalist): 31 years.
Hikmet Hürri (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Dursun Atil Aydin (journalist): 16 months.
Atila Taniguchi (publisher): 7 years and 6 months.
Yalchin Dogan (journalist): 1 month.
Mehmet Ozturk (journalist): 5 years.
Riza Oguz (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Urmiye Kayserioglu (journalist): 6 years.
Ibrahim Arif (journalist): 15 years.
Zeki Arat (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Saban Bilgen (journalist): 8 years and 6 months.
Metin Corri (journalist): 19 years.
Nurettin Baydar (journalist): 6 years.
Yilmaz Dinberk (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Musafla Sitar (journalist): 7 years and 6 months.
Tamer Akcam (journalist): 8 years.
Nazi Ah Cheer (journalist): 27 years.

**Pressure on foreign press correspondents**

Turkish citizens working for Western papers or news agencies were also put under pressure by the Turkish authorities. Some of them received warnings relating to their articles; others were beaten up by police and threatened.

Since 1979, Ismet Inset had been working as a reporter at the UPI desk in Ankara. In February 1983, UPI headquarters in New York proposed that he go to work at the UPI desk in London, but he had no passport. It should be pointed out that he had been writing many detailed and revealing articles on the current military regime and, in particular, on human rights in Turkey. Just like some other journalists, he had been warned in connection with his articles.

When he asked for his passport, he was asked to go to his birthplace, Istanbul, "in order to comply with certain formalities." When he reported to the Gayrettepe police station in Istanbul, he was arrested on the spot. He was blindfolded and beaten up as he was questioned. He was released after an important personality intervened in his favour, but he was forbidden to leave the country and has lived in permanent dread of the political police.

In a letter dated July 1, 1983, to general Evren, the International Journalists' Federation expressed its indignation on the incomprehensible harassment imposed on their colleague Ismet and urged that effective orders be given to make sure that his passport was returned to him.

Inset was drafted for military service in September 1984.

**NEW REPRESSIVE PRESS CODE**

To render constant the control on the press, the NSC adopted, just before the legislative elections of 1983, a new press code. According to this new law - prices terms which may be imposed on journalists and chief editors for press offences are much heavier than before; - chief editors and journalists may be prosecuted for non-published documents;
- The indefinite concept of "secret information" is abundantly used;
- The prosecutor may call for the ban or the seizure of any publication which has allegedly infringed any of the 23 articles of the Turkish Penal Code, dealing with publication of information and interference in State security and integrity. He is also authorized to confiscate and seize all the facilities owned by an editor. In both cases, the prosecutor's decisions are liable to reconsideration, but the editor fear that this provision may enable officials to stop and search libraries transporting newspapers, and may make owners of printing houses feel obliged to resort to censorship;
- The Collective Press Court will be suppressed and replaced by only one judge;
- The responsible editor, i.e., the staff member responsible for the newspaper, will be entrusted with more important responsibilities. "As far as information, photographs or cartoons are concerned, if the author is not clearly indicated, the responsibility is incumbent upon the responsible editor." Prison terms will be the penalty for numerous offenses and the possibility of changing them into fines is restricted;
- It violates the right to become a newspaper's responsible editor; one has to meet the same conditions as those required for being a deputy in Parliament. One should be above 30 years of age, one must not have been sentenced to a prison term of more than a year; one must never have been sentenced for offenses relating to the disclosure of State secrets, involvement in ideological or anarchic activities, and to incitement or encouragement to similar activities... even if the offense has been pardoned.

After the "return to parliamentary regime," prosecution of journalists continued as before. Although newspapers, especially after the lifting of martial law in Istanbul, have been allowed to criticize the "turban government," a law adopted by the NSC on its last day of legislation, still forbids all criticism with regards to the practices of the military.

On May 16, 1984, the Justice Ministry announced that there were at that time 160 arrest warrants issued by civil prosecutors against journalists. One hundred and nine of them were used for "disregard" for the new Press Law. 20 for obscene publications, 20 for writing insults against individuals and one for a publication aimed at overthrowing the regime.

According to a recent survey published by the daily Cumhuriyet of February 13, 1986, after the constitution of a civil government, within a 2-year period, 313 legal proceedings had been taken against journalists in Istanbul only. The number of banned and confiscated publications in the same period rose to 154.

In addition to these new cases, 182 journalists, writers or translators still were tried for communist propaganda, anti-secular propaganda or for slander of the government in 121 different proceedings which had been started before the military intervention.

The number of cases against the Press for obscene publication reached 169 at the end of 1985.

After cracking down on public political publications, the military started reprinting publications which the fundamentalist-oriented majority of the present government considered "hazardous for children." According to a new law adopted by the National Assembly on March 7, 1986, an 11-member committee made up mostly of government officials and one press representative will decide whether a publication is "obscene." Any
publication deemed "obscene" by this com-
mission, will have to be sold wrapped in a trans-
parent plastic. Booksellers and news
vendors will not be allowed to display these
publications at windows, and publishers will
not be allowed to advertise in news media.
Violators face fines as high as 10 million TL
(about 16,600 dollars), a significant amount in
a country where annual per capita income is
1,000 dollars.

If an obscenity case goes before the courts
for prosecution, the government commission
will be the source of all expert opinion.

The Social Democratic Populist Party
(SHP) opposed the bill, saying it would
amount to unlimited press censorship and
the government would be able to destroy any
newspaper by labeling it "obscene."

BOOK-HUNTING

The stand of the military and its "civilian"
government on printed cultural material has
not been so different from that of Hitler's
regime. Confiscation of books and reviews and
even audio-visual materials is one of the secur-
ity forces' main tasks.

This practice has been very well put in
evidence by a left-wing publishing house which
had 133,667 books destroyed by the military.

According to evidence from Mr. Süleyman
Ege, owner of the publishing house "Bilim ve
Sosyalizm," the books (30 different titles) were
immediately declared "banned" by the military
and between August 28 and September 9, 1982,

they were taken away in 7 trucks. Many of
these books had already been the target of
judicial proceedings prior to the coup, but the
civilian tribunals had not found any "crime"
in them and had acquitted Ege.

On the seizure of his books, Ege
approached the military law authorities several
times and, producing the acquittal judgments
for each title, requested the return of the books.

Finally, on June 30, 1983, just before the lifting
of martial law in Ankara, the Direction of Ankara
Police informed him that all the seized books
had been destroyed, but refused to give details
about the means and place of the destruction.

All the following protests against this mea-
sure to the "President of the Republic" and the
Prime Minister were without response up to
the end of 1985. At this point, Ege lodged a
complaint with a tribunal against the martial
law authorities and requested an indemnity of
115 million TL (about 240,000 dollars).

Some other significant practices:

26.8.82: The Ministry of National Educa-
tion bans the reading of 272 titles in schools.

1.9.82: On the orders of martial law
authorities, all copies of 210 titles are exhi-
bitied in Izmir. They include books on drama,
fiction, essays and poetry.

12.12.82: Martial law authorities order the
confiscation of all books imported from the
Soviet Union in 1979. This importation was
made on a 60,000 dollars trade agreement be-
 tween the two countries.

22.1.84: The Daily Cumhuriyet reports
that 114,000 copies of books published between
1972 and 1979 by the Cultural Affairs Ministry
are still kept in bond. They were confiscated by
the military after the coup-on grounds that they
contain harmful propaganda.

19.1.85: The Ministry of Justice, in a report
for a receipt, distributes, to all bookshops and
libraries a complete list of all publications
whose circulation and sale have been banned
either by decision of the courts or by order of
the Council of Ministers. This list includes the
titles of approximately 1,500 publications:
books, periodicals, booksheets, communiqués,
postcards, albums, encyclopedias, informa-
tion bulletins, etc., as well as those publications
which have been banned by governmental
decrees from entering Turkey.

As a result of the Turkish regime's obscu-
rature policy, the book-printing industry has
faltered into deep crisis. Because of paper short-
tage, many printing houses cannot print new
books which had already been composed. The
State-owned paper mill SEKA systematically
refuses to supply printing houses with paper
and forces them to buy it on the black market
at twice the normal price.

RADIO TELEVISION

Following the coup d'état, audio-visual
media, too, were put under very strict censors-
ship, progressive people were dismissed from
their posts at the State Radio-TV (TRT), State
and Municipal Theatres and other public cultural institutions; showing or projection of cinema films were subjected to a previous control and many internationally renowned film directors and artists were prosecuted.

The administration of the Radio-TV was taken over by the military on the very first day of the new regime. While they were reorientating the radio and television programs within the ideological framework imposed by the military, all program producers considered "suspect" were dismissed or transferred to posts inconsistent with their profession. After putting the Radio-TV under its absolute control, the military started Color TV to draw attention to chauvinist and fundamentalist programs and to reinforce brain-washing through the means of this most influential mass medium.

One of the military's most striking practises at the Radio-TV was the banning of a TV-film considered "harmful to national interests." This film based on Kemal Tahir's novel, "The Tired Fighter", had been made by Halit Refig, on request of the former TV administration. But the National Security Council gave control of this film to a special committee. On the negative opinion of this rubber-stamp committee, military prime minister Bulent Ecevit ordered the General Director of the TV to burn the film.

After the legislative elections, the military retired from their posts in the Radio-TV, but they were replaced by extreme-rightrijing people. The new government's choice to the position of Director General of the TRT was Turan Topkal, a university assistant-professor renowned for his relations in the past with the neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel Tikes. One of the new director's first practices was to ban the utilisation of several thousand words considered "not worthy of belonging to the Turkish language," and to increase the number of programs praising historical figures admired by chauvinist and fundamentalist circles.

YILMAZ GÜNEŞ'S TORMENTING ORDEAL

Two most striking examples of the crimes committed by the military junta in the cultural field are undoubtedly the deaths of two world renowned actors: Yılmaz Güney and Rühi Su.

"Palme d'Or '82" Prize-winner, Yılmaz Güney, and Turkey's most eminent folk singer Rühi Su suffered from all kinds of oppressive practices such as legal prosecution, interdiction of public performance, prison, interdiction of travel abroad, etc., and respectively died in 1984 and 1985, from illnesses that they could not treat because of the interdictions imposed on them by the rulers.

Güney, the son of a landless Kurdish peasant, was born in 1931 in a little village. He worked his way through high school in the southern town of Adana and entered Istanbul University's school of economics. He spent two years in jail; in 1960-1962, on charges of making communist propaganda in a magazine article. After his release, he drifted around, working at odd jobs for two years, and eventually ended up in the movie business. His early film career was as an actor in maso roles. In the 1960s, he developed into Turkey's most widely acclaimed screen writer and director. He received a number of international prizes, including the Golden Leopard, the Golden Apple and the 1979 Berlin film festival awards. In 1981, his film Sürgün (Exile) won the first prize of cinema critics in Berne.

During the period of 1971-1973, he was detained for his progressive ideas by martia law authorities, and later released along with other political detainees in a general amnesty. But his longest jail term of 19 years was the result of the fatal shooting of a judge at a restaurant in Yenikale. In fact, there was extreme provocation by the victim, who used highly abusive language to Güney and his wife. Although there was no shred of evidence against Güney, he was condemned to the maximum prison term.

While in prison, he wrote articles, scenarios and even oriented from his cell the mobilization of many films. For his articles, he was condemned by military courts to 19 years imprisonment in total.

When he fled Turkey, in 1981, Güney was accused of being a "traitor". In fact, all Turkish
intellectuals who were obliged to flee the country because of the repression have always been charged in the same way. The most seeking example of this drama is Nazim Hikmet, the greatest Turkish poet who, after serving a 13-year prison term for his opinions, fled Turkey in 1951 and died in exile in 1963.

Yilmaz Güney’s “Yeşil” (Path) shared the Golden Palm top prize with Costa-Gavras’ “Missing” in the 1982 Cannes film festival. The success of Turkish film-maker Güney, whose crowning Turkish cinema was a blow to the Turkish military junta.

When Güney came out of hiding in Europe to show his latest film at Cannes, the Turkish military asked for his extradition from France. Before an official answer was given, Güney attended a conference of intellectuals sponsored by Greece and France on the Greek island Hydra.

As the award were announced in Cannes, the Turkish Government disclosed that protest notes had been delivered to both Greece and France for their refusal to extradite Güney.

Yilmaz Güney died on September 9, 1984, in Paris after a long illness. He was 53. His early death came just after he completed his last film, “The Wall.”

He could have lived longer if his illness had been treated in time. But the severe living conditions, in prison and in hiding for years, did not give him opportunity to take the necessary measures for his health.

The whole world was deeply distressed by the news of Güney’s death, except for Turkey’s oppressors.
France's Minister of Culture, Mr Jack Lang, paid tribute to Güney. "He was a con-
rageous creator who devoted his life to defend-
ing the oppressed... In 1981, he scored us by
accepting the hospitality I offered him on
behalf of the French Government. Güney’s
work and struggle are an example of powerful
art in the service of liberty."

Surrounded by raised fists and to
the sound of the “International” sung in Turkish,
Güney was buried at Pere Lachaise cemetery in
Paris, on September 13. For an hour, his
remains were accompanied by a silent crowd of
several thousand people from the Kurdish
Institute (of which he was a founding member)
to the cemetery. Prior to the funeral, several
international figures, including Mr Lang and
representatives of European governments and
international and national organizations, came
to pay their last respects at Güney’s coffin
inside the Kurdish Institute.

Most people in the funeral procession were
Kurds and Turks living in France, but others
had come specially from various European
countries.

In spite of the fact that the Turkish mass
media had been warned by the junta not to
refer to individuals whipped of Turkish citizen-
ship who are accused of activities harmful to
state interests, all Turkish newspapers seized
the opportunity to draw a portrait of the film-
maker and published the news of his death,
each in their own way.

Whereas the pro-government press re-
jected his death, saying that he was nothing
more than an ex-convict, the center-left
daily Cumhuriyet highlighted Güney’s great
role in film history and still voiced some reserva-
tions. Its columnist said that “the current flows past, but
the sand will remain.”

As for the European press, it has, on the
contrary, paid tribute to Güney by calibrating
his fine talent as well as the political struggle he
waged against the dictatorship in his native
country.

“...In retrospect, Yilmaz Güney’s too-short
life has been a permanent struggle for the
defence of human rights and liberty, for creat-
ing a cinema meant to oppose the forces of
social and political oppression that were weigh-
ing heavily on the Turkish people, while oppos-
ing at the same time some ancestral traditions.”

(Le Monde, 11.9.1984)

“Farewell Robin Hood! Turkish film-
maker Yilmaz Güney who died at the age of 53
in Paris, was a great artist, militant and charac-
ter.” (Le Nouvel Observateur, 14-20.9.1984)

“Yilmaz Güney, the war waged by a man
alone. The only picture of Turkey we have, we
owe it to him. By turns on the stage, in exile, the
prize-winner of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival
just died in Paris.” (Le Monde, 10.9.1984)

“Because of his popularity, his enemies
were forced to resort to other methods: present-
ing him as a criminal... Person did not break his
spirit, but his body. Telling the truth may cause
fatal risks.” (Suddeutsche Zeitung, 11.9.1984)

“He was accused of being a communist.
The consequence: imprisonment. “The strug-
gle against every kind of oppression,” he used
to say, “the sole ideology I acknowledge is
human dignity.” (Die Welt, 11.9.1984)

“The subject of his films is less a personal
story than the story of a whole, ethnic group
and, consequently, no other cinema of the
Third world—subjected to so fierce a dictator-
ship—did succeed in presenting pictures as
forcible as those of Güney’s cinema.” (El País,
10.9.1984)

“In a cinema which has always remained
confined to nearly domestic consumption,
Yilmaz Güney had been the sole genuine exam-
ple of an artist who succeeded, though with
some delay, in forcing the world to focus its
attention and admiration on him.” (Corriere
Della Sera, 10.9.1984)

“For the Turkish regime, his early death
...does not ensure that a serious headache has
been completely removed. Video copies of his
films are still being showed clandestinely all
over the country. Abroad he is regarded as one
of Turkey’s major artists.” (NRC Handelsblad,
10.9.1984)

“Güney was a man of strong left-wing con-
vinctions who had a long history of conflict with
the Turkish authorities.” (The Times, 11.9.1984)

“For the time being, Güney remains an
dead end for a filmmaker who has been the hero of
a unique experience in film history. His sudden
death is all the more tragic since it deprives us
of a work, inspired by a fighting spirit that we
fervently expected to be able to overcome the
rigors of exile.” (Le Monde, 10.9.1984)

“Always on the run, always violent, always
rebellious: a vehement man and filmmaker.”
(Le Quotidien de Paris, 10.9.1984)

“Turkish idol in exile... Exile, he agreed,
was merely exchanging one form of prison for another..." (The Guardian, 10.5.1984)

Ruhu Su's torment

As for Ruhu Su, he was born in Van in 1912 and graduated from the Ankara State Conservatory in 1942. He was distinguished as one of the best singers of the State Opera. He was taken under arrest in 1952 because of his political views and sentenced to a 5-year imprisonment.

After his release, he totally committed himself to Turkish folk music and had a worldwide reputation. His ultimate aim was to universalize Turkish folk music.

After the 1980 military coup, he was deprived of the right to travel abroad, like other contesting intellectuals of the country. He suffered from cancer and his doctors declared that he should be hospitalized in a foreign country where treatment methods are more developed than in Turkey. But the Turkish Government, disregarding the medical reports, refused until July 1985 to give him a passport. On protest from many German personalities, his passport was delivered when his condition became desperate. It was already too late... He died on September 22, 1985.

More than five thousand people attended his funeral in Istanbul and turned it into a protest march against the repression. Police arrested about 150 people.

OTHER EXAMPLES
OF NARROW-MINDEDNESS

To better illustrate the pressure on Turkish cultural life, we are reproducing some items which appeared in Info-Türk Bulletin over the past five years:

1. 4.81: The performance of a ballet based on a play by Nazim Hikmet is banned.
2. 5.81: Performance of the play "Each Day or No Again," presented by famous actor Genco Erkal, is forbidden by martial law.
3. 7.81: They are members of a jury who awarded the Grand Prize of the Foundation of Turkish Language to poet Faik Mihal. For his literary work, he is prosecuted on the pretext that the book contains "outrage against representatives of public order.
4. 5.81: Folk singer Selda Bagcan is taken into custody for making communist propaganda in her songs taped on a cassette in 1978.
5. 6.81: Movie star Turk Akan is arrested at the Istanbul airport when he returns from Germany where he had protested against conscription in Turkey.
6. 6.81: The Martial Law Coordination Department bans the introduction of music cassettes suspected of including communist propaganda.
7. 10.81: Famous author and teacher Mehmet Uzumcu is prevented from flying to Sweden as Istanbul Airport. Although he has to visit his daughter seriously ill in Sweden, the authorities stated that his right to travel had already been suspended in 1971.
8. 12.81: Movie director Ali Habiboglu Gogentim is detained in Istanbul during a work of montage. He is an international prize winner for his film "Fires."
a special board of examination before shooting or staging any scenario.

14. 2.02. Famous composer and folk-singer Saimi Iskender is brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on charges of communist propaganda.

25. 2.83. The Military prosecutor of Ankara starts proceedings against Mrs. Lüle Yeniceri, actress at the Turkish State Theatre, for having read the poem of Nazım Hikmet in an evening performance organized in Paris on the poet's 80th birthday.

31. 8.33. A government decree makes it necessary for foreign individuals and companies wishing to make films in Turkey to get authorization from Turkish embassies abroad.

3. 8.33. "A Season in Hakkari," a Turkish film, shot by Ender Kinn in the remote south-eastern province of Hakkari, in Turkish Kurdistan, collects top awards at the Berlin International Film Festival. The Turkish Board of Censors banned public projection of the film in Turkey on grounds that it shows Turkey in pitiful conditions. The principal actor in the film, Genco Erkal, who was invited to the United States, is denied a passport for travelling abroad.

1. 9.83. Martial Law Authorities ban and seize many films and video-cassettes made abroad. They include the prize-winning film Gandhi.

10. 19.83. In Istanbul, the military prosecutor files a lawsuit against Zafir Can Cicekoglu for having music cassettes of two popular Turkish singers, Melike Demirag and Cem Kircilar, who have been stripped of Turkish nationality for their activities abroad. Cicekoglu risks a one-year prison term.

28. 11.83. The Military prosecutor of Istanbul starts proceedings against 13 leading members of the Revered Actor's Union, founded in 1979, by a number of famous Turkish actors. They are accused of conducting "anti-state, anti-national activities" and face up to 20 years in prison.

24. 13.83. Seven famous actors of the Istanbul Municipal Theatre are fired by the theater administration on order of the Istanbul Martial Law Command, Arni Yalgin, Officer Officials, Cem Isik, Cemal Isik, Erbil Butun, Savas Deynek, and Aslan Kara are considered "dissident" to cultural life.

24. 3.84. Public showing of the prize-winning film "A Season in Hakkari" is banned again by the military prosecutor of Istanbul. During a seizure organized by the Turkish-German Friendship Association in Istanbul, martial law officials take over the hall and seize the film while the exhibitors of the FRG and the Netherlands are waiting for its projection.

33. 8.34. Atac Turk Akin is interrogated by a military prosecutor for his participation in the Turkish Peace Committee's actions prior to the coup.

48. 8.44. Folk singer Erol Buyukkurbas is detained by the military for a song he composed before the coup. She faces up to 15 years in prison.

59. 8.44. Singer Rahmi Salih, after performing more songs at a concert than scheduled in the programme previously submitted to the military authorities, is sentenced to 3 months imprisonment, but the sentence is commuted into a fine.

7. 8.34. The Interior Ministry bans the showing of 957 films shot in Turkey and abroad. The measure is also extended to video-cassettes of the same films. They include the films directed by Canoos protege, Yilmaz Gürer.

9. 8.94. Singer Erol Buyukkurbas is indicted by the military prosecutor of Istanbul for slandering the Armed Forces. He faces a one-year prison term.

10. 8.85. The recital of Rahmi Salih, scheduled for January 17 and February 17 in Istanbul, and for March 10 in Ankara, are banned at the very last moment by martial law authorities.

16. 8.85. The Board of Censors bans the showing in Turkey of "Memul, May Hawk," recently produced by Peter Slanotow after the novel of the same title by Turkish author Yasav Kemal.

17. 8.85. Famous singer Ruhban Canavari is banned from leaving the country on account of the order of the mother of another famous contesting singer, Melike Demirag, who has been stripped of Turkish nationality and lives in exile in the FRG.

18. 8.85. Famous movie director, Mrs. Bilge Olpar, is banned by police authorities from travelling abroad. She applied for a passport in order to attend a film festival organized in France by a number of female film-makers.

20. 8.85. The theatrical performance of a
CLAMP DOWN ON UNIVERSITIES

Touble arose in Turkish universities on the adoption of the controversial law founding a 25-member Higher Education Council (YOK), which exercises centralized authority over Turkey's 27 universities, their more than 6 thousand professors, 12,000 teaching assistants and instructors and an estimated student body of 350,000.

According to this law adopted on November 7, 1981:
- The Higher Education Council consists of 25 members; 8 of them appointed by the Chief of the State, 5 by the Council of Ministers, 8 by the Ministry of National Education and one by the Chief of General Staff. This council has complete administrative and executive powers over all the universities.
- The boards of faculties and universities are no longer the representatives of the university bodies, since only some of the professors have the right to sit there. In addition to this, these boards have only a consultative and symbolic status. All the power belongs to YOK.
- The university rectors are appointed by the Chief of the State from four candidates nominated by YOK. The rectors may be elected from the university. The deans are named by YOK from three candidates proposed by the rector. Their power is limited to the administrative function laid down by YOK, which holds the administrative, financial and political direction of the universities.
- University members and students no longer have the right to be members of political parties.

This anti-democratic law caused widespread criticism in university circles.

After the adoption of the new law, Professor Ismail Dogruluc was named YOK's chairman. In fact, Dogruluc is known as a member of Ecevit's brain-trust and it was this US educated doctor who was the real author of the new law on universities.

Before the adoption of the Law on YOK,
- 901 professors from Ankara University,
- 400 professors from Aegean University,
- 1,447 professors from Istanbul University protested against this anti-democratic project and some of them resigned from their posts.
On November 10, 1983, YOK began to liquidate all university pavilions and assistant professors who were considered "unacceptable" by the military regime. Without warning, about 450 university members were dismissed from their posts on a decision by YOK. Nevertheless, not satisfied enough with YOK's practice, martial law commanders, using their authority provided by law, ordered 259 more university members to be dismissed. In protest against this practice, 355 others resigned or asked for early retirements.

About a thousand university teachers were transferred from higher education to secondary education institutions. Besides, on August 21, 1982, new disciplinary regulations were announced and consequently university members and students were forced to abide by YOK's rules on clothing and appearance. All branded professors had to make a choice between two alternatives: either to get a share or to lose their university posts.

In 1983, YOK purged 2,642 students from universities on ground that they did not abide by the new regulations, and many students and faculty members were imprisoned. On the other hand, university students were obliged to sign the beginning of the academic year 1984-85 to pay a charge of 150 dollars which constitutes another obstacle for high school graduates in a country where annual per capita income is about 1,000 dollars.

After the 1983 general elections YOK's guidelines gave rise to much controversy. Even among the deputies of Orta's party, YOK was branded an antidemocratic instrument. But Gezen Even reacted immediately, declaring that YOK is a constitutional institution and it will stay in force unless the Constitution is changed.

As for the new teaching staff, new univers:-
The application of these new regulations are primarily controlled by special teams to be set up in each faculty.

Whatever his academic capacity, nobody is allowed to have a university post unless he obtains a previous OK from the intelligence services.

According to a declaration by the National Education Minister, Kemal Dervişer, university students are allowed to organize only in sport and leisure-time clubs, and all kinds of organizations aimed at defending their proper interests or expressing their opinions on the country's problems are strictly forbidden.

As for international relations of sport and leisure-time clubs, they are allowed to collaborate only with touring and sports organizations of other countries.

According to a regulation issued on July 22, 1985, by the Ministry of National Defense, university graduates who are "suspected" by the intelligence agency will be assigned, during their military service, to special activities. As for the military academy cadets, if one is ousted from the academy, he will never be allowed to enroll in civilian higher education institutions.

One should remember that, having innumerable even in the universities purged by YÖK and martial law commandants, the military put in the Constitution a provision entitling the Armed Forces to establish their own universities and higher education institutions.

To complicate the new structure of the academic and cultural life of Turkey, another new established institution should be mentioned: Amasya High Institute of Culture, Language and History. This public corporate body, provided by the new Constitution, is under the authority of the President of the Republic and charged with developing scientific research and disseminating information on Atatürk's thoughts, principles and reforms, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and on the Turkish language.

In November 1983, General Evren appointed a chairman and four members of this institution's board. The first chairman of the institution is the Retired General Suat Han. Four other members are known in Turkish academic
PROSECUTION OF TEACHERS

Besides university professors, thousands of primary and secondary school teachers have also been dismissed from their posts and many of them legally prosecuted.

Within the first one-year period of the military regime, more than 6,000 teachers were prosecuted for "having been involved in ideological actions" prior to the coup.

The Teachers' Association of Turkey (TTÖ-DER) was one of the junta's choice targets. Chairman Gökçek Cançanlı and his 15 comrades were sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment and other trials were started against 53 leading members of the association with request for prison sentences of up to 15 years. In the meantime, Gazioglu was stripped of his Turkish nationality while he was abroad.

On November 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that 1,224 teachers were still under arrest and 1,311 teachers were fired from their posts.

On June 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that the number of dismissed teachers had risen to 4,985.

According to a survey published by an Austrian review, Forum (April-May 1984 issue), the number of legal proceedings against primary and secondary school teachers reached more than 50,000 within a 1-year period.

Turkish teachers charged abroad with teaching Turkish immigrants children have also been hit by repressive measures. The National Education Ministry declared in 1982 that "all

A COURAGEOUS ACADEMIC: İSMAIL BİMKİ

Famous Turkish sociologist İsmail Bikçi was condemned to a 10-year prison term on March 25, 1982, by the military council of Gölcük Naval Command. He was accused of having defended the Turkish solidarity among a group to the Social Controls Unit of which he had been a member.

His writing, "Bikçi, was still in prison and his health was totally worsening.

This was not the first condemnation of this courageous academic; he had been condemned many times for defending the national rights of Turkey's Kurdish population.

Bikçi himself is not Kurdish. He was born in Düzce in 1927 while serving his military duties in the Kurdish area. He enjoyed the Kurdish people's sympathetic situation and later he wrote his first book, "Structure of Eastern Anatolia: Social-economic and military aspects," based on his detailed dissertation thesis at Ankara University in Erzurum. When the book appeared, he was dismissed by the university. In 1971, he restored his academic work at the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. But a few months later, during the strikes and coup debate, he was treated and condemned to 13 years and 2 days imprisonment by the military for his articles and lectures on the national question.

As a result of the general amnesty in 1974, he was freed along with other political prisoners. While other imprisoned academics were returning to university posts and work without any problem, Bikçi's demand in the same sense was denied mainly for political reasons.

On September 7, 1978, Bikçi was again condemned by a court to prison to a 5-year prison term and immediately incarcerated. His research entitled "Turkish Threat on History (The Theory of Sun Language)," which was considered separatist propaganda by the tribunal.

Bikçi's work focuses mainly on the nature of the theory of Sun language that had not been brought forward by Turkish scholars in the 19th and 20th centuries, but rather it had been discredited. The book was praised by many Turkish historians and sociologists, including Professor Nihat Dede, head of the history department at Ankara University. The book was published in 1980 and it is considered a milestone in Turkish historiography.

All the languages of the world originated mainly from the Turkish language, Turkish is the mother of all
Turkish teachers engaged by the Lüder of the FRG, are under surveillance. Preliminary investigations have been initiated against 253 of them. Our aim is to bring teachers from Turkey to replace those who have been engaged."

The Turkish Ambassador in Brussels put pressure on the Brussels City Administration to dismiss İmran Turgut from her Turkish language teacher post, but this demand was turned down by the Belgian authorities.

Even after the constitution of a civilian government, the prosecution of teachers did not end. On April 24, 1984, the National Education Administration of Adana Province announced through the daily press that 194 school teachers were still wanted for legal proceedings pending against them. They, too, are accused of having participated in 1979 in a boycott by teachers.

On January 17, 1985, a military tribunal condemned 21 teachers to 2 months imprisonment each for taking part in the same boycott. They have been banned from teaching for an additional 2-month period.

About a hundred university professors have also been processed and tried before military tribunals. Many of them are accused of having participated in the actions of DISK.
use Turkish Peace Committee or the petition action of 1,256 intellectuals.

Some of them have been tried for their opinions or writings.

For example, Professor Yalçın Köşşük was condemned on April 25, 1984, by a military tribunal of Istanbul, to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment. He was accused of having made communist propaganda in his work entitled "Toward a New Republic." His sentence was overruled by the Military Court of Cassation, and he was condemned again by the lower court, but this time to an 18-month prison term. Since he already stayed in prison for 10 months and 16 days during his trials, he was not incarcerated again.

The prosecuted professors include Sedan Arel, Ağarşan İlik, Gencay Gürcü, Osman Nuri Köşşük, Meta Özdeş, Gencay Soydan, Melih Tamer, Cumhur Ertok, and Erkan Eyboğa.

But the most significant is the case of Assistant Professor Ismail Besikci.
STATE TERRORISM 3

PRESSURES ON THE OPPONENTS ABROAD

During the repression, even the regime's opponents abroad have not been immune from the regime's pressure. In order to prevent them from informing world opinion of the violation of human rights in Turkey, the military government has refused to renew passports or has deprived them of Turkish nationality. Their properties in the country were seized by the State. These repressive measures also aim to keep about two million Turkish migrants under the control of the military regime. Political refugees from Turkey have undergone mistreatment in European countries as well.
State criticism has taken as its target not only opposition within the country, but also those Turkish nationals who attempted to raise their voices abroad against the violation of human rights in Turkey.

Since the military coup, 1,247 Turkish citizens abroad have been ordered to return and surrender to military authorities. They are accused of having carried out activities abroad against the Turkish State's interests. One hundred and twenty-five of those who refused to return to Turkey have been stripped of their Turkish citizenship. Fifteen have been apprehended as they were crossing the border and 29 surrendered themselves. The proceedings against 115 others were stopped on grounds that their "conduct" had been proved afterwards.

Those who were stripped of their Turkish nationality include prize-winning movie director Yiğitbas Görey, famous musicians Melike Demir, Sarar Turanoglu, Cem Karama, Sah Turan, Fuat Sahan, Info-Turk's editors Doğan Özgüden and İniş Tığayat, writers Muzaffer Erim, Sıma Özal, Yüküle Felicioğlu, Mehmet Emin Berarci, Nilan Yılmaz, Fuat Baki, Kamil Tüzün, TIP Chairwoman Behime Bayram, TOB-DEK Chairman Gökhan Gazel, and a DRTK representative Yeşil Yap as well as some leading members of political parties, trade unions or democratic associations.

By taking this repressive measure, the military regime also focuses on the migration of more than 2 million Turkish migrants abroad. For the Turkish rulers, the mass of migrants is a very important source of hard currency.

According to the data of Milli İstatistik, 2 million Turkish immigrants had sent back $18,563 million to Turkey over the past 20-year period. However, the sum sent back in 1983 amounted to a mere $1,553 million, against $3,499 million in 1981.

Considering that the presence of migrant workers in Europe is getting more and more lasting, this downward trend is quite logical and easily understandable. In view of the fact that they have to spend their earnings to cover growing needs and their children's education costs, instead of saving up for returning to their native country, the more they get integrated into the guest society, the less they send their money back to their native country. Turkey.

To show down this process and keep migrants attached to their country, Turkish governments resort to every means. If the immigrant workers of Turkish origin still feel strongly attached to their culture and remain confined in their photos, it is not only because of the "tip differences regarding culture, religion, mentality and behavior in daily life" or because they "only think of going back to their country", but also because the Turkish authorities, with the backing of the Turkish mass media, the Islamic fundamentalists and the extreme-right, insist on their remaining in these photos.

Secondly, in the Turkish regime's view, which so far has remained isolated in the international arena on account of its anti-democratic practices, it only possible means to counter these actions is to bring Turkish immigrants to defend the Turkish regime's position.

In addition, a indoctrination campaign to isolate the supremacy of the Turkish race and Islam as well as the inferiority of all others nations and civilizations, the Ankara regime has been taking, even since the 1961 military coup, several repetitive measures aimed at intimidating Turkish immigrants abroad.

As a result of changed legislation with regard to the Code of nationality and the issue of Turkish passports, Turkish subjects who did not defend the Turkish regime's position are faced with two definite threats:

- Being deprived of the Turkish passport or
- Being stripped of Turkish nationality. This second measure envisages also the confiscation of all properties of the person in question.

So, this provision entails a grave threat to Turkish immigrants who have assigned all of their savings to purchasing real estate and goods, in their country of origin.

In March 1981, General Ertegun launched a campaign of attack on the regime's opponents abroad. On a TV programme transmitted through the German TV-DPS, Ertegun, addressing Turkish workers abroad, said: "The stateless people are now continuing their criminal activities in foreign countries. Because what is important for them is not being a Turk, but serving other countries for the sake of the perpetrators' ideology that they believe in. If they really had noble Turkish blood running in their veins, in Atatürk's words, they would have returned to Turkey and give account of their deeds."

In another speech that he gave in Mithisa,
Even said: "How can we consider them our citizens? We have stripped them of Turkish nationality without any remedy; that is to say, the tugs and spars are deprived of noble Turkish blood.""

In September 1981, the military began to oblige young immigrants who came back home temporarily for their military service, to denounce any opponents they happened to know among their relations abroad.

The Turkish regime has taken the following measures among others, to "have its opponents abroad extradited" and to intimidate potential opponents:

3.10.61: The Turkish Government gives the German Government a list of 15 political activists and asks for their extradition. Germany turns down the request because the persons in question are threatened with capital punishment.

22.12.81: The National Security Council establishes a new intelligence network by changing some Cumhuriyet functions and teachers sent by the Turkish State with obtaining permanent information about the anti-regime activities abroad.

April 41: The Prime Ministry issues a new circular to apply strict control on Turkish citizens abroad. Besides, to prevent the regime's opponents from travelling abroad, all passports will be scrutinized by a central office instead of local authorities. The Turkish Government also applies to the German Government to dismiss Turkish teachers in German schools appointed by German authorities and to replace them with those to be sent by the Turkish State.

4.5.82: The German State Secretary announced that 3 of 65 Turkish citizens whose extradition was demanded by the Turkish Government had already been sent back to their native country.

July 92: The German authorities expelled 37 Turkish citizens from FRG territories.

Sept. 92: The Turkish government requested the extradition of 18 Turkish citizens known to be in European countries.

26.10.92: The winning Turkish Sportsman Yilmaz Giney was stripped of his Turkish nationality.

17.1.93: The Turkish government asks the Greek Government to extradite Yilmaz Giney who came to Athens for the gala night of his prize winner film "Fed." The Greek Government turns down the request.

Feb 93: A law suit is brought against com-

INFO-TURK'S EDITORS STRIPPED OF TURKISH NATIONALITY

Within the framework of oppression on the regime's opponents abroad, the editors of "Info-Turk", Oguz Olgun and Ismet Tugay, have also been stripped of their Turkish nationality by the military government.

To begin with, on May 14, 1982, a Turkish Consulate in Bursa informed them that they could no longer obtain Turkish passports, though being refused to them for their activities abroad, considered "harmful to the Turkish State's prestige and interests." On November 11, 1982, the Turkish Embassy asked the Brussels City Administration to dismiss Ismet Tugay, who also teaches Turkish language and culture in primary school, on the grounds that he leads activities against the Turkish State's interests (the city administration upheld this decision).

On December 14, 1982, the military government announced the Oguz and Tugay should return to Turkey by December 31, 1982, and further electric orders the two journalists deriving the activities against the Turkish State to return and give themselves up.

On May 8, 1983, the Turkish Government decreed that they be stripped, along with 24 others, of Turkish citizenship. The decree also announced that the properties of those who were deprived of nationality would be confiscated by the State.

Another governmental decree dated June 11, 1983, announced that all writings or other artistic works of those deprived of nationality were declared "forbidden." Whoever keeps or distributes these writings or works would be subjected to legal proceedings.

The newspapers had been obliged to free Turkey during the period of the preceding military regime of 1971-75 because of political immorality for publications which they added. They got political refugee status. At the end of 1977, on the basis of the Turkish Government, they were banned from entering Germany by an arbitrary decision of the German authorities. However, this decision was cancelled by a German court. On the constitution of a left-wing government in 1978, they remained their status and obtained Turkish passports. But after the 1980 coup they have once again the target of the military.

Oguz and Tugay, after the decision of the military government, were given political refugee status for a second time.
testing singer Melike Demirag and composer Sanar Yardımcı for “activities demeaning Turkey abroad.”

23. 7:33: During his visit to Turkey, the German Interior Minister was given a list with 150 names of persons whose extradition was being asked for.

23.11:83: The Police Administration announced that a new index-book with the names of 11,487 foreigners had been distributed to all entrance points into Turkey. All these foreigners are accused of carrying out activities hostile to Turkey. According to another statement by the same administration, the total number of Turkish citizens whose right to travel abroad had been suspended was reduced from 500,000 to 250,000 following up-dating of the registers.

24.11:14: The HarrijeC announces that since the military coup, 110,000 Turkish citizens have applied for political asylum abroad; 6,511 of the applicants are wanted by the security forces on account of their political opinions or activities.

12.12.83: It is reported that even the relatives of those wanted by the authorities are systematically refused passport.

**Suicide of a political refugee**

While the Turkish authorities were reporting to every means of repression and intimidation against the regime's opponents abroad, the European governments, not respecting the International Convention on political refugees, have applied many restrictive and even punitive measures against those Turkish nationals who request political refugee status.

Just after the military coup, on the other hand, all European countries, except Italy and England, imposed visa obligations on all Turkish citizens, whether tourist or working in these countries as immigrant workers.

According to official figures, 110,000 Turkish nationals requested political asylum, in European countries between September 12, 1983, and the end of 1984.

Many of these refugee candidates in Germany have been interned in special camps. They have not been allowed to work for two years, but have been forced to carry out all kinds of jobs such as digging graves, cleaning streets, etc. for an hourly wage of 0.75 dollar.

CEDRI (European Committee for the Defense of Refugees and Migrants) announced on April 14, 1983, that the FRG used every means to frighten and discourage those who wished to leave. Within a 2-year period, competent courts accepted only 450 requests, but the Ministry of Interior gave notice of appeal for 300 of them. Therefore the authorities have refused to acknowledge the obvious fact that, in Turkey, torture and execution were quite usual.

Because of the systematical refusals and extraditions, some political refugee candidates have committed suicide.

One of the most striking of these dramatic cases is that of Cemal Kemal Altun. This young political activist asked for refugee status in 1982. The Turkish Government demanded his extradition on the grounds that he had allegedly taken part in the murder of a former far-rightist minister in 1980. Therefore, the German authorities in Berlin held him in jail for extradition for one year. As a result of thousands of protest telegrams and solidarity statements by well-known personalities and organizations, his extradition was canceled in March 1983, at the very moment when the plane bound for Turkey was taking off. The personalities showing solidarity included European Parliament Speaker Piet Dinkerk and many European parliamentarians.

In June 1983, the highest authority for the recognition of political refugees, the Federal Office in Zürist, decided that in Turkey Altun would probably be exposed to political repression. Therefore, Altun was allowed the right to political asylum.

Despite this result, the Court of Appeal of West-Berlin decided on June 21, 1983, that Altun was to be held in jail for extradition.

On August 30, 1983, when he was brought again for interrogation to the Police Center, Altun, completely desperate, committed suicide by throwing himself from the 5th floor of the building.

Six months after Altun's suicide, the Administrative Tribunal of West-Berlin announced on February 17, 1984, that Altun had been granted the status of political refugee. This decision was the epilogue of a tragic affair.

The suicide of Altun was followed by a UN report highly critical of the treatment of political refugees in West-Germany.
Pursuing a chauvinist policy, the military have reinforced all measures with a view to suppressing the national identity of Kurds and forcing Christian minorities to leave the country. All Kurdish militants and intellectuals defending their community's national rights have undergone mass arrests, tortures and condemnations. Two thirds of the Turkish Army's effective strength have been concentrated in the Turkish Kurdistan. Turkish troops entered Iraqi and Iranian territories in order to pursue Kurdish militants. The Kurdish population is deprived of the right to say "I am a Kurd" and to use its own language.
The national repression which has been applied unanimously since the beginning of the history of the Turkish Republic has reached unimaginable proportions in Kurdistan of Turk­
key since the September 12, 1980, takeover.

More than a third of the political prisoners in Turkey are Kurdish militants guilty of claim­
ing cultural and national rights for their people. In this latter part of the 20th Century, Turkey, which occupies an important part of Cyprus in the name of defense of the rights of the Turkish minority on this island, and demands teaching in the Turkish language for Turkish workers’ children in Europe, refuses to recognize any cultural right of the Kurdish people who constitu­
tute one fourth of its population. It even denies the existence of the Kurds as a people having their own language, their own culture and their own history.

A former minister, Serafettin Elci, a dep­
uty, Serafettin Yılmaz, mayors, academics and teachers are imprisoned in the dark cells of the military dictatorship for having mentioned the existence of Kurds in Turkey.

“Besides they do not fail to accompany this exemplary cultural genocide with large-scale and violent physical repression. Two-thirds of the total strength of the Turkish Armed Forces keep the Kurdish Provinces under close control and there regularly indulge in combing opera­tions.”

The Kurdish people have to fight on three fronts: first, against the military dictatorship in Turkey; secondly, against Baath’s chauvinism in Iraq; and finally, against national repression in Iran, increasing day after day.

These repressions are in fact the result of a policy that consists in “dividing to reign,” applied by imperialism for years on a large scale in the Middle-East. The monopoly, denying people the right to self-determination, dividing the Middle-East according to their own inter­
ests, have carved up the Kurdistan in a political plan since the beginning of the century. Each parcel of Kurdistan has been under the control of a state that does not correspond to the volun­
tary union of peoples, and the Kurdish people have suffered from chauvinism, assimilation and repression applied by the dominant classes of these countries.

The situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey is even more painful. During the war of independence against imperialism, the Kurds fought within the worker and peasant masses of Turkey; but at the end of the war, they faced one of the biggest perjuries in modern history. While non­
Kurdish minorities were recognized to have cul­
tural rights and social rights, the Kurds were deprived even of the right to say “I am a Kurd”, to read and write in his mother tongue and to live according to national particularities.

The fact that in the Treaty of Lausanne non-Muslim minorities, such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews, were recognized as having some limited rights, does not change this truth. As a matter of fact, non-Muslim capitalists within the grand bourgeoisie of Turkey have always had some privileges. However, the tool­
ing strata of these minorities such as workers, handicraftsmen and little traders, have always felt discrimination and national repression. Many of them have been obliged, especially after the events of September 6-7, 1955, to leave Turkey, the homeland where they were born and where they grew up. And as a result of the repression, the number of the non-Muslim population in Turkey fell to less than 100,000.

Even the Moslem minorities have been touched by repressions and discrimination. The Moslem Alevites, who constitute an important part of the population of Turkey, are still suffering from repression and massacres.

And for the Kurds, the Kurdish people, the situation is completely different.

Today, more than ten million people of Kurdish origin are living on the entity called Kurdistan, united through a link of language, culture and economic factors. That is the Kur­
dish nationality.

After the military victory against imperial­
ism, the alliance between the young bourgeoisie and the big landowners of Turkey who seized power by eliminating political representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the Kur­
dish people have exercised two forms of repress­
ion throughout the history of the republic: class repression on the working class and national repression on the Kurdish people. While politi­
cal and trade union organizations of the working class were forbidden, national repression on the Kurdish people has been carried out in certain periods, massacres... on the pretext of “suppress­
ing Kurdish riots.”

The jeorgist representatives of the Turkish bourgeoisie have even qualified the Turkish race as a “superior race, the origin of all other..."
Turkish Army’s Expansionism

A well-planned raising operation against the Kurds in Iraq was launched on May 26, 1983, when two brigades of the special forces of the Turkish Gendarmerie and parachutist forces entered Iraqi territory. The troops were reinforced by two border-guard brigades and got “reduced” support from the Turkish Air Forces and some helicopters, according to Iraqi diplomatic sources.

The seven-day operation ended on June 2, “after being led successfully,” the Turkish Foreign Office announced in a press release. The Turkish authorities asserted that “talks have taken place on this action with the government of friendly and neighboring Iraq.”

This “right to pursue” is provided in the framework of a “co-operation” developed four years ago after the agreement between the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and General Evlen, Chief of the General Staff of that time, which both had decided to “coordinate their plans in order to control Kurdish minorities in the two countries.”

The Iraq Ambassador to Turkey, Mr Tahmeh Mahmoud Al-Kaysi, said that the operation by the Turkish forces had “likely resulted in the arrest of about 1,500-2,000 separatists and adventurers.”

According to an alarm-cry of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in London, the Turkish Army surrounded about 20,000 or 30,000 civilian Kurds, of whom a majority were women, children and old people, who had taken refuge in DPV camps.

Diplomatic sources in Ankara also confirmed the size of the operation, which had obviously passed beyond a “simple chase of a few Kurdish separatists.” According to those sources quoted by the AFP, 15,000 Turkish soldiers reinforced by Iraqi troops penetrated 40 km inside the Iraqi border. Ammunition bombs were reportedly dropped on the region.

The only “balance sheet” made public by the Turkish military sources noted the 6 military men killed and did not breathe a word about the victims of the operation or the prisoners, estimated between 1500-2000.

The Turkish newspapers reported the operation with victory cries. The daily Terciman: “Execrable News: Broken”; Havari: “Terrorist Cruelty”, Milli: “Our Army Cleaned up Armed Groups Based in Iraq”. On the other hand, they by no means mentioned how many people had been killed in the course of this “cleaning up” and “crushing” operation.

Many observers in Turkey reported that by initiating this “political action”, the Turkish military regime had taken the first step to realize an old dream that it discreetly cherishes to recover the north of Iraq, the “Vilayat of Mosul” inhabited by Kurdish people.

At the end of the First World War, Britain forced the Kemalist regime to give up this province, and a British mandated state, Iraq, was created. Many of the Turkish military take it for granted that this region with rich petroleum...
reserves should fail to form by full right, espec-
ially because of an important Turkish-speaking
minority living among Kurds.

According to The Times of May 28, 1983, “last year an article in the New Statesman al-
gleged an example of a Turkish-ruman plan to seize northern Iraq, aroused great interest and
anxiety in the Arab World. Such a notion seems
terribly far-fetched, given the uncooperative
position existing between the Turkish and Iraqi
governments, and it is most unlikely that what
happened has anything to do with such a plan.
But it does remind us that some hitherto
unthinkable things might be possible in the
event of a complete collapse of central
government in Iraq.”

Just after the raging operation, it was
announced in September 1983 that the Head-
quarterm of the 2nd Turkish Army had been
shifted from the Central Anadolu area of
Konya to Hattiyas in the Turkish Kurdistan.
The headquarters commands two-thirds of the
Turkish Army’s effective forces controlling
this region.

Kurdish Armed Resistance
and “Sun Operation”

Despite all the military
control over this area, the
PKK militants started
an armed resistance in
1984, and on the night of
August 14, they attacked
many garrisons and
administrative stations in
the Siv Unit. In retaliation, Turkish com-
mmanders launched a new
coming operation, code-
named “Sun Operation.” The
Chief of General Staff
immediately moved to the
operation area and extended the
cooperation to other provinces.

In addition, Turkish troops crossed the
border and once more entered Iraq. The agree-
ment for this operation was reached following a
sudden visit to the Iraqi capital, on October 14,
by the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Vahid Haliloglu, accompanied by Deputy
Chief of Staff General Nuhut Orhan.

According to the European press, several
reasons led the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein
to allow Turkish troops to cross the border. As
the war with Iran deprived him of several of
his outlets, he was determined to stay on the best
of terms with his northern neighbor who offered
him facility for exporting oil and conveying
supplies. In domestic politics, the war with Iran
and the army’s mobilization along the border
also furnished a reawakening of the Kurdish
opposition which suffered a fatal blow in March
1975, when the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hus-
sein signed the Algiers agreement. However, the
Barzani PDK continued to wage armed strug-
gle against the Iraqi regime. So, the regime of
Saddam Hussein was in such a sated weakness
and powerlessness that he was forced to use
foreign troops in order to quell the Kurdish
rebellion on his territories.

Contrary to what had happened a year
before, Iran now opposed the Iraqi-
Turkish agreement aimed at fighting Kurdish
guerillas. Talks between Tehran and Ankara on
a possible penetration of Turkish troops into
the border area with Iran collapsed.

The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs
on October 14 confirmed the aforesaid operation
as “coordinated struggle” between Iraq and
Turkey, considering it “capitalized the security
of the region as a whole.”

“We want that this kind of move is likely to
aggravate the crisis in this sensitive part of
the world,” a comment from the Iranian
Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

In fact, Tehran actively supported the Iraqi
Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by
Masoud Barzani. Contrary to the Kurdish
Patriotic Union (KPU) led by Jalal Talabani,
which was more inclined to collaborate, the
KDP was a staunch opponent of the Iraqi
regime. Unlike the KDP, the KPU of Talabani
negotiated for several months with the Iraqi
government in an attempt to reach an agree-
ment enabling it to rally, while President
Saddam Hussein was making concessions as
well. Therefore, Saddam Hussein, angry with
Iranian assistance to the PDK, gave his support to
the Kurds of Iraq, raising under the banner of
the Ironman “Democratic Party,” (KDP) headed by Mr. Ousseini, and the
heir of Koma (Kurdish Communists).

Faced with the Iranian Government’s opposition, the Turkish regime did not hesitate
to drown the Turkish press’ unhelpful
headlines reporting the Turkish Army’s penetration
into Iraq territory, while at the same
time “Operation Sun” was actually going on both
sides of the Turkish-Iraqi border.

Indeed, the combing operation unleashed
in Turkish Kurdistan in August 1984 turned
into a bloodbath. Since the regular Turkish
Armed Forces remained powerless before the
Kurdish combatants who had a thorough knowledge of the mountains region, the Turkish General Staff themselves were monitoring and went to the operation area to incite the Kurdish population to inform against the "separatists."

During a 5-day's journey to Turkish Kurdistan ending on October 5, 1964, General President Kemal Evren tried hard to persuade the local population that the Turkish Government did not contemplate remaining passive in the face of increasing activities by "separatists," without however, mentioning the word "Kurd." The Turkish Government did not intend to abandon "the population in the hands of armed adventurers," he said.

During the same journey, the Central President referred with satisfaction to the "loyalist attitude" of the local population and launched the idea of distributing weapons to "carefully selected" peasants in order to drive "separatist" militias out of the villages. The army commanders, however, expressed as quite dangerous the idea which had suddenly occurred to Evren, because the distributed weapons could be transferred by the "selected persons" to the Kurdish militias. Therefore the idea was dropped.

Instead of this, the following decisions were taken:

- intensifying raids in Kurdish villages,
- evacuating Kurdish border villages of their inhabitants and deporting them to the western part of the country,
- setting up a border zone to prevent people in Iraq from crossing the Turkish frontier.

These exceptional measures were immediately carried out by Turkish commando troops.

During the ensuing operation, the West-German daily Tagekarte reported, the villages of Arvar, Gendiz and Zoraya in the last part of the province were burning and shelled, as the Kurdish tribe of the Jeki, living in that region, refused to collaborate with the military. According to the Turkish daily Hayat, the five tribal chiefs who fled into the mountains (apparently followed by their tribe) were wanted by the security forces. Furthermore, a prisoner camp was set up in the village of Esarik, near Hakkari's province, where prisoners were flown over by helicopters. On May 25, 1965, the Interior Ministry of Ozal's Government, Mr. Yildirim Akbulu, referring to the resistance of Kurdish militias, said: "This is warfare, guerrilla warfare... All imaginable measures have been taken against them. Especially trained troops are on the spot. Government guns and police forces are also there. But, this is a guerrilla affair. They hit and escape. It is very difficult to estimate when and from where they come."

This statement, the top official is charge of internal security summed strong warnings from those circles who sought to minimize the resistance. In its editorial, the daily Cumhuriyet of May 24, 1965, said: "This statement, besides being respectable, is not factual. Regardless who desire to discount rural guerrilla have thus been given an exaggerated status... To state that this is a guerrilla war is a tacit acceptance of a state of civil war in Turkey, especially when the words belong to a person of authority such as the Minister of Internal Affairs. It should not be expressed, even if it were true..."

In the National Assembly, a spokesman for the Nationalist Democratic Party (MDP) approached the question from another point of view. He said: "If a minister of the Turkish State designates the incidents as guerrilla warfare, our State will be obliged to act according to international conventions and to treat the captured persons as war prisoners."

As reactions broke out at his minister's statement, Prime Minister Ozal was forced to contradist, on May 29, 1965, stating that "Their total number is about 400-500. Half of them have already been captured, the other half have surrendered. This is a matter of a few villagers. I do not attach importance to them. This is not an affair to be exaggerated."

As the Ankar regime proved unable to quell the armed resistance of Kurdish militiamen, it had to put up the deployment of military units all over the Turkish part of Kurdistan. At the same time, Ankara signed an agreement with the Iranian Khomeni regime to join their efforts in army operations against Kurdish combatants.

This new scheme by the Turkish Generals, playing the part of "wielding the big stick" in the Middle East while seeking at the same time to take advantage of the prevailing conditions in this part of the world, was disclosed and exposed as a press release issued on May 21, 1965, by the Foreign Delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran.
“According to information that we have just received, several talks have taken place between the Turkish and Iranian authorities, in particular on May 9, 1985, at Gavar (40 km from Urmiah), where a commander-in-chief of the 6th division at Urmiah had discussions with a high-ranking Turkish commander. At this meeting, the Turkish and Iranian authorities signed an agreement regarding the repression of the Kurdish peoples’ movement in Iranian Kurdistan: this repression was to be carried out by their joint forces.

Subsequently, units of the Turkish Army have entered Iranian territory, on the request and with the agreement of the mullah regime; after joining the Iranian forces, they have launched operations together against the bases of the Kurdish combatants. According to recent information, Iraq and Turkey have launched forces in the region of Galibaharaz, as part of a common plan. They have occupied a part of territory held by Peshmerga fighters of the PDK.

“This attitude is in contradiction with national sovereignty and with territorial integrity so dear to the authorities of the Islamic Republic.”

While the combing operation in the Turk- ish part of Kurdistan was going on, the Turkish government decided on June 28, 1985, that in 13 provinces mainly inhabited by Kurds, “Countywide Protectors” could assume their functions. According to a special law, these “Countywide Protectors,” to be designated provisionally, should first be trained intensively and then provided with arms. About one thou- sand people assumed the function in the 13 provinces. This province is due to be followed by Van, Agri, Kars, Mas, Ringoll, Tunceli, Bolu, Ordu, Dymtriski, Adiyaman, Mardin and Hakk- ars.

On the other hand, the Government launched a new campaign to build "Roads of Peace" in Kurdistan, so as to track down Kurd- ish militants more easily. All these roads, to be built along the Iraqi and Syrian border, will be permanently flooded by means of electric poles to be erected at regular intervals of 48 meters.

Moreover, all villages heads throughout Kurdistan have been provided with transmit- ter-receivers, to allow them to inform, on sus- pects, as soon as they are sighted.

The strained situation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan caused some anxiety in Washing- ton. According to a statement by the U.S. Fore- reign Secretary, published by the daily Milliyet on August 2, 1985, the U.S. Government advised its nationals to avoid the eastern area dur- ing their stay in Turkey "because the terrorist separatists are a danger there and any kind of violence is to be feared there. In case a U.S. citizen still goes to that area, he should collabor- ate with the local authorities."

According to the General Staff's communiqué of December 31, 198, the total number of those killed in armed clashes since August 15, 1984, amounted to 279, including 189 Kur- dish militants, 74 military and policemen, and 77 civilians.

Other details concerning the military opera- tion carried out in the Turkish Kurdistan in the same period:

- Captured militias: 309
- Identified and wanted: 641
- Kurdish attacks: 102
- Seized arms:
  - Pistols: 836
  - Machine guns: 8
  - Rifles: 860
  - Automatic rifles: 11
  - Hand grenades: 137
  - Anti-tank mines: 43
  - Anti-personnel mines: 48
  - Small arms: 4,714
- Rocket launchers: 2

Dissensions of the armed clashes in Kur- distan are getting more and more alarming for Ankara. The Armed forces recently, to better prepare their units for further sweeping opera- tions, started on September 4, 1985 a big mil- itary exercise in the Turkish Kurdistan. These exercises were attended by general Evren him- self, as well as the Chief of General Staff Neveder Urga, the National Defense Minister Yavuz- turk and all commanders of the Army.

On the other hand, the Kurdish Commit- tee in Paris on August 23, issued a press com- muniqué in which it declared: "The Turkish General Staff, which has been utmost until now on the war developing in Kurdistan, distorted in its pressrelease all facts concerning the one-year period of actions, military operations, arrests and assassinations.

"All actions carried out in this period have been led by the HKR (Liberation Unity of Kurdistan), founded on August 15, 1984. Today it exists on a line of 1,000 kilometers, from
Semdinli and Yüksekova (in the province of Hakkari) up to the north-west, passing through south-west, where fierce combats are being carried on. The following cities are in this fighting zone: Hakkari, Sirt, Bitlis, Mardin, Van, Mun, Bingöl, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Uşak, Adıyaman, Kars, Agri and Derin (Tunceli).

"It is all, 117 attacks, ambushes and clashes have occurred and 402 military personnel, policemen, guards and high-ranking officials (of whom 30 pc are Army officers or NCOs) have been shot dead and 188 others wounded in these operations.

"130 Turkish GIs were captured. They were later released, after being disarmed.

"46 well-known denouncers have been punished by death."

Since the very first day of the proclamation of martial law in Kurdistan, tens of thousands of Kurds have been taken into custody and tortured at interrogation centers, and thousands of them have been tried by the military courts and hundreds condemned to capital punishment.

As can be seen in the Table published in the chapter "Mass Trials", different Kurdish organizations have been hit, at different degrees, by the State terrorism.

The vast majority of the defendants are presumed to be militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK). In fact, the armed resistance of the last two years was launched by this organization.

According to the February 1985 issue of this party's central press organ Serçeveli, up to that date, 121 party militants had already been sentenced to capital punishment.

After August 15, 1984, the date of the armed resistance's beginning, about 300 party militants have been arrested and brought before military tribunals. Ten of them have been sentenced to death, while others face the same punishment.

**Ideological brainwashing in prisons**

The prison conditions in Kurdistan are much worse than in other military prisons in other regions of Turkey. Besides the physical and psychological tortures which are common in every military prison, the prisoners in Kurdistan are subjected to a special treatment aimed at annihilating their national conscience.

To better illustrate this ideological condi-
In the military camp of special confinement in Diyarbakr, over two thousand prisoners belonging to eighteen different organizations are being held. As ornaments, everywhere there are Turkish flags and Atatürk's portrait, which have been hung up by prisoners.

Treacherous thoughts pass through my body.

I am a descendent of brave heroes. Pain and disgust oppress my heart. Your enemies are not brave people. Only a Turk is a friend for a Turk; he has no other friends.

"These words, which were heard in the camp at Diyarbakr, resound in our ears. We had thought these were soldiers singing marching songs while training. We were mistaken. We met three people who serve their prison terms here, as they were grilling along like soldiers, singing in unison. Previously, they used to display marxis, leninist and separatist ideologies and wanted to divide our country and our people. We moved step by step forward through the prison corridor, restraining our emotions. We lived history over and again while moving forward from the canton to the dormitory. Turkish flags had been hung on the ceiling as well as bande-rola describing the past played by Turks and their greatness. No part of the wall had been left uncovered. When we were seeing helped us to revile history, and through what we were reading, we get to know the greatness of the Turks. We read outwards such as: "One Turk is as strong as the world. I am so happy to be able to say that I am a Turk": "Oh young Turk, what strength flows through your veins!"

Political prisoners have resorted many times to resistance actions such as hunger strikes in protest against this humiliating treatment, which very often have resulted in death.

On February 8, 1986, during the PKK trial before a military tribunal in Diyarbakir, the military prosecutor confirmed that 32 detainees died in the military prison of the same city. According to him, eight of these 32 victims committed suicide, six died after a hunger strike, and as for the sixteen others, they died from natural causes.

Taking into account that the majority of the detainees are young militants, the pronouncement of "natural" death is far from convincing. The defendants at trial said that the number of the victims is higher than 32 and most of them had been killed either through torture or because of ill-treatment in prison.

Although some Kurdish prisoners are accused of having resorted to armed actions, the great majority are tried only for having defended the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people or simply for saying that they are Kurds.

One of the most significant examples of this kind of prosecution is the condemnation of Turkish sociologist Ismail Bozkurt. As has been detailed in the preceding chapters he has been conditioned many times for writing articles or books to prove in a scientific manner the existence of a Kurdish nation and a Kurdish language.

Many distinguished Kurdish intellectuals, such as Mehmet Emin Bozatan, author of a Kurdish Alphabet, publishing house director Recep Marsali, lawyer Mün扎 Kutan, Hussein Yildirim and Serakent Kaya, have been pursued and condemned for having made publications in the Kurdish language or on Kurds, or for assuming the legal defence of Kurdish prisoners.

The former Mayor of Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, has been in prison since the very first day of the military regime and has been sentenced many times. Diyarbakir is the chief town of Turkish Kurdistan. Zana is the first Kurdish mayor of a Kurdish town asserting his national identity. But, in addition, he is the first socialist mayor of an important city of the country. In
THE SUPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The International Writers' Union held a symposium in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, in 1926. During this meeting, M. Merchel, a member of the Union, spoke about the status of the Kurdish language in Turkey. He stated that the Kurdish language was not allowed to be spoken or written in any part of Turkey. The government had imposed strict laws to suppress the use of the Kurdish language and literature.

"The suppression of the Kurdish language and literature is a violation of the freedom of expression and an infringement of the human rights of the Kurdish people," said Merchel. "The government has tried to eradicate the language and its culture, but the Kurdish people have continued to use it and pass it on to future generations through oral tradition and written works.

The Kurdish language is an Indo-European language and is one of the three major languages in the Middle East, along with Arabic and Persian. A.D. 1071 when Turkish tribes began to settle in Anatolia, the Kurdish language became the fourth major language in the Middle East.

The Kurdish language is spoken by about 20 million people living in Kurdistan, which has been divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. The Kurds have also lived in the Soviet Union and Lebanon. Since the middle of the 1980s, many Kurdish immigrants live in every country of Western Europe and Australia.

"About 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan, a Turkish colony since 1923. This is more than half of the total Kurdish population. There are about 1 million Kurds living in different parts of Anatolia because they were expelled from Kurdistan by the old Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic. Some of them have moved during recent years in search of employment," said Merchel.

As far as I know, about 33 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan, although their language has not been completely banned since 1923. During the reign of the Ottoman empire, every language spoken within the territory of the empire, including Kurdish, was tolerated. But when the Ottoman republic was formed, the Kurdish language was prohibited throughout the country. This situation has continued until today, and the Kurdish language is still forbidden.

The Kurdish government has not allowed the publication of books in Kurdish. It is not allowed to do any research on the Kurdish language.

The Turkish government has co-operated with the Kurds to promote the Kurdish language and assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks. The Turkish government also uses all possible facilities such as education, mass media and different kinds of assistance, to this aim."
The Only Forbidden ABC Book.

In my country you are not even allowed to write or publish an ABC book in Kurdish. I am fully aware that it is not proper to use myself as an example. But since in northern Kurdistan there is only one example of an ABC book and this example is forbidden, I simply have to use myself as an example. And this is the case.

As a Kurdish author I feel a responsibility to my people and my language and considered in the middle of the 90s to write an ABC book in Kurdish for Kurdish children and babies. The book, called "ARABE" was published in 1996 in Istanbul, Turkey. This was a great event for the Kurdish people and the Kurdish government. Because this book was the only ABC book in northern Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child should have grown up with it.

The book was taken off the market by the Turkish authorities because of its political content. The authorities accused me of making a book that is against the Turkish government and the Kurdish people. I was arrested and imprisoned for four months. The book was banned in Kurdistan and I was also ordered to destroy all copies of the book.

For only one reason: the book was written in Kurdish and it contained the word "Turk". In Turkey, the only place where the word "Turk" is banned, is in this book. It was a political book that I had to write.

I have never heard of anything like it anywhere in the world, not even in South Africa. This is a scandal, and a scandal against humanity and human rights. The responsibility was on the Turkish government.

Last year the second edition of this book was published in Sweden, thus becoming the only Kurdish ABC book in Europe. Kurdish children and adult readers in Europe began to use it.

Oppression of the Culture

It is not only the Kurdish language that is oppressed in northern Kurdistan and all of Turkey, but also the ancient Kurdish culture. Literally all people throughout the world, the world in general, have their special traditions, their languages and their beautiful national identity. In Middle East, they call it culture.

We consider all cultures to be common goods, belonging to all human beings throughout the world. Everyone, regardless of country and culture, can learn to know each other by seeing and taking from each other’s culture and by knowing each other’s traditions and beliefs. This culture is a big part in creating friendship and a wider understanding between people from different countries.

This is why the people, the Kurds, in opposition to the Kurdish government, against the Kurdish people, are against all human beings in the whole world.

The Forbidden Literature

"Kurdish literature is forbidden in northern Kurdistan as well as in the rest of Turkey. We have a very rich folk literature and a very old classical literature. Folk tales and classical poems are the two basic elements in Kurdish literature. It is of utmost interest in our literature and is the main subject of our literature. But younger generations are not allowed to write stories, novels or poetry in Kurdish.

A Kurdish writer and poet in Kurdistan, he or she will face severe oppression. We, the Turkish authorities, who have the opportunity to read it.

In early September, the Kurdish government banned books for children who have been published in this country. The authorities did not want to allow these books to be sold in our country.

"The authorities in northern Kurdistan have banned books that have been published in this country. The authorities did not want to allow these books to be sold in our country.

In this country, the Kurdish government has banned books that have been published in this country. The authorities did not want to allow these books to be sold in our country.

In this country, the Kurdish government has banned books that have been published in this country. The authorities did not want to allow these books to be sold in our country.

The Tyranny of Language

Kurdish is a mother tongue and a spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become teenagers and begin school, they are forced to stop and stay in Turkey. Although Turkey has a completely foreign language to them, Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is a branch of the Turkic language family. The result is that English and Arabic, in Turkish and Kurdish, have become the languages of the rich and the languages of the poor. This is why the majority of the Kurdish children have to face poverty in northern Kurdistan. The only route for them is to leave their homes and travel to the rest of the world.

The Children Have to Study in a Foreign Language

Kurdish is the mother tongue and the spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become teenagers and begin school, they are forced to stop and stay in Turkey. Although Turkey has a completely foreign language to them, Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is a branch of the Turkic language family. The result is that English and Arabic, in Turkish and Kurdish, have become the languages of the rich and the languages of the poor. This is why the majority of the Kurdish children have to face poverty in northern Kurdistan. The only route for them is to leave their homes and travel to the rest of the world.

The children have to study in a foreign language.

All of Kurdistan and the whole of Turkey, in which Kurdish children live, is forced to use foreign languages in school. They are forced to study in English and Turkish. This is a violation of human rights. It is a violation of human rights. It is a violation of human rights.

The Forbidden Language

"Kurdish is a mother tongue and a spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become teenagers and begin school, they are forced to stop and stay in Turkey. Although Turkey has a completely foreign language to them, Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is a branch of the Turkic language family. The result is that English and Arabic, in Turkish and Kurdish, have become the languages of the rich and the languages of the poor. This is why the majority of the Kurdish children have to face poverty in northern Kurdistan. The only route for them is to leave their homes and travel to the rest of the world.

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1979, he was elected mayor as the independent candidate supported by all leftist and Kur-
dish movements. While he was at the head of the
municipality, 20 baux were granted to
Diyarbakır by left-wing municipalities of
France. On the arrival of the military, he was
arrested on the charge of "separation". He has
been tortured, and the death penalty is being
requested for him. The Mayor of the Nantes
(France), M. Alain Châned, in an open letter
published by Le Monde de February 9, 1982,
drew attention to the trial of Zaza by claiming
that he had been brutally tortured by the mil-
ditary during his detention.

Christian
Minorities
in Turkey

During the 5-year period
of military dictatorship,
the subject of Christian
minorities in Turkey has
been one of the main topics in the international
mass media as well.

First of all, a series of politically motivated
attempts on the lives of Turkish diplomatic
representatives abroad, carried out by young
Armenian people, have drawn wide attention
to the demands of the Armenian population
in diaspora.

Secondly, the massive arrival in European
countries of Christian asylum seekers from
Turkey has given rise to questions in the Chris-
tian minorities in the country, notably Arme-
nians, Assyrians, Nestorians,

According to a survey entitled "Christian Minorities in Turkey," published in 1979 by the
Church Committee on Migrant Workers in
Europe different Christian communities of
Turkey comprised at that date an estimated
100,000 people. This was only a small
element of the communities present at the end of
the 19th century, when the Christians amounted
to 30% of the total population of the Ottoman
Empire. The dissolution of the 100,000 into
different Christian groups was estimated at
18,000 Greeks, 42,000 Armenians, 44,000 As-
syrians and 4,000 Arab Christians.

While Armenians once constituted the ma-
jor population of Eastern Anatolia, historically
their numbers fell from more than 1.5 million to a few thousand today,
because of genocide and deportations carried
out by the Ottoman rulers at the end of the 19th
century and at the beginning of the 20th cen-
tury. The majority of this population now lives
in Istanbul.

Firstly Turkey we find mainly Chris-
tians belonging to the so-called Syrian Church.
Known as Armenian in Turkey, they are called
Armenians. They live in the area between the
River Tigris in the north and east, the Syrian
border in the south, and the Derek-Sir-
Nasabim-Ferhatlie in the west. This area is
an important part of Kurdistan. Also within
Kurdistan there lived another Christian minori-
ty, the Nestorians.

The majority of each ethnic group of
Christians belong to the original Orthodox
Church. A small group within each ethnic
community has united with the Roman Cathol-
ic Church.

A small Greek Orthodox minority still
exists in Istanbul.

Of the aforementioned groups the Arme-
nians and the Greeks, along with the Jews, are
the only religious minorities having non-
Moslem minority status in Turkey. The other
Christian denominations are not considered to
be non-Muslim minorities and therefore do
not enjoy the protection of the Turkish State.

Whatever their particular status, all Chris-
tian minorities, without exception, have been
submitted to discrimination since the founda-
tion of the Republic.

First of all, they do not have the right to
jobs as public servants, except degrad work,
despite the fact that they, like other Turkish
nationals, do military service and pay taxes.

During the 18-month military service, they
are generally ill-treated by their commanders
because of their ethnic or religious origin.

As for those who live in the south-eastern
part of the country, they are under the absolute
and arbitrary domination of the local power
structure. The big landowners, called bagher in
Turkish, very often have control of the whole
village and its population, and they exploit the
people who work for a minimal wage or share
of products. Acts of violence against Christian
minorities are a daily practice carried out by the
bagher's gang. Legally, some Christian families
are the official owners of the lands that they
cultivate, but the bagher represents very means
of violence and intimidation to force them to
leave the regions in order to take over their land
and other properties. Because of this pressure,
thousands of thousands of Assyrians have been for-
ced to the Armenia and to seek asylum in neighboring countries or to Europe.

As for the Armenians, a recent draft report drawn up on June 26, 1985, by Mr. Vardamens- termarks, reporter for the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, reads: "Seven years after the dramatic events concerning the Armenians, the Armenian question is kept alive both by the Armenians and by the Turks because both 'parties' are literarily diametrically opposed to each other in terms of current relevance as well as with regard to the historical analysis of the events in question.

"This conflict is accentuated by the unacceptable phenomenon of Armenian terrorism, by the Turkish denial of massive Armenian deportations in time of war and the official Turkish justification of such deportations and by the unique existence of an Armenian identity that has remained a link throughout the entire world.

"The first phase of the emigration of Armenians from the Ottoman-Turkish empire occurred at the end of the 19th century and the second phase as a result of the tragic events of 1915. Those who dispersed throughout the world after this date have, together with the first wave of Armenian emigrants, introduced the concept of the 'Armenian diaspora.' In most of the host countries, the Armenians have been given the status of refugee as laid down by the United Nations.

"In Turkey, there are today 50,000 Armenians which is all that remains of what was once an intellectually and economically advanced 'nation' of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the non-Russian Armenians now live scattered throughout the world:

- 57,500 in the Middle East (mainly in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq);
- 335,000 in Europe (mainly in France);
- 600,000 in North America (mainly in the United States);
- 170,000 in Latin America (mainly in Argentina).

The 'diaspora' thus amounts to some 1,730,000 persons.

"The events of the First World War forged a new link between the first generation of Armenian refugees and the refugees that survived the Turkish deportations. Religion, language and culture have remained the bonds linking the Armenians in the diaspora despite the fact that they have plainly become assimilated in the best country.

"According to the minimalist Turkish position, there were still 1,500,000 Armenians in the 'old' empire in 1914. Today the Armenian presence in Turkey must be estimated at 50,000. As a minority, their identity, education and religion are recognized and relatively well safeguarded by the Turkish authorities.

"A younger generation in the diaspora, which can be called the third generation, is again stressing the Armenian identity. This generation hurks back to the harm done to the Armenian nation, and to the promise of a separate Armenian State stipulated in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which was however reversed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1922).

"Some of them recognize objectively the reasons for the Armenian nationalism's failure to form a separate Armenian state. These are threefold. There was the moral reason: the young nationalist intelligentsia, educated in the mission schools, was too isolated from the masses. Then there was the political reason: Russia invited a number of Armenians to revolt in order to weaken Turkey, although it had no interest at all in their emancipation. Finally, there was the geographical reason: Armenian nationalism always lacked the geographical framework needed to foster the struggle for independence. The Armenian nation was too dispersed between the stronger Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the diaspora a distinction is still made today in people's mind between the pan-Armenian nationalists, the Soviet Armenians and the non-Communist Armenians. Other Armenian young people of the third generation, with the moral support of older generations and keenly aware of the harm done to their own identity, want the Turkish State to recognize the events of 1915 to 1917 as genocide. Their first demand is for the moral recognition of the fact of genocide for their-
selves and for the victims of the events of the First World War. Their moral demands become more vociferous than the more the Turkish Government minimizes the Armenian reality or questions their loyalty towards the Ottoman Government. Lastly, there is the other ‘third generation’, a faction of which engages in acts of terrorism against everyone menacing from the Turkish State. The main terrorist group movement is called ANAAL. It has carried out many attacks, according to reports. All links with the Armenian nationalism in the Diaspora after the attack on Orly in 1982.

After analyzing the positions and arguments of the different parties, the rapporteur comes to the following conclusion:

“The events in Turkey affecting the Armenians during the war period of 1915-1917 must be described as genocide within the meaning of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Recognition of these facts by the European Parliament, as the only directly elected international parliament in the world, is in keeping with its mission to regard violations of human rights and rights of peoples as a matter of international concern and to expose such violations. It is plain that the present Turkish government cannot be made at all responsible for the acts of genocide committed by the Young Turks. The present rules are, however, the basis of the Turkish State on the territory of which these events occurred. In view of this fact, the Turkish Government can no longer deny the history of the Turkish-Armenian question and the element of genocide. Recognition of these events will of course only have moral consequences but Turkey would thereby implicitly play a special preventive role in considering respect for human rights in the international community. Moreover, such recognition would eliminate one of the main reasons for the senseless, desperate and irremediable acts of terrorism committed by splinter groups from the Armenian diaspora.

“In this process of recognition the various states also have a special, albeit indirect, responsibility on account of their interest at the time which did not do enough to prevent the crime or even indirectly facilitated the crime. Furthermore, the role of the European Community should not be confined solely to moral recognition of the Armenian genocide. Within the framework of International Cooperation, the Ten should speak out with one voice in the United Nations to ensure that the Human Rights Committee includes the Armenian genocide in its report on the prevention and punishment of genocide. This is the appropriate international forum where, seventy years after the events, a political solution is possible to the Armenian question.”
In Eastern Anatolia, whatever their origin, all people, Kurd, Turk, Armenian or Assyrian, live in an absolute poverty while a handful landlords are getting richer and richer by mercilessly exploiting them.
TORTURE AND ILL-TREATMENT IN PRISONS

All political detainees have undergone torture or ill-treatment in special interrogation centers, police stations and even in military prisons. Hundreds of detainees have been killed under torture. Even at the beginning of 1986, many torture allegations have come from the victims and their families. Thousands of political prisoners are still suffering from ill-treatment. The Turkish Government claims that police torturers are legally pursued. But the torture practice has been organized and carried out by the的地方 Counter-guerilla Organization of the Turkish Army.
Among other methods, torture has been one of the principal means of interrogation, intimidation and even condemnation used systematically by the military since the 1980 coup. Any publication and even allusion to torture have been banned for 30 years in the Turkish mass media. However, Turkey's torturing of political prisoners has been one of the main preoccupations of world democratic institutions.

Based on their knowledge on allegations coming from Turkey, Amnesty International, human rights organizations and European parliamentary bodies have very often issued warning documents regarding these practices.

It is at the beginning of 1986 that the Turkish press began to talk timidly about torture practices and that left-wing deputies started to raise the question in the National Assembly.

Without any doubt, all this debate is the consequence—on one hand—of the strengthening of popular resistance to the anti-democratic practices of the present regime; and, on the other hand, of the pressure being put on Ankara by European democratic forces who demand total respect of human rights in the Southeast of Europe.

However, despite the lifting of martial law in Istanbul and Ankara, debate on torture has not developed as it should, and those who dare to make any revelations or demand firm measures for an end to torture often risk intimidation, threats, or simply presentation.

In minimizing the testimony or irrefutable revelations, government circles describe all debate on torture as an element of the communist campaign seeking to discredit the Turkish police and to destroy the Turkish State's prestige abroad.

Ewert, "President of the Republic" Ecevit and his prime minister Oral have made themselves heard in this manner. During a visit to the presidential palace and hearing General Ecevit's anger, Aydin Čeleviç, the chairman of the SHP, found himself obliged to justify his parliamentarians' steps against torture in the following way: "Mister President, as you know, there's a big campaign abroad proclaiming that democracy does not exist in Turkey and that human rights are systematically violated. Five European countries have begun a procedure to judge the Turkish State by international standards. We want to show them that these topics can be discussed in Turkey under every circumstance. By our parliamentary initiative on this subject, we render service in the interest of our country."

According to the Milli supérieur February 8, General Ecevit would have allowed some openness, but advising the parliamentary opposition leader not to go too far and to be prudent in his declarations.

All the same the authorities' reaction to the weekly Yokka which published the admissions of a former police torturer has not been as understanding.

Sedat Caner has admitted in his interview that he had practiced torture on 200 left- or right-wing activists after the military coup. He has also revealed the names of detainees who have been killed during torture.

What's more, Yokka, basing itself on Caner's revelations, published drawings which explained the different methods of torture used at interrogation centers.

It was after these revelations that polices were let loose in the Turkish press as well as in the National Assembly. While Prime Minister Oral proclaimed that the author of the admissions was an extreme leftnist convict and that his declarations had no credibility at all, the Minister of the Interior accused Yokka of taking part in the campaigns of lies organized and orchestrated by communist organizations abroad.

However, since martial law has been lifted in a great part of the country, a banning of the weekly by a mere decree from a military commander has not been possible anymore. Nevertheless, while waiting for a decision from the judge of the bar and seizure of the editions which had the former torturer's admissions, thousands of police officers were made to buy in bulk all copies of the daily in each of the country's provinces. Some days later, a justice of the peace in Istanbul decided in favor of the weeks in question.

As for the former torturer, he has been brought before the Public Prosecutor in Ankara and was arrested immediately to testify before the judiciary. It is possible that he may be tried as a torturer, as well as certain police officers held responsible for their victims' deaths in certain torture cases.

Doubtlessly, all the judicial actions will be held up before world opinion as new proof of the "godwall" of Turkey's leaders.

But torture is not only the curse of certain sadistic policemen abusing their power, but rather quite a part of the state's repressive poli-
THE HANGER OF PALESTINE

Of all the forms of torture practiced in Turkey, this is the most painful. It is currently practiced. It is not easy to resist. One cannot bear it for more than 20 minutes. Whether for man or woman, the procedure is the same. The victim is suspended completely nude. The hands are tied from behind with belts in the middle of which a hole is made before a pipe is run through it. The victim climbs onto a stool, is suspended from hooks in the ceiling and the stool is withdrawn. As the victim hangs in the air, the shoulder blades and the sides exert tremendous pressure on the lungs and at this moment the victim feels a pain so unbearable that he faints after a while. But he is given an electric charge to make him regain consciousness. Cables are attached to his big toe and to his sexual organs. A cable hangs "empty" and is sometimes attached to the nose or ears, in other words, to the place where it will hurt him most. The operation continues until the patient responds "correctly" to the questions he is asked.

tions and the security forces' interrogation and detention centers.

CRUCIFIXION

The victim is hung from the wall with his wrists in line with his shoulders. All his body weight is supported by his arms. He is completely nude again. As he is also bound at the elbows, he cannot fall down. How much time? Often he has fractures of his arms and legs. He receives "fatale" blows only irregularly.

After the 1980 military coup, the security forces went on to make thousands of arrests. The people arrested by the security forces at the end of the preliminary inquiry numbered 178,565. The duration of detention without a court-warrant was immediately raised to 30 days, then, in November of 1980, to 90 days; in September 1981, this period was reduced to 45 days. Then in May, 1983, to 30 days.

During this period of preliminary inquiry "the police practiced torture in the police stations, but Amnesty International has been made aware of details about torture equally practiced in prisons and other institutions under the control of the army, particularly the prisons of Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Marmar (near Ankara) and Metris in Istanbul. Burning political prisoners with cigarettes seems equally routine in the Buce prison in Izmir and in the Category E special civil prison of Malaya, one of the numerous prisons reserved over the last years for political prisoners and army dealers."

"The primary reason for torture in the police stations seems to be to obtain admissions"
and information. As detailed accounts of torture show, intimidation and humiliation seem to have as much a role in military prisons as in the police stations. Amnesty International has learned equally that prisoners have been interrogated and tortured anew after several years of detention.

"Since the 1980 coup, Amnesty International has given the authorities the names of a hundred people who might have died during their detention. Amnesty International has received a reply from the authorities about 82 of them. In some cases, they declared that procedures or instructions were in process. In others, the deaths were attributed to suicide, accidents or sickness. For the others, a lack of information is blamed or the absence of any record of detention. In nine cases, the person in question was still alive. For the unanswered cases, Amnesty International does not know if investigations have been launched.

"On July 24, 1980, the prime minister's press service published the following information in a document about the cases against torturers.

- Total number of allegations of torture and ill-treatment 897
- Cases under investigation 153
- Complaints without grounds (dropped from investigation) 584
- Cases brought before tribunals 46
- Closed cases 114
- Suspects under arrest 9
- Suspects tried but still not arrested 69
- Suspects acquitted 218
- Sentences to prison 102

"The Turkish authorities have several times denied the systematic character of torture. Often, during their trial, defendants have declared that they had been tortured, but no investigation seems to have been carried out. With regard to the great number of complaints lodged, Amnesty International estimates that, altogether, very few of them have been the object of an official investigation.

"In April 1985, Amnesty International continued to receive information about detainees being tortured.

"In light of the detailed and repeated information which has been reaching it for some years, Amnesty International thinks that the Turkish government should engage itself with putting an end to torture, respecting human rights."

WATER UNDER PRESSURE
Fire hoses are used. This form of torture is generally used on women. When one projects water on the breasts of a woman who is blindfolded, this produces very painful psychic results. She goes into shock when the water hits her.
THE FALAKA (Blows on the soles of the feet)
The "Falaka" fashion has already passed. As of now, even the criminals are not admitted to it; they themselves undergo the electric shock. The "Falaka" is no longer used because it removes the guilt of the victim. If the victim has received
the "Falaka," he will no longer be able to feel his feet, even if he does not try to find an appropriate counter for the "Falaka," and can use his feet to hit a grave, a chair, or any other object. The victim's feet are held in a certain position, in such a way that the victim's body is thrown onto the back of a dead person, the sit on his back and the police throw a cloth over him. In this way, the victim's feet are hit by someone, without being able to react, in the same way as during torture or electrocution.

OPERATION TABLE: It is called a table, but it is not really one. It is a cot. There are two upturned arms of the cot. The victim is tied by his feet and hands, completely nailed with eyes blindfolded. Afterwards, his body is thrown with salty water to assure that the current passes through his entire body. The salty water is thrown on both the victim and the cot. Therefore, when the electric charge comes, it goes through his entire body.

rights, and putting in action the following measures:
* The highest Turkish authorities should give clear and public instructions to all those responsible for the detention, interrogation and care of prisoners, indicating that torture will not be tolerated under any circumstances.
* Steps should be taken so that secret detention does not facilitate the giving rise to torture. The government should bring it about that all detainees are quickly brought before the courts after their arrest, and that relatives, lawyers and doctors can visit them quickly and regularly.
* Family and lawyers should be quickly informed of where the prisoner is being kept. None should be detained secretely.
* An independent body should regularly...
THE BUTCHER’S HANGER

There are two kinds of hangers in an interrogation room: the butcher’s hanger and the hanger of Pelasgists. They both are fixed to the same place: the ceiling. If one does not work, the other is used. Weights are attached to each but the intent of using them is different. Again, there is a pipe, two hooks and a belt. The difference from the other? Here the victim hangs by his feet and he is completely nude.

visit the detention centers, to ensure that torture is not being practiced there.

* The Turkish government should initiate an impartial commission charged with investigating all complaints and information about torture; the methods and results of the investigation should be made public.

* The admissions and other declarations obtained through torture should in no case be used during a case.

* Each time it is proved that a functionary committed or instigated torture, court proceedings should be brought against him, in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on torture.

SALTY CHEESE

Pipes are installed around a room and fitted with bars. The room has a scale on the top. The victim is put in the middle of the room with hands and feet tied. He is given very salty cheese to eat. The eyes are then allowed to run incessantly.

* It should be clearly taught that torture is a crime, to the functionaries, members of the armed forces, and those responsible for the detention, interrogation and care of prisoners. These functionaries should be informed that it is their duty to refuse the torturer’s order. The United Nations Code of Conduct for those responsible for applying the law and all regulations of the treatment of detainees should be widely distributed.

* Torture victims and their families should receive reparation and compensation for their moral and physical suffering, without prejudice to any other civil action or penal process.”
Those really responsible for torture

It should be remembered right away that the civil government coming out of the 1983 legislative elections has not taken up to now any initiative to put into practice the steps Amnesty International proposed.

Although a parliamentary inquiry commission was formed in 1985 to control prison conditions it has not effected a serious investigation into persons directed by the military. The majority of political prisoners are still in military-directed jails despite the lifting of martial law in many provinces.

As we have pointed out several times, despite the fact that the present government is a civilian one, the real power rests in the hands of the military.

The military never give authorization to investigate their responsibility in practices of torture, because it is they that institutionalized torture as an interrogation method when they overthrew the civil government and forced the National Assembly to proclaim martial law in 1971.

It is during the two-year period after this first repressive coup that a department of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces made its name as the author of all kinds of measures, such as manslaughter and torture. We are talking about the Counter-Guerrilla Organization. The official title of this organization is "The Department of Special Warfare."

Several witnesses to torture during this period have revealed irrefutably that even the generals and colonels in this department have practiced torture in the interrogation centers. Figuring equally among them are the martial law commanders.

Following these revelations, after the return to civil rule in 1973, this department returned to its clandestine activities again. Warned by the department's illegal and antidemocratic practices, Mr. Bilimler Ecvet tried several times in prime minister to show evidence of its status and subversive activities, but he came up against the refusal of the Army Chiefs.

Between 1973 and 1980, the Counter-guerrilla organization maintained close relations with the neo-fascist party of the cloistered Alparslan Türkel and provided this party with arms and covered its violence acts. What is more, the department had a "special bureau" known as "Bayrapatkılı" and located in Cyprus, which gave asylum to extreme right-wing political assassins who have killed progressive people.

The purpose of this department's collaboration with neo-fascist assassins (the Grey Wolves) was to provoke political violence in the country and to furnish the army with the pretext for a new coup.

On September 12, 1980 - as soon as their objective was accomplished - the Grey Wolves, who were responsible for the deaths of more than five thousand victims of political violence, stopped their activities.

As for the officers of the Counter-Guerrilla Organization, they immediately put in practice all instruments of repression, including the special interrogation centers.

After the modification of the law on martial law use, all the security forces, including the police and the gendarmerie were put under the command of martial law officers.

Therefore, all torture practices, whether in the Counter-Guerrilla Organization's special interrogation centers, in the police stations or in the military or civil prisons, have been inflicted either by the military or by police directed by them.

As Amnesty International has indicated, with regards to the great number of complaints lodged, very few have been the object of an official inquiry. In fact, since the coup, more than 200,000 people have been detained without court warrant by the security forces for preliminary inquiry. During the trial of more than fifty thousand politically accused before the military tribunals, thousands of complaints were lodged about the practice of torture and ill-treatment. The military judges have systematically refused to carry out an investigation into these complaints.

In fact, in several cases where a complaint was lodged, evidence of torture had been inflicted during the first days of the detention without court warrant, whose duration was 90 days at the start and shortly after was reduced to 45 days. Furthermore, of the 897 complaints of torture, only 153 have been investigated and only 102 torturers have been sentenced to prison. Among those sentenced only about two have actually been incarcerated. As for the others, they kept their jobs at interrogation centers and continued to practice
torture while waiting for the higher court's de-
cision.

What's more, all the torturers sentenced were policemen who, through lack of experience, let cases or caused their victims' deaths during torture. As for the Army officers practicing torture, they have been "well-trained" by the Counter-Eserika Organization and leave no traces.

To save face following protests by Euro-
peni circles against torture in Turkey, the mil-
itary have accused some policemen: as scape-
goats and have presented themselves as "paragons of virtue" in the fight against the torturers.

In spite of all the claims that Turkey might have ended the period of military rule with legis-
ative elections in 1983, testimony about torture inflicted on political prisoners does not stop coming.

Even after the "friendly settlement" be-
tween Turkey and five European countries, the Turkish press published several cases of tor-
ture. According to this statement, the State Supervisory Council created by Article 408 of the 1982 Constitution has been charged with being strongly to it that all the authorities (including those at the detention centers, the police sta-
tions and the civil and military prisons) strictly observe the obligations Turkey assumed under Article 3 of the European Convention on Hu-
mate Rights.

But, this agreement on "Turkey's part has no value, because according to the Constitu-
tion "the armed forces and the judicial bodies are outside the competence of the State Super-
visory Council." Moreover, "members of the Council, including their president, are nomi-
nated by the president of the Republic..."

Given that General Evren was the chief of General Staff from 1977 to 1982 and com-
mander in chief of the Armed Forces with the "general authority of the Republic" since 1982, he is personally responsible for all forms of torture practiced by the military.

Amnesty International's report on torture

The first comprehensive Amnesty International Report on torture in connec-
tion with the post-
coup period was pres-
tented by Anne Burley to the meeting of the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe on April 28, 1981.

The report reads:

"I have been Amnesty International's re-
searcher responsible for work on Turkey since 1972 and have visited Turkey in my profes-
sional capacity six times, most recently from April 17-23 this year, when I was one of two delegations who conducted discussions with the Turkish authorities about Amnesty Interna-
tional's concern in Turkey. The other delegate was Admiral Docker, recently retired from the Dutch Navy. Our official meetings were with General Orton, Deputy Chief of Staff, General Erguv, the Ankara Martial Law Commander, General Brüggen, Coordinator of the Martial Law Commandos, Pahn Görg-
gal, Director of the Turkish police, Mr. Turk-
men, the Foreign Minister and Professor Oz-
akte, Minister of State. We also had unoficial meetings with former Prime Ministers Evren and Demirel, with lawyers - including the Pres-
ident of the Turkish and Istanbul Bar Associ-
ations - with journalists, relatives of detainees and released detainees.

"Although we were not able to meet a member of the National Security Council, as we had requested, and were informed in ad-
vance that we would not be able to talk to prisoners, we otherwise met with cooperation from the Turkish authorities and were not im-
peded in our attempts to collect information from other sources about those matters of con-
cern to Amnesty International. I should, how-
ever, point out that those in authority to whom we spoke were not always openly straightfor-
ward with us and sometimes appeared deliber-
ately to mislead us. The matters which we dis-
cuss and about which we were seeking additional information were prisoners of con-
science - people who are imprisoned because of their political beliefs, religion or ethnic origin, who have not advocated or committed vio-
nence; fair trials for all political prisoners; cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners and the use of the death penalty. The main emphasis of our visit was to see what is going on in the treatment of prisoners, but I am willing to expand on the other matters if requested.

"Before our visit to Turkey, Amnesty In-
ternational had received a considerable num-
ber of allegations that prisoners in Turkey had been subjected to torture. We had information about 22 cases of people who died in custody since the military takeover on September 12,
1980. These cases had been referred to the au-
torities and many of them had been mention-
ed in the Turkish press. The authorities had 
responded by stating that torture was not per-
mitted under Turkish law, was not tolerated by 
the authorities and that all allegations would be 
investigated. Some investigations have taken 
place, and in some cases prosecutions of those 
responsible for the ill-treatment have followed. 
Amnesty International welcomes this indica-
tion that torture is not officially tolerated in 
Turkey, but in our discussions with the author-
ities we stressed that our experience led us to 
believe that further precautions were necessary 
to safeguard prisoners from ill-treatment. In 
particular we emphasized the dangers of a law 
permitting detentions to be held for up to 90 
days, without access to lawyers or relatives. In 
practice even this period is sometimes ex-
ceeded. We pointed out the need for clear, 
precise and public instructions to military and 
police personnel that ill-treatment of prisoners 
was unequivocally forbidden.

"I am sorry to say that the information we 
obtained in Turkey from unofficial sources 
confirms our belief, based on earlier informa-
tion, that torture is widespread in Turkey at 
the present time and is carried out as a routine 
practice in police stations and in some military 
establishments all over the country."

"I have brought back from Turkey state-
ments from people who have been tortured 
-some of whom I interviewed - medical reports 
supporting the allegations, information about 
torture provided by journalists, lawyers and 
relatives, and a list of 116 people, some in 
prison, some free. Who are prepared to testify to 
torture of themselves and others. The pattern 
and methods of torture, the places where it 
occurring and the equipment used, establish, I 
think, without doubt a systematic practice, not 
an occasional aberration on the part of indi-
vidual policemen and soldiers. Methods of tor-
ture include: fakirka (beating on the soles of 
the feet), electric shocks to all parts of the body, 
rage by truncheon or stick and having on all 
parts of the body. Torture allegations come 
from all over Turkey, but some places occur 
infrequently - these include the 1st sections of 
Police HQs in Ankara and Istanbul, Police HQ 
in Bursa, Davutpaşa Prison in Istanbul, Us-
kudar Police Station in Istanbul and Samsun-
dra Military Barracks in Istanbul.

"This information makes a clear and, I 
think, irrefutable case that torture is being 
practiced on such a large scale in Turkey that it 
is impossible that it is carried out without offi-
cial sanction. Although, as I said earlier, in 
some cases, especially when a death has oc-
curred, an investigation is initiated by the au-
torities, not all allegations brought to their 
attention have been investigated, and in those 
cases where investigations have taken place, 
there are sometimes doubts that the action 
taken by the authorities is sufficient to ensure 
that their intentions concerning torture of 
prisoners are made unmistakably clear. The case 
of Ilhan Erdost provides two examples which 
may serve to illustrate my point: although the 
four soldiers charged with beating Mr Erdost 
to death are in prison while their trial con-
tinues, the NCO also charged in connection 
with the death remains at liberty. This is specif-
ically remarked on at a time when other people 
not even accused of involvement in violent 
acts, have been held in detention for many 
months. The second example concerns the 
statement made by the Commander of Marnak 
Military Prison, Colonel Raci Tetik, to the 
Ankara Martial Law Prosecutor, in connection 
with the investigation into the death of Ilhan 
Erdost. He said: "I had given orders that 
after the preliminaries were com-
pleted all prisoners, with the exception of the 
aged, women and children, the lame and the 
disabled, he struck with a truncheon once or 
twice each below the waist in their nude places 
and on the palms of their hands and they 
should be warned not to come to prison again. 
I am not going to deny my order. My aim is to 
ensure discipline." On November 11, 1980, 
Captain Sezai Aydinalp, the Deputy Military 
Prosecutor, sent 25 documents from his inves-
tigation and a letter to the Ankara Martial law 
Commander's Office formally notifying that an 
offence had been committed by Colonel Raci 
Tetik under Articles 189 and 450 of the Turkish 
Penal Code and asking for articles 93 and sub-
sequent articles of law 353 to be invoked. No 
action appears to have been taken to date 
against Colonel Tetik."

"I was told many times of the difficulties 
encountered by people who try to make com-
plaints of torture and of threats to them and 
their families. One such case is that of Hasan 
Ayvac, a member of the Muris Committee of 
the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Party who 
was taken into custody in January 1981 and
tortured. His father put in a formal complaint on his behalf to the authorities and was himself then detained and tortured. He was forced to give the name of the lawyer, Mustafa Unutmaz, who drew up the complaint and in February Mr Unutmaz was also detained and tortured. His father went to Ankara and informed lawyers, who resulted in a complaint from the President of the Turkish Bar Association to the Minister of Justice about this interference with a lawyer in the pursuit of his professional duties. Mr Unutmaz was subsequently released about one month after his detention.

As far as I know, his client remains in prison, although the Party of which he was a member has not advocated or committed violence. Other officials of the same Party have been tortured and are in prison.

This brings me to another Amnesty International concern, which is the detention of many people who have clearly not been involved in the violence which has indeed created a state of emergency in Turkey in recent years. Among these are the Executive Committee members of the Workers' Party of Turkey, officials of DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey), and members of the National Salvation Party who are on trial at the present time. Mr Ahmet Iyvan, the former Mayor of Istanbul, is another detainee who cannot conceivably be connected with violence.

In addition, Amnesty International has been given information about journalists who have been sentenced for articles they have written, and about lawyers, in addition to the case already mentioned, who have been detained in the course of performing their professional duties. I heard only yesterday that Mr Enver Tahirpoga, one of the lawyers for the DISK officials, has himself been taken into custody in Istanbul. All the lawyers with whom I spoke, including the presidents of the Bar Associations, emphasized the difficulties they experienced in preparing an adequate defence for their clients and in particular they stressed the dangers of the 90-day period of detention during which they are denied access to their clients. This denial of access to detainees was returned to again and again by families, lawyers and others concerned with the welfare of detainees. Lawyers are also concerned by the new law which states that sentences of under three years are not subject to appeal.

I would like to make it quite clear that Amnesty International is not suggesting that torture started for the first time after the military take-over in September 1980. During my previous visit to Turkey in May 1980, I found that it was being carried out on a large scale, and I was provided with information about torture by both right and left wing parties and groups. Amnesty International has brought allegations of torture to the attention of all governments in Turkey during the past 10 years. In a recent editorial in the periodical Aksiyon, Mr Bulent Ecevit stated that torture was almost a tradition with Turkish police, was due to lack of proper training in methods of detention and was practised under all governments in varying degrees. The issue in which he wrote this was banned, as have been other papers which reported torture allegations. However, the number of detainees held at present and the extension of the detention period to 90 days have undoubtedly exacerbated the situation, and new deaths in custody are being brought to the attention of Amnesty International all the time. I was given a list of 36 people said to have died in custody since September 1980, including the 22 names already known to Amnesty International.

‘No one in Turkey denies that torture takes place; the question is on what scale and to what extent it can be said to be government policy. I would like to point out that torture can be practised routinely and on a large scale - as I believe is happening in Turkey today - without an order to this effect having come from the highest level, but to prevent torture occurring it is necessary that the authorities address themselves to the problem with vigour and determination. I am not convinced that the actions taken so far by the authorities in Turkey have resulted in any cessation of torture. The question of access to detainees is crucial, and until detainees are given access to lawyers and families, the problem remains unsolved.’
lies throughout the period of detention, I am afraid that torture will continue."

With the purpose of discriminating Amnesty International, the military junta launched a campaign to refute this human rights group's claims.

A group of Turkish journalists was invited to inspect the military jail of Mamak in Ankara on February 23, 1982, but this invitation was not extended to foreign correspondents.

Nevertheless, the Financial Times gathered the impressions of the Turkish journalists visiting the jail and published them in the issue of February 25, 1982.

"Five prisoners squatting by the wall in the small prison yard at the Mamak military jail in Ankara. It was the first sunny day for months, but they did not seem to be enjoying it. About 60 other prisoners jogged round the yard in military formation.

"The five prisoners - men in their twenties with shorn hair and scraggly complexes - remained outside the formation so that the group of Turkish journalists could take their photographs.

"The five men seemed to the spokesman selected from among several thousand held in the prison - one of Turkey's biggest - on the grounds that they would give evidence against Amnesty. The correspondents, and the prison authorities, who probably shared the same assumption, could not be more wrong.

"There is torture in Turkey," said Mr. Vahit Mitey, according to a tape recording of the interview heard by the Financial Times.

"There is a lot of torture. Torture has made me insane. They broke my back. For a long time I could not walk. I have seen a lot of my friends being tortured. There are reports, medical reports."

"Mr. Mehmet Palademir said: 'What we want is to be treated like human beings and to be given an opportunity to prepare our defence. Torture is something relative. It is true that there is repression in jail. We are grilled for between 12 and 14 hours every day. Everything here is done by command. If anybody disobeys a command - moves even slightly - he is clubbed by the nearest soldier. One can also be taken to the cage and beaten there."

"A journalist asked Mr. Palademir whether he had been subjected to such treatment.

"There is no one who hasn't," he replied. 'I, too.'"

"Had he a message for Amnesty Interna-
tional?"

"Yes. There is moral and physical repression. At this moment.'

"Mr. Oguzhan Mutluoglu and Mr. Ali Baysir refused to speak on torture allegations.

"The fifth interviewer collapsed and started whistling before the interview, which took place on Tuesday. He was Mr. Ulu Ozgu.

"Colonel Raci Tekt, the prison director, who accompanied the journalists, said: 'He is putting on a show.' A correspondent said he wanted a doctor's opinion. The colonel had the prison doctor fished who said that Mr. Ozgu was suffering from 'nervous collapse.' He said this was common in Mamak.

"Talking to correspondents afterwards, Col. Tekt said: 'This is a prison run by the army of Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey). Absolutely nothing is done here to hurt human rights.'

SOLDIER'S WORD!

ANKARA March 17, 1981 (AFP) - Mustafa Kemal Camiran, a member of the General Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (TKP), was arrested on Tuesday at the airport of Ankara, immediately after arriving in Berlin from the Federal Republic of Germany.

Camiran, who had been a refugee in FRG since the military coup of September 12, 1960, is the first of the 275 Turkish refugees whom Ankara summoned to return to Turkey and give testimonies up to the authorities.

Camiran explained that by his decision to return, he wanted to underline the positive efforts being made in his country to return to parliamentary democracy.

The Turkish Prime Minister B. Ulus declared on Saturday that everyone 'who did not betray the country, could be sure of their rights' and 'should not be afraid of a confrontation with the honest and independent Turkish judges.'

ANKARA March 19, 1981 (AFP) - Mustafa Kemal Camiran, a member of the Central Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey (TKP), was beaten black and blue on his arrival at the prison of Ankara.

This revelation was made by his attorneys, Mr. Ulu Ozgu, and Mr. Ismet Gencen. They claimed that there were many testimonies on his hands and his body.
Turkey Solidarity Campaign's "Turkey Information Bulletin" gave in its March 1992 issue the following information about torture centers in Ankara:

"In Ankara, there are two torture centers for political prisoners. One is the Ankara Police Headquarters, 6th Floor; the other is the next door building, the 'Youth' Kırıman Police School', known as the DAL Group. This particular building is on the grounds of the Police Headquarters and is joined to it by a corridor.

"The DAL Group is a number of interrogators made up of members from the Ankara Police Headquarters and the MIT (National Intelligence organization). They are directly answerable to the Political Police Branch and to the MIT. The DAL Group chief is Kemal Yarıngöle, nicknamed 'the Doctor'.

"Each interrogation team consists of 7 police, including its head, and each has special responsibilities. The most important team is the 1st Interrogation Team which has two policemen and two MIT members. Bekir Polat is in charge of this team. They apply various methods of torture such as electro-shock, cold water and snow baths, hanging, crucifixion, fakaka (beating on the soles).

"Police officer Ekrem Özyörük said on April 13, 1992, at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara: 'All interrogations at the Police Headquarters are made under torture. I also participated in some torture practices, later on I resigned from the police service.'

"At the 1st Martial Law Court of Ankara, police officer Rahman Gümüştürk said on April 6: 'If the detainee does not tell the truth, he is tortured and then interrogated once more.'"

As the trial on the death of publisher İlhan Erdö, on April 16, witnesses said that the sergeant and soldiers at the Marmal Military Prison beat each new detainee.

On April 19, Superintendent 'ogman Ay-kin, witness in the Kurtuluş Trial at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara, said that he made moral pressure on detainees in order to get their deposition.

Labour and peace leaders' torture allegations

Although the military authorities claimed that the torture allegations coming from detained political militants could not be credible since they were given on the instruction of 'clandestine' organizations, many important personalities being tried before military tribunals declared that they, too, had been tortured at interrogation centers.

The testimony of DISK Chairman Abdullah Battak has been given in previous chapters. At the same trial, other DISK leaders made the following declarations:

Cevat Kılıçkar: 'I was interrogated under heavy torture at the goloş. They took me there blindfolded. When they got me out of the car, they hit me on my back. I was led into a large, dark building where I heard the noises of a crowd. There, they interrogated me under torture. At this moment I heard cries and clamor.'

"They were forcing the people to cry: 'Down with Battak' (President of DISK)."

Kemal Nebişoğlu: 'I did not make a statement to the police. They blindfolded me and led me somewhere. There, I was tortured for seven days and nights. They said: 'If you don't make a deposition as we wish, we'll kill you, and we'll say, in our report, that you tried to run away.'

As for the Chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee, former chairwoman Mahmut Diker- dem, he was kept under inhumane conditions in prison despite his serious health situation. On September 13, 1982, Amnesty International issued the following alert:

'A biopsy on a prostate tumour revealed that this tumor was malignant and the doctors have recommended an immediate operation. Dairy might put the life of Dikerdem in danger. Amnesty International fears that the military hospital where he is presently being treated is not equipped for such an operation.
Would you please send urgent appeals to the Turkish authorities, expressing your strongly felt anxiety and insist on his immediate release in order to be operated on in a civil hospital. If possible, would you please organize appeals by doctors'organizations?"

Amnesty International issued on April 6, 1983 another detailed report on the violations of human rights in Turkey:

"Since the coup, Amnesty International's concerns in Turkey have been about large numbers of prisoners of conscience, widespread and systematic torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners, and the imposition and execution of the death penalty. In April 1981, Amnesty International sent a mission to Turkey to discuss these concerns with the authorities. In January and August 1982 and April 1987, other Amnesty International missions visited Turkey to observe trials."

"All political offences are tried by military law courts, except for some press offences which are tried in civilian courts. Since the coup AI has received complaints from lawyers acting in cases heard by Military Law courts of the difficulties they face in preparing the defence case, in particular of the lack of sufficient access to their clients and the conditions under which consultation with clients takes place. AI is concerned about the restrictions of the right to appeal in sentences of over six months, and the continuation of the 45-day detention period during which detainees are not usually given access to lawyers or families. Most allegations of torture relate to the detention period."

"The most recent case of a death in custody reported to AI is that of Mustafa Hayrutlahoghi who was detained in Istanbul in October-November 1982. It is doubtful if all allegations of torture reported to the authorities are subjected to investigation. A Dutch lawyer who attended hearings in three mass trials in Turkey in January 1983 reported that in each trial defendants stated that the statements being used as evidence had been obtained by torture."

A victim of torture at the E.P.

During a press conference organized by the Socialist Group on October 6, 1983, at the European Parliament in Brussels, Ludwig Fellnermayer, chairman of the EEC-Turkey Commission, which has been suspended for some time, presented a victim of torture in the press. His name is Sebahbetin Buz, a Turkish citizen residing for the moment in West-Germany.

Buz went to Turkey in September 1982 to do his military service. Two weeks later he was arrested by the gendarmerie and ill-treated for several days. He was hanged up by his wrists, had his genitals injured, was forced to drink his urine and to eat his excrement. He was subjected to such brutal beatings that the skin of his feet burst.

On the one hand, Buz was blamed for being a member of the German trade union and, on the other, the Youth Center of the City of Hanover, where Buz was employed as an engineer, was accused of being Marxist or Leninist. In addition, they accused him of reading trade-union publications and of taking part in May Day demonstrations. As Buz refused to sign a piece of paper "proving" his adherence to an illegal left-wing organization of Turkey, he was tortured by means of electric shocks. Besides, the names of the state officials who tortured him are known. As he was subjected to torture, Buz signed a confession, the content of which he did not know.

Though seriously injured, Buz got merely against Anadolu hospital where he had been brought at his request. After 50 days spent in police custody, Buz was transferred into a military prison where all inmates were tortured by soldiers. The only charge against him was his "confession". On March 29, 1983, the Adana Military Court VI acquitted Buz. Despite this judgment, Buz was subsequently threatened several times, deprived of his pass and forbidden to leave Turkey. Yet, he managed to cross the border and to return to West Germany.

Prisoners' acts of resistance

In protest against ill-treatment and torture, political prisoners in many cases have resorted to different forms of resistance.

On September 23, 1981, Kazim Karapıçlık, a defendant in the "Emergency Group's" trial, announced in the courtroom that the group had started and ended a hunger strike. "We want the competent authorities of the ill-treatment in prison. But they took no heed of our warnings, so we started a hunger strike... Even after we ended this action, they deprived us of water, newspapers and visits by our parents", he said.

On January 1, 1982, ninety-one women detainees of the Mamak Military Prison in Ankara were brought before military tribunal for defying against prison conditions. They declared that the Prison Director insulted them by crying "Whoos..."

On February 21, 1982, in Erzurum, 325 defendants of the Dev-Vel Trial started a hunger strike in military prison.

On March 15, 1982, on the first day of the Dev-Sol Trial, 428 defendants refused to declare their enlistments as an investigation into tortures and ill-treatment applied in Metris prison was started.

On May 13, 1982, other political prisoners from the same prison joined the protest action and went on a hunger strike.

In June 1982, 290 political prisoners in Gölcük Military Prison went on a hunger strike.

On January 3, 1983, it was reported that 32 detained women had been enclosed in coffins to force them to own up their "anti-governmental activities." According to their lawyers, the women were placed in wooden coffins of 1.75 X 0.75 X 0.75 mtr.

In March 1983, Dev-Vel/Fatisa Trial's defendants in Amasya, refused to answer the judge's questions or to take their places in the docks, protesting against the procedure.

On April 9, 1983, military tribunal No.3, on the pretext of breach of discipline, deprived 116 detainees of Metris Prison in İstanbul of their right to receive visitors.

In May 1983, the Police Department asked prison administrations to take strict measures against the activities of political prisoners in jails. According to the Department, political prisoners continued their activities in jails by corresponding among themselves with messages in Morse.

During this resistance, many international human rights organizations attempted to visit Turkish military prisons and to have firsthand information on the conditions of imprisonment; But all attempts were foiled by the military junta. A delegation of the International Federation on Human Rights publicized this obstruction in January 1983. Lawyer Peter Arberolds, Doctor Jean-Alain Dubois and Translator Helmuts Obendiek reported the story of their mission of November 18-27, 1982, as follows:

"At the French Embassy we were informed that the relations between France and Turkey are already strained enough (probably because of the Armenian question) and for this reason the French ambassador could not do anything for us. "At the Swiss Embassy we were received by the Ambassador Mr. Deiter Chennais-Rigmond. He immediately contacted the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office and the Ministry of Justice were not ready to receive us and still less to let us enter the prisons. "After being plagued before the civilian authorities, we looked for a possibility from the military. General Roczek Eigard, the head of the Military Justice of Ankara told us that it was legally impossible to visit a military prison. "A few days later, we could only see from the outside the Military Prison of Mamak—which is located in an enormous and entirely closed military area. We could hear prisoners being drilled to marching songs. "The Foreign Office, which received us shortly after, let us know very directly that the civilian authorities did not want any mission of inquiry either from the Red Cross, from the Council of Europe, from Amnesty International, from the IFHR or from any other organization. Such delegations would always come with prejudices that would easily be confirmed their stay in the country. Turkey, as an independent country, should be answerable to nobody. Each time that we requested permission to visit military prisons, the objection was raised that they were closed even to Turkish lawyers, doctors, sociologists, politicians or reporters. "It was difficult to get information from concerned persons (ex-prisoners, relatives of prisoners or defendants at liberty). Most of them refused to express their opinions on their trials or on jail conditions because they were afraid of reprisals. Indeed, we have some reliable information on the civilian prisons and penitentiary, while we have to rely on testimonies that we cannot verify concerning the military ones. The serious allegations against the military prisons will not be refuted as long as the Turkish authorities are not interested in giving information in an objective manner and especially in accepting neutral observers. In any case, we cannot lessen any of the allegations raised."

In his interviews, Yildirim described in detail his own torture and that of other prisoners in Diyarbakir Military Prison, most of whom are, like him, ethnic Kurds. Amnesty International arranged for him to receive medical examination after his arrival in Sweden. The medical report of November 2, 1982, stated that he "shows signs of severe violent injury to the head by a blunt weapon, both upper extremities, the trunk and both lower extremities, and that the injuries may well have occurred as a result of the torture he describes."

In the same press release, it was announced that Mammad Dogan, another detainee in the same prison, died in custody on March 21, 1982. According to the Turkish authorities, he committed suicide by hanging himself with his tie. Huseyin Yildirim says that Dogan was tortured badly for 15 days starting from March 6, 1982.

Korangur and Mehmet Hayati Durmus were reposed to have died in custody in September 1982, after having been on hunger strike together with other members of PKK, in protest against torture and inadequate defense facilities.

First mass hunger strike in prisons

Protesting against inhumane conditions of detention, some 2,506 prisoners went on a hunger strike on July 4th, 1983, in the prisons of Mersin, Silahnamet, Kebireci and Sagmakilar in Istanbul. This act of resistance later spread to other military prisons in the cities of Afyonkarahisar, Diyarbakir, Corum, Adana, Erzurum and Elazig. Although the action was stopped in some prison because of harsher practices by the military authorities, the total number of political prisoners who started hunger strikes increased to thousands at different times amounting in the middle of August to some 6,000.

In a common appeal to world opinion, more than 2,000 political prisoners being tried in the trials of Dev-Yol, Dev-Sol, Partizan, TDKP, Devrimci Kurtular, Hakim Devrimci Dersan, PKK, Devrimci Hakim Birlik, Hakim Birlik, Ceyan Semtplanctleri, Dev-Savan, Bulbul YoLa, Avci, Rizgar, Baha, TDK, Kurtular, TDKP-C SWAS, Partizan YoLa, TDK, Hakim YoLa and Eylem Birlik explained the reasons for the hunger strike and their demands as follows:

"Since the fascist junta's modern power, thousands of progressives and patriots have been tortured in prisons, including the police department, in buildings of MIT (the National Intelligence Service), in military barracks and headquarters. Torture has become a widespread and systematic method of inquiry. Hundreds of people were killed under torture. The proceedings allegedly instituted against torturers are solely designed for deceiving world opinion. In addition to people murdered under torture, hundreds of progressive and democratic people have been shot dead in the streets and in the mountains by police and army units. And more than 20 progressive were executed following trials which were a mere mockery.

On his speeches, Evren claims that he did not set up extraordinary courts. That is simply because he had no need of this. For the existing military courts are themselves extraordinary. The bills of indictment are based on confessions obtained under torture. In mass trials, the prisoners are not brought together to court; only groups of 30 or 50 are allowed. Court proceedings take place without previously proving the defendants' identity, without previous judicial inquiry; in some cases the defendants never appear in court. The witnesses are brainwashed before being brought to court; defendants are given no opportunity to defend themselves; they are not even allowed to read their petitions; the time allowed for the defence is very short, and sometimes the defendant is not allowed to speak. In short, the trials are just designed to deceive public opinion.

The period of detention which lasted 90 days during the first year of military rule, was reduced to 45 days when the law allowing police to take any prisoner from prison for interrogation was passed. Consequently, the period of detention is unlimited. Prisoners face no moment the threat of being kept in detention, but they are resisting as much as possible the enforcement of this fascist law. During such an operation in the Istanbul-Alemdag Military prison, two revolutionaries, Hakim Memeroluuk and Serif Akkiaya, were killed by gas-bombs.
The military prisons of the fascist junta are centers of torture. Since September 12th, 1980, military training and torture have been prevalent in Turkish prisons. With this military training, they want the prisoners to be subordinated to the officers as well as to soldiers, to salute the symbols of the junta, to be subjected to the junta's discipline, to have their hair shaved completely; in short, they want to deprive a prisoner of all human rights and to make him lose his dignity. To resist against these coercive measures meant to be tortured, to be beaten, to be subjected to all kinds of repression, not to be allowed to meet awyeyes or relatives, to be deprived of the right to go out for fresh air, to get newspapers and books. In Diyarbakir, Ankara, Maksuk prisons, many people have become insane or disabled; there are even people who committed suicide as a result of depression. For instance, in the summer of 1982 in Istanbul, Mensin Military Prison, Hakki Ho- caoglu was not hanged, although he was in a state of depression; consequently, they let him commit suicide. In prisons, interviews with lawyers are forbidden; or 15-20 prisoners are given only 20 minutes to have interviews with their lawyers, and these interviews are heard by the soldiers. Besides, there is no opportunity to prepare defense in prisons, and, recently, martial law command has forbidden the prisoners to get paper and pens. Petitions are seized by the prison administration while the prisoners are being brought to court. The results cannot give them any clothes or food during the interviews, which last only a few minutes. Progressive, revolutionary prisoners have been resisting against this torture for years; they started hunger strikes many times. Countless hunger strikes, which lasted 10 to 20 or more than 40 days and in which all prisoners took part were organized. At the end of each hunger strike, the representatives of the junta said we will stop the torture, we will recognize your rights; but torture, beatings and prohibitions still continue.

"Today, the fascist junta is applying more and more intensively the methods of torture and repression in the prisons of Istanbul. According to new regulations, the prisons will be subordinate to the Ministry of Interior and will be raid by the Commanders of Police. Besides, new prisons of one or two-mans cells are being built; the revolutionaries who resist these forms of repression and who are in the position of being leaders of certain groupings will be put in these prisons. The aim is to torture and put under pressure these revolutionaries, who are selected from various prisons. One of these 'cell-type' prisons was opened in Istanbul/Sagmacilar on July 4th, 1983. Revolutionary prisoners, selected from various prisons in Istanbul, were brought to this new prison. As the prisoners were entering the prison building, they were beaten until they fainted; all prisoners have their hair completely shaved, their civilian clothes are seized and they are forced to put on the prison uniforms. The attempt to make the revolutionary prisoners wear prison uniforms is a new step in the enforcement of military rules. And this method is now applied in Istanbul. Torture and repression done to force the prisoners to wear these uniforms are prevalent in the prisons of Maksuk, Diyarbakir, Antakya, Bartin, Canakkale and Malatya. In the cells-type prisons of Sagmacilar, political prisoners refused to wear prison uniforms, despite torture and beatings, and replied with anti-fascist slogans.

"Revolutionary prisoners will never surrender in the face of torture and repression. The revolutionaries (who are put into one-man cells in Sagmacilar Prison and are facing torture and bloody intrigues) and more than 2,000 political prisoners in various prisons in Istanbul have started an unlimited hunger strike in protest against torture, oppression and various prohibitions. Their demands are:

- Withdrawal of prison uniforms and the return of civilian clothes,
- An end to torture, oppression and all kinds of prohibitions (regarding interviews with lawyers, families, going out for fresh air, obtaining books and writing letters);
- Recognition of all rights of political prisoners;
- After the hunger strike started, hundreds of political prisoners were severely tortured, and at least 150 of them were hospitalized as a result of this torture.
- The prisoners' relatives who protested in front of the prison buildings against the enforcement of these measures were also beaten up. One of the parents who could not bear this situation attempted to burn himself but was rescued.
- After a few months, another mass hunger-
strike war started in the military prison of Dıyarbakır by Kurdish prisoners, and about 2,000 detainees participated.

Press international reported that the hunger strike was started on September 2, 1983, by one group of prisoners with most interest. It later increased.

During the trials of members of political organizations such as PKK, DDKD, Kürdullah, KİP, TKSP, Faturan, KUK and KAWA, the defendants announced that they were joining the hunger strike. All received reports that after the announcements, the defendants were beaten and removed from the courtroom. Agence France press reported the deaths of two hunger strikers in Dıyarbakır prison.

On September 28, a defendant announced before a military court that the prisoners had ended the hunger strike on the written guarantee given by the commander of the military prison to satisfy their demands.

**Torture and ill-treatment after the elections**

After the 1983 general elections, prison conditions remained unchanged, despite the setting up of a civilian government.

For example, in the Military Prison of Dıyarbakır, the director had already forgotten all their promises given a few months ago and again banned the introduction of food, pencil and paper into prison; reduced prisoners' talks with their families; and ordered prisoners to be beaten up before the eyes of their visitors.

Thenceforth, on January 3, 1984, prisoners of the Dıyarbakır Prison once more went on a hunger strike.

On January 6, 1984, it was reported that all political prisoners of Mamak Prison in Ankara who refused to wear prison uniforms had been beaten for three days and three nights. The victims of this illegal treatment requested on January 9 that the military tribunal try them take every step necessary to ensure their security.

Besides, the families of these prisoners who were beaten up visited the newly-elected Speaker of the National Assembly, Nemeteddin Karadağ, and handed over a petition requesting an end to the ill-treatment in Turkey's prisons.

Despite the protest actions, Turkish military law authorities have extended the practice of forcing political prisoners to wear prison uniforms when they appear before military tribunals.

In Istanbul, defendants in the Dey-Sol and THKP/C trials accepted their prison uniforms and entered the military courtroom in their underwear in protest against this practice. Thereupon, they were thrown out of the courtroom by force.

The same scene recurred the next day in Ankara during the trial of 10 alleged members of Dey-Sol.

Trade union leaders and journalists are also subjected to this treatment in an ignominious with human dignity. On January 19, 1984, all the defendants in the DİSK Trial, including Chairman Abdullah Bassürk, were brought before the tribunal in prison uniforms. Likewise, Ali Siemi, columnist of the daily Cumhuriyet, was tried on February 3 in prison uniform by a court in Istanbul.

On February 16, 1984, Amnesty International called on the head of the Turkish Armed Forces to account publicly for seven prisoners reprieved to have died in a military prison in Eastern Turkey in January.

In an urgent message to the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Necdet Uruğ, the international human rights organization expressed concern about reports on the resumption of torture and ill-treatment of inmates in Dıyarbakır Military Prison.

It named seven prisoners reported to have died in the prison that year. Four were known to have been buried, it said. In three other cases, Amnesty International had learned that the bodies had been informally shown to the relatives' detail but that the bodies were not available for burial.

Amnesty International said that all the families concerned should be given the bodies of their dead relatives and allowed to arrange independent medical examinations to establish the cause of death.

The Anadolu International called/followed a visit by one of its delegations to Dıyarbakır (more than 1,000 km from Istanbul) to seek information about three prisoners reported to have died in unexplained circumstances.

The military authorities in Dıyarbakır acknowledged the deaths of two prisoners, Ncemettin Büyükkaya and Yılmaz Demir. They told the delegations that one of the prisoners had committed suicide and the other had died of a brain tumour. Amnesty International said.
After the delegate's visit the organization received information on the deaths of four more prisoners.
After eleven of their inmates died following a 45-day hunger strike, the surviving Kurdish detainees at Diyarbakir prison ended their protest.

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

The inmates of Diyarbakir prison did not obtain any real improvement in their conditions of confinement and gave up their movement because it was "degrading them in vain". Visits, banned since the beginning of the year, were allowed again. According to the parents' evidence many detainees were in a "dreadful state".

On the other hand, several hundred political prisoners in Mamak military prison (Ankara) started a hunger strike on February 22, 1984, in protest against acts of violence and torture they suffered, according to what they said before the military court.

In that prison, the detainees were gathered on a prison square where dogs were set on them. The military authorities seized their civilian clothes, ordering them to put on uniforms. Having refused to undergo this new humiliation, many detainees, dressed only in briefs and undershirts, stayed for several weeks in their cells and even on the prison squares, where they were forced to sleep and shout out military songs and slogans in increase of the Turkish State and its founder Atatürk. After about 1,500 political prisoners went on a hunger strike, the hearings of their trial were deferred for a month, so as to conceal the deplorable state they were in.

According to the Belgian daily Le Soir of March 8, 1984, "all testimonies corroborate others expressing 'destruction machines', both physically and morally, in the Turkish military prisons. A former professor who had been held for about one year at Sultan Ahmet, the Istanbul military prison, declared, following his release, that the military penalititary institutions 'are not prisons but slave camps'...".

The German weekly Die Zcit on February 24, 1984, published a story by a German tourist going under an assumed name, Wolfgang Simons, who was tortured in several jails in Istanbul, where he was held for 200 days. And Die Zcit comes to the following conclusion: "For the West-European democracies, Turkey is an awkward partner. Why? This has been revealed especially by the experiences this young German went through, who, under inconceivable circumstances, has been detained for 16 months in a Turkish jail. His sufferings are not an isolated case, but merely a case among others."

The Turkish General Staff announced on April 5, 1984, that 290 prisoners at Mamak Military Prison had ended their hunger strike. Forty-six prisoners who had started the action on February 22, 1984, were hospitalized due to deterioration of their health.

In another official communiqué, the General staff rejected all allegations of systematic torture and ill-treatment in Turkey's military prisons, describing them as propaganda aimed at weakening the Turkish Government and harming its prestige abroad. "Leftist terrorists, the communiqué said, try to infringe prison regulations; some of them refuse to wear prison uniforms and continue their activities in prison."

The political prisoners and detainees in the military prisons of Metris and Sagmacilar in Istanbul started a hunger strike on April 11, 1984. The military authorities claimed that one sixth of all detainees participated in the action.

During this hunger strike, two political detainees died in prison; DEV-SOL militant Ahmet Meral on June 15, and TIK militiant Mehmet Fatih Okutulmus on June 17. Thereupon, Prime Minister Ozal declared on June 20 that the Government was not prepared to yield to the demands of detainees who went on hunger strike. The hunger strikers' demands included recognition of the status of political prisoners, the right to move about freely inside the prisons, to organize themselves in groups, to meet visitors without being under surveillance, to have access to publications of any kind, as well as to radio and television. Furthermore, they insisted that the "infamous body searching" be stopped. With regard to the demand for the status of political prisoners, Ozal added: "As far as we are concerned, there are no political prisoners in Turkey."
A GREY WOLF'S COLLUSION IN TORSURE

The statement by the Prime Minister has been followed by the death of the two hunger strikers, Haydar Barbag, of the TIKR, and Haanun Telio of Dev-Sol.

In addition, the lawyers announced the death of another hunger striker, Sermet Par-kin, but nothing has leaked out about his fate. In any case, his death has not been denised by the Turkish authorities.

Notwithstanding their comrades' deaths, ten prisoners were on with their hunger strike at Istanbul military hospital. All of them were in a critical state. In particular, the case of a 20-year-old militant, Ayse Zehir, gave cause for anxiety her lawyer had seen her "in the mental state of a 5-year-old child".

There were also hunger strikes in Baca (in Izmir province on the Izmir coast), in Bartin on the Black Sea and in Elazig (in Turkish Kurdistan). In addition, some parents of de-tained militants hunger strikes in the military prisons at Gökçek (near Istanbul) and at Malatya.

The military authorities claimed that the prisoners' hunger strike was "political", but their lawyers refute the authorities' argument that the hunger strikers allegedly were demanding general amnesty and the abolition of the death penalty. "It is true," a lawyer said "They insisted that their very basic human rights should be respected and not subject to the authorities' arbitrary. They had enough of being crushed, even in their own home, and of being permanently insulted. Do not underestimate this complaint, it concerns a matter very important Turkey.

The hunger strikes in Turkey's military prison did not hit the headlines of the mass media, and at the same time by order of General Eeven, the Turkish press was not permitted to refer to it.

Nevertheless, a few European newspapers expressed their concern as follows:

"If they chose this way to move world opinion by their protest, it is because, eight months after the government has been restored in Turkey, they have no other moves left... In today's Turkey two powers exist. One, the civil-ian power of Premier Ozal, who embarked upon the difficult task of economic recovery chat, no matter what one may think of his methods, deserves to be encouraged. However, for all that, Europe cannot be satisfied with a situation where the other power, that of General Eeven and the Army, does its utmost to keep the country under its heel" (Le Monde, 21.6.1983).

"Premier Ozal, the civilian tree tiding the military forest, has been asserting repeatedly that the detainees were calling for a general amnesty and for abolishing the death penalty. This argument has strongly been refuted by the Turkish lawyers... Ayse Zehir whom awaiting death had been sentenced to five year's impris-onnement. It is for the sake of dignity that Ayse is going through her last struggle in Turkey. It is for the sake of human rights that 100,000 Turk-ish, Kurdish and Armenian detainees are rotting in the dungeons." (L'Humanité, 23.6.1984)

"There's little likelihood that Hollywood will produce a film about him, that some famous actor will play his part... Likewise, there is no chance that right-thinking people will organize a big show where ministers and opposition leaders were pulling to get in, though they are embarked on an election campaign. No president has hesitated to visit his country, no president has made a scene in order to get trustworthy information about his state of health. His name is not Sakhnov, but Aflat-tilah Mustafa Kemal... He is known and he is defeated..." (Liberation, 22.6.1984).

"Even their dead failed to move 'kind souls'. Their fate does not inspire the headlines of big press which affects to be concerned by the defense of human rights. The point is that the government is on Turkey, a member country of
A European mission fooled

During this period of mass hunger strikes, a fact-finding mission of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe went to Turkey and a 3-man delegation visited the Diyarbakir Military Prison on April 27, 1984. On their return, they told the Council that prison conditions had improved and that it was necessary to develop dialogue with the Turkish regime instead of refusal. Thereupon, on May 8, 1984, the representatives of the Turkish regime were reintegrated into the Council of Europe.

After this decision, the members of the mission noticed that they had actually been fooled by the Ankara dictatorship during their visit. One of the members of the mission, M. Claude Dejardin, confirmed that, during their visit to Diyarbakir Prison, a false list was presented to them as an Amnesty International list of prisoners killed. When the deputies saw some of these prisoners alive in Diyarbakir, they thought that Amnesty International's information was not correct.

On May 9, 1984, Amnesty International denied its authorship of this list of "deceased". Moreover, the building that the mission visited in Diyarbakir, was in fact reserved for administrative staff and prison guards, while the detainees were confined to three other blocks from which the European parliamentarians had been barred.

In its resolution, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe said that it "welcomed with satisfaction the proposal of some members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly to set up a parliamentary committee to investigate allegations concerning the situation in Turkish prisons."

In fact, this parliamentary inquiry had been proposed by three members of the Motherland Party on April 27, 1984, during the visit of the Council of Europe mission. But the Justice Committee of the Grand National Assembly, even without waiting for the end of the debates in the Council of Europe, rejected this proposal on May 3. Chairman of the Committee Ali Dirdaroglu said: "As you know, the representatives of the Political and legal Affairs Committees of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe already visited some prisons. They ascertained that the allegations on prison conditions were completely groundless. They made public their observations by organizing press conferences when they got back to their countries. So, the aim has been achieved. Therefore, we do not consider it necessary to put the matter on the National Assembly's agenda."

About four-hundred detainees in Mersin military prison (in southern Turkey on the Mediterranean coast) went on a hunger strike on January 12, 1985, in protest against inhuman treatment. Forty-two parents of these fasting prisoners submitted to the Ministry of Justice a petition denouncing the use of torture on their children.

On the other hand, dozens of detainees in Adana, Gaziantep and Kahramanmaras military prisons also went on hunger strike.

Evidence of continued torture practices in interrogation centers was revealed by top civil servants on trial for some irregularities at Customs. According to the daily Cumhuriyet of January 30, 1985, one of these defendants said: "We were made to sign a well-prepared scenario under torture. If we had not signed it, we would have been killed under torture."

When populist deputies brought the torture question to the National Assembly, spokesmen for the right-wing parties publicly defended this practice. On October 9, 1985, ANAP deputy Mehmet Budak, answering the opposition, said: "Is there any country in the world where torture is not applied? If a guy is a traitor, why should they not torture him?"

On October 29, former army general Turgut Sunalp (founder of the Nationalist Democracy Party and a martial law commander from 1971-1973) defended, in an interview given to the weekly Nokta, the "necessity" of physical pressure on a detainee during his interrogation. He claimed that this was not torture.

Concerning ill-treatment in prison, one of the most controversial examples has been the death of Bebek Celent, the famous Turkish "godfather" whose name was involved in the assassination attempt against the Pope in 1981. After being released by the Bulgarian
authorities. Celik was incarcerated in Turkey from July 1985. During his interrogation, he was kept in a prison cell instead of a hospital, despite the fact that he was suffering from a cardiac illness.

The daily Cumhuriyet of October 16, 1985, accused the judicial authorities of having brought on his death, and thus preventing the clarification of many obscure points relative to arms and drugs smuggling as well as the attempt against the Pope.

Torture is still practiced

To conclude this chapter on torture, we are reproducing below three items which appeared in the Turkish press at the end of 1985. They show that the human rights problem was still going on despite all pressures from democratic circles.

On September 17, in Fethiye, Mrs Cihan Yildiz reported that her husband, Halil Yildiz, 41, had been killed at a police center while he was being interrogated for a traffic infraction. Police claimed that this driver, the father of 5 children, committed suicide.

On October 2, in Sebinkarahisar, two teachers, Nuri Tan and Servet Kulan, and six other persons alleged that they had been detained without any reason at the police center and subjected to torture by 8 police officers during 32 hours.

On October 23, police authorities announced that one of the Dev-Yol Trial defendants, Kenan Ozcak, had committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell. He faced capital punishment. His comrades claimed that his suicide had been provoked by the unbearable conditions of his solitary confinement.

On October 24, a populist deputy, Cemyl Cavdar, revealed that a minor had been raped by policemen at the police center of Sariyer in Istanbul.

On December 18, a retired teacher, Mr Nurettin Godik, revealed at a press conference that he had been tortured for 21 days at a police station in Elazig.

On January 5, 1986, at the Dev-Yol trial in Ankara, lawyers denounced 20 policemen responsible for the deaths of six detainees dying of torture. According to the lawyers, in the DAI sections of the Police Center of Ankara, political detainees were tortured in the following ways: deprivation of food and water, "the faika," beatings, electric shock, introduction of batons into the anus, sticking a needle under the fingernails, twisting the testicles, etc.

On January 16, lawyer Sakir Kebede revealed that he had been tortured with his four colleagues and that the latter were handed-slammed because of being tortured.

On January 10, Necati Emgli, an accused in the Dev-Yol trial, revealed details of the torture he was submitted to during his interrogation at the Mersin police station.

On January 31, the populist deputy Fikri Saglar denounced the fact that at Adiyaman, Kazim Cakir, a detainee, had been killed in prison while his brother Mehmet Cakir had been crucified by torturers.

On February 2, a 23-year-old detainee, Recep Tusa, was found dead in the prison at Sivas. His relatives have demanded an autopsy.

On February 3, a detainee, Hasan Cellik, was hospitalized in a comatose state following his interrogation at the police center at Corum. Although doctors said he was suffering from brain trauma, governor Pekke Koçak declared that he was suffering only from shock brought on by a guard s hout.

On February 5, the daily Cumhuriyet revealed that a detainee, Zekeriya Uluçü, was in a coma following the introduction of a baton in his anus by torturers, while he was in a commissariat in Istanbul for his interrogation.

The same day, the populist deputy Kadir Nacin revealed the names of 22 detainees who had been tortured during their interrogation.

A recent enquiry mission by the Social-democrat Popular Party (SHP), has reached the conclusion - through studies it carried out - that Eastern Turkey has become a big concentration camp under the martial law regime that is still in force there.

According to the populist deputies Nuri Elgan and Cemyl Cavdar, the martial law commander in the region has stripped of their authority 49 tribe, moukhitaris elected in 1984 in Tunceli Province, populated mainly by Kurds, and has deported 27 people accused of "activities harmful to the State's interests." The Minister of Interior declared himself powerless before the practices of the martial law. The two deputies have classified Tunceli - one of those provinces where the proportion of police in relation to inhabitants is the highest - as "the biggest prison in Turkey."
The same mission, during its investigation in the region, discovered a murder committed during torture.

In the Ginz district of Bingöl Province, a teacher, Siddik Bilgín, and his uncle, Mehmet Bilgín, were arrested July 27, 1985, by soldiers. Up to July 31, they were interrogated under torture. According to evidence from Mehmet Bilgín, who is a former senator, after the torture, the soldiers took Siddik Bilgín to a cemetery and cut him down with bullets. Following the murder, the victim’s corpse was buried in the garden of the interrogation station. Although everyone knew it was a military unit under the command of Captain Ali Sahin that had executed Bilgín, the military prosecutor has not opened a judicial inquiry into the actions of those responsible. Captain Ali Sahin claimed that Bilgín was a “separatist” and was killed while trying to escape.

The two deputies have decided to let their beards grow as a sign of protest and have declared they will not shave until a file is opened on the affair.

Elsewhere, in the Hozat district of Tunceli Province, a retired teacher, Yusuf Karaağaç, revealed that his son, Mahmut Sirin Karaağaç, 24, had been similarly cut down by policemen after having been tortured for 45 days. He has also revealed that in Pazarcik district in Kahramanmaraş Province, six people—Hasan Mesken, Ali Cezer, Hüseyin Ergürük, Ali Ovayolu, Didan Yıldırım, and Ali Tasyeruda—disappeared following disciplinary operations against militant Kurds by the Armed Forces in the region.

According to a December 23, 1985, dispatch from the Agence France-Presse, about fifty parents of those in detention publicly accused warders in the military prisons in Mersin and Sagonlar in the district of Adapazarı with beating political prisoners who refuse to wear uniforms, with making them stand for hours in the snow in their underwear, and with beating them up when they resisted forced searches. The women, according to these accounts, were as much a target as the men. Certain detainees were still being kept in cells known as “Siberia.”

A populist deputy, Fikri Saglar, declared that three detainees in the prison at Mersin set themselves afire as a sign of protest against ill-treatment. Furthermore, another detainee, teacher Ali Uygun, might have been buried secretly after having been killed during torture at the prison in Tarsus.

Ill-treatment in the Adana prison brought about a hunger strike on the part of 145 political detainees, starting from January 31, 1986.

Growing indignation

All these recent revelations have given rise to great indignation on the part of people in Turkey; and even former right-wing politicians, who were always in favour of repressive measures against the regime’s opponents, have declared themselves in favour of steps to end torture. But the present rulers take no account of any criticism or suggestion on this subject.

The populist deputies have already drawn up a legal plan with the idea of increasing prison sentences for torturers, but the governmental majority of the judicial Commission of the National Assembly rejected it on January 15, 1986.

Mr. Haydar Oralp, one of the spokesmen for the parliamentary group of the ANAP, the party in power, declared to the ANKA press agency that even when acts of torture have been proved, they must be kept hidden to preserve the Turkish State’s prestige abroad.

Conversely, the other right-wing parties as well as the former right-wing political leaders of the regime before the coup have declared that they support all the steps against torture taken by the social-democrat SHP. Former Prime Minister Demirel has declared: “If torture takes place in a country, it is a political problem and the leaders of the country are equally responsible for this practice. Therefore, these leaders should quit their posts.” The Turkish Doctors’ Union (TTB), whose leaders are persecuted for having demanded an end to the death sentence, announced on February 4 that they would nullify the professional certificate of any doctor who took part in torture.

Finally, the stand with regard to torture has become a major criterion in Turkey to determine the level of respect individuals or organizations have for fundamental human rights.

The present rule, with all its components—military or civil—has been found in flagrant crime. A rule that has no intention of respecting international conventions forbidding torture does not deserve to be a part of international institutions such as the Council of Europe.
NO AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

One of the prerequisites for improved Euro-
European relations, as laid down by the Euro-
pean Parliament, has been general amnesty for
political prisoners. However, even the civilian gov-
ernment of Turgut Ozal, obeying General Eser's
order, has remained indifferent to this demand and
turned down all amnesty proposals coming from
opposition parties.

The amnesty issue has been one of the main
topics in Turkey's political life since the 1983 leg-
islative elections.

Since the very beginning, Prime Minister Oz-
bal has avoided promising amnesty, on the ground
that the new constitution is opposed to amnesty for
those who were condemned or the use for
"control against the State" described in article
148, 149, 150, 151, 152 and 153 of the Turkish
Penal Code.

Considering that the amnesty issue was get-
ing more and more inapplicable, mainly because
of pressure from the families of political prisoners,
medical law commanded first banned on January
10, 1984, all petitions on this expect.

Nevertheless, prior to the local elections of
March 1984, all political parties, considering the
electorate's great concern in this area, saw them-
selves obliged to make some gestures with the view
of winning the support of the prisoners' relatives
or left-wing voters. But some draft bills tabled for
a limited amnesty were turned down on May 10,
1984, by the parliamentary majority.

Both General Eser and Prime Minister Ozal
declared on many occasions that they were legiti-
mately against any amnesty for political prisoners.

At a press conference on February 8, 1984,
Ozal said: "This is a very complex issue that we
could think now not whole, not twice but ten times. Let's not be attached with our heads in the sand. We have come through a difficult era when, before military intervention, not democracy but poverty prevailed. An amnesty in 1973 had freed 2,000 convicted terorists. This act was a surge of terorist violence and the result is that now there are over 20,000 cases.

General Evers, responding to the petition from intellectuals (like previous statements), an- nounced that any modification in the Constitution to make political amnesty possible was out of the question. "One of their aims is to force us to proclaim a general amnesty which would include all these terorists who brought us to the edge of destruction. Therefore we feel the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the act for these terorists to enjoy amnesty."

In another speech to mark the opening of the National Assembly on September 1, 1995, the General-President said: "I believe that the Turkish Parliament was in the ruling propa- ganda made in favor of those who committed crimes which are mentioned in Article 14 of the "Turkish Constitution, namely those who have committed crimes against the state existence of this State."

Instead of an amnesty for political prisoners the National Assembly in one year adopted two different laws for the conditional release of some prisoners.

The first one, enacted on May 4, 1995, stip- ulated qualified for prisoners accused of non-violent "trials" against the State, if they denounced their compatriots. For the denounced who had committed violent acts, the law stipulated a re- diction. Let's not be deceived by the term "trials". This law's effect is to make sure that a denunciation is made. The denounced will benefit from the reduction and the reduction will not be published. It is noted that such denunciation is not a different from a "confession" and the accused are not treated as innocent.

According to a declaration from the Justice Minister, 530 prisoners convicted or prosecuted for "crimes against the State" denounced their comrades and benefited from the Law on Re- lease within a four-month period. According to Arti- cles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code which are aimed at acts of organization or propaganda on the behalf of the social class or an ethnic group.

This law on Release enabled an am- limition in democratic circles in Turkey. The Chair- man of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations, Mr. Teoman Evers, said that such laws of means- sure could be a pretext for a period of false demon- stration and could bring all moral values of so- ciety. Changing one through a surgical operation or allowing a "false identity card" are not compa- rable, he added, with human dignity. While the release on the amnesty law was proving stronger and stronger, the National As- sembly adopted on March 15, 1995, a new law which removes the prison term of those who have never disobeyed prison rules, but the Assembly excused the possibility of amnesty for political prisoners.

According to its law, prison terms of five years have been reduced to two years and three days, 10 years to four years and five days, 15 years to six years and seven days: 20 years to 15 years and 10 days: 25 years to 20 years; 30 years, 21 months, and 21 days and life imprisonment to 20 years. As for capital punishment, if it has not been ratified by the National Assembly, the pris- oner will see 20 years in prison. So despite the work expressed by the Saddam bodies, the death penalty is still in force, and a political victim can be executed in his sentence is ratified.

The Minister of Justice announced that some 25,000 prisoners would benefit from this law, although some 30,000 remain in prison. Most significantly, the majority of prisoners cannot benefit from this reduction because they are considered "derelict to prison rules", due to their acts of resistance against the inhuman treatment in the prisons. To be able to benefit from this reduction, they will have to be quite obedient in the nine months to come. Even a small discussion with a guard can deprive the prisoner of a reduction in their prison term; a dis- cussion which takes place on a daily basis, a refusal by the prison authorities if they do not want the prisoner to profit from this law.

The example of this arbitrary practice is the situation of sociologist Yasin Diken (See Page 228). According to the newspaper he is still free "because he has already served more than half of his 10-year term. But the prison authorities' claim- ing that he had been disobedient", keep Diken in prison.

One of the consequences of receiving politi- cal asylum has been the suicide on March 21 of an inmate in the San Pedro prison. When this prisoner, aged 36, learned he was not going to be freed, he hanged himself.
The prosecution of Colonel Turkes and Grey Wolves after the coup was a political manoeuvre of the military with a view to proving that they were determined to crush the right-wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones. While left-wing intellectuals and militants were being tried and condemned in mass, all neo-fascist leaders were released later on and allowed to start their actions again. Despite the findings on their relations with smugglers and European extreme-rightist organisations, Grey Wolves carry on their sinister activities in Europe.
After the military coup d'état, the generals desperately tried to present themselves before domestic and international public opinion as being determined to crush the right wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones, and, as "proof" of this "even-handed" policy, put Török on trial along with a few hundred members of the MHP and its sister organisations.

The Junta's intention was to neutralise large sections of the people, especially the middle classes, by using the rhetoric of being "against fascists as well," and to weaken resistance and protests against their acts of oppression and terrorism towards the working class, trade unionists and socialists.

The events that have taken place in the MHP trial from its beginning strongly indicate that it is only a show, whatever its outcome may be. All leaders of the MHP, including Ex-colonel Török, have already been released from prison.

Török, in a letter he wrote to Junta head General Evren, told him that the police of the Junta since it came to power had for many years been put forward by the MHP and the "ideology" and "spirit" announced by General Evren in the September 12 "operation" were the same as the "ideology" and the "nationalist-Ataturkist principles" of the MHP. He went on to say that they would continue to support the Junta to the end.

During the trial Török repeated these views and added that many of the generals in the top echelons of the Armed Forces or in the 5-man Junta, were his old friends, schoolmates and colleagues. He said that he could not understand why he and his party were put on trial at all. The friends he referred to included the commanders of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Armies and less, but not least, General Evren himself and General Ersin, another member of the 5-man Junta.

Vice-president Ahmet Okyar Gökçe, also said, "The seven principal economic decisions taken by the new power were in reality formulated by us. While our ideas are in power, we are kept in prison."

Somuncuca itself, another defendant in the MHP Trial, added: "We are accused of advocating the idea of measuring the skills of citizens in order to determine their races. But it is a fact that Ataturk, too, measured skills. At Atatürk (museum of Atatürk), among the personal belongings of Atatürk there is also a compass used for measuring skills."

There was a possibility that the MHP leaders might reveal their connections within the Armed Forces, secret police and various state organisations. In fact, Török used this as a threat during the trials. To prevent this happening, the military prosecutor, "in order not to put the security of the State in danger, dismissed some court hearings to continue in secret. It is also known that some written documents related to the relationship between the army, secret police and the MHP have not been included in the prosecution's case.

While all the arrested leaders of the neo-fascist party were being released one by one, many notorious "Grey Wolves" were placed in key posts in the administration and formed a hard-core within the governing party, the ANAP.

According to The Times of September 11, 1984, "In particular they have taken elitist control of the State Radio and TV Corporation (TRT), whose new director was formerly a senior figure in the Nationalist Action party (MHP) of Török. Another former MHP member is secretary of the Ministry of Employment. The last development, even more sinister, is the appointment of two deputy directors of the National Police Force, one of whom was in charge of an torture center in Ankara during the previous military regime in 1971 and had since then been kept out of sight, while the other's name was found among the secret documents of the MHP as the future director of the National Police Force had the MHP captured power. Such appointments raise the question whether the 1990 intervention was really a comprehensive defeat for terrorism as its authors claimed."

Within the first "civilian government", well-known sympathisers of the defunct MHP are State Minister Halil Shug'ub, State Minister Kârlı Okyar, State Minister Mehmet Vilmaz, Minister of Communication Veysal Ataçoy and Under-Secretary Hasan Cihan Güzeltas.

The Secretary-General of the ANAP, Mustafa Taşar is also a renowned MHP sympathizer.

Besides, neo-fascist activities have been elected mayor in many important cities, such as Ankara, Erzincan, Erzurum, Adapazari, Bingöl, Flapık, Yozgat, Gaziantep, Antalya, Kastamonu.
Agca and Grey Wolves

After Turkey's release, the "Grey Wolves" began to reorganize within a newly founded political organization, the Nationalist Labour Party (MHP), founded by some former MHP members and sympathizers. As for the foreign links of the neo-fascist movement, they drew the attention of all world opinion on the occasion of the failed attempt against Pope Paul John II in 1981.

This tragic event showed once again the dimension and the international connections of the Turkish fascist movement that murdered more than 5,000 people over a 5-year period and provoked the installation of a dictatorial regime in Turkey.

"Grey Wolves" have branches in many other European countries, notably among the neo-nazi organizations, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Turks, the leader of the MHP, had close contacts with Adolph von Ribbentrop, the NPD leader, and Joseph Strasser, the CSU leader... All activities by the "Grey Wolves" in European countries have been covered by local neo-fascist organizations. Mehmet Ali Agca is only one of the numerous fascist murderers who found protection and shelter in the FRG. After having escaped from Turkey, he was tried by default and condemned to death in Turkey. An international arrest warrant was placed upon him through Interpol, but no serious effort was made to find and catch this ferocious murderer. He was not troubled by police during his travels through several countries and had the opportunity to perpetrate one of the most daring assassination attempts known in modern history.

Since the early seventies, the "Grey Wolves", acquaints of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), headed by former Colonels Turks, got themselves organized in all European host countries for Turkish migrant workers. They first set up local branches of the MHP, but given that in Turkey at that time, under the Political Parties Act, parties were forbidden to organize abroad, Turkey's Constitutional Court had decided the MHP that, unless it closed down in foreign branches, it was in danger of being banned definitively.

Thereupon, from 1977 onwards, the Grey Wolves closed down MHP branches abroad and got organized within parallel organisations such as the "Peyote of Idealism" (Ulukoca) or the "Turkish Cultural Association" (Türk Kütüphane Derneği).

Following several visits by their leader Turks, all these Grey Wolves associations grouped together round the Frankfurt based "Türk-Federation".

 Shortly after these events, the West German Metal Workers Union (IG Metall) published in its periodical (Metall, No.2 of January 23, 1980) an overall survey on the Grey Wolves' organization, strategy and tactics in West Germany.

Under the headline "Grey Wolves calling for Holy War", this article, published shortly after a Turkish member of IG Metall, Celâlettin Kesimal, had been assassinated in Berlin on January 5, 1980, by extreme-right assassants, highlighted a great many of bloody incidents provoked and perpetrated by the "Grey Wolves" in West Germany.

According to Metall all activities of Turkish fascists in Germany were directed by the Türk-Federation. Its chairman Serdar Çetebi,
now on trial in Rome, was a member of the Turkish neo-fascist party. The financial means of this organization were provided by drug traffickers and by "night club" owners.

One month earlier, on November 27, 1979, Info-Türk Bulletin had reported that two progressive migrant workers had been assaulted and injured by "Grey Wolves" in Frankfurt when they refused to accept fascist insults.

"Following this incident, the German police searched the headquarters of the Turk-Federation (headquarters of the Grey Wolves in Federal Germany) in Frankfurt and arrested the chairman of their local association and another suspect.

"On the other hand, there are some indications that extreme-rightist terrorist Mehmet Ali Aga is operating among the Grey Wolves in Europe, since his escape from a Turkish prison.

"On December 15, 1979, during an incident between leftist and rightist Turkish students in Paris, gunmen opened fire on the leftist students in a coffee-house, wounding five of them as well as three French waiters. There are rumours that this ambush was planned and directed by Aga who escaped from Turkey. But this claim has not yet been confirmed."

At that time, Grey Wolves activities in Belgium were directed by a group established in the city of Namur. This group, which had a very close relationship with Turkish intelligence officers who were on an assignment at NATO headquarters near Mons, as well as with certain fascist-minded people at the Turkish Consulate in Brussels, had been developing its activities in Brussels since April 1978.

During all these attempts to organize, "Grey Wolves" benefited from the support of local fascist organizations and persons. The following press excerpts give evidence of these relations:

**Ties with German fascists**

A letter Adolph Von Thadden wrote to Turkeys was published in the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet on September 19th, 1979.

"Dear Turks,... I enjoy receiving your letters. I thank you for your appreciation of me and my party. Even more, I am glad to learn of your position concerning the identity between both our parties... There are common basic principles we share. I am sure that you wish to expand and reinforce these friendly relationships. So, I accept enlarging the relations between both our parties. We decided unanimously to do an exchange of youth sections groups. (...) Would you be kind enough to accept the invitation as my personal guest. It would be nice to have an exchange of views on both our countries and to scrutinize the means of mutual assistance."

Excerpt from a report written by Enver Altyay, general inspector of the MHP in the Federal Republilc of Germany, to Turkeys, April 28, 1976:

"... Dr. Kannapin will be in Köln on May 4, 1976. He intends to introduce me to the president of the Turkish section of the organization. According to Dr. Kannapin this person is a member of the CDU and a former officer in the German Army, a real anti-communist."

Excerpt from Enver Altyay's report to Turkeys, Köln, June 24, 1976:

"At the end of May 1976 we had nearly 20,000 DM on our bank account... My target is to get 40,000 DM before the end of September. Our relationship with Dr. Kannapin is against investigations by the German security organizations; he uses every means so that these organizations do not shake our work, but support them."

Excerpt from the letter written by Turkeys to Enver Altyay, July 22, 1976:

"... Having that in mind, each month you can withdraw 2,000 DM from my personal account at the Köln BFU for your needs."

Excerpt from the Cumhuriyet, September 23rd, 1976:

"Despite the decision taken by the Constitutional Court (June 28, 1976), the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) did not close its organizations in West Germany. A week later, Turkeys, who was appointed vice-president in the second rightist coalition headed by Demired, sent a note to the presidency of the MHP's executive committee in West Germany, asking them to work under cover of association to avoid curiosity from the authorities and to benefit from the collaboration with the NDP on this subject." (From page 56 of the Türkische Rechts- extremisten d'Amnesty International).

Excerpt from the daily newspaper Hürriyet, December 15, 1980:

"The Department of the Interior Ministry in Baden-Württemberg is scrutinizing the files concerning the rightist extremists trained in
RISE OF RACISM

Germany. A Turkish group of 18 persons is being trained in the foothills of the German Alps.

Excerpt from IG Metall, January 23, 1986:

"The Grey Wolves are calling for a holy war. All active activities of the Turkish fascists are run by the Türk-Peterlaxw, established in Frankfurt. The chairman of this federation is Serdar Celebi, and the secretary general is Ramazan Oz. Both are members of the neo-fascist party of Colonel Turkus."

Excerpt from Der Spiegel (February 1990):

"Being so anti-communist, Franz Josef Strauss has contacts with the ultra right and all kinds of fascists all over the world, not only as an adviser but also supplying funds."

"Strauss had an appointment with the extremist Turks in München on April 28, 1978."

Excerpt from Cumhuriyet, November 11, 1991:

"Isa Armagasi, sentenced to death for having killed 5 people, has escaped from the Munich prison and fled to Germany on July 26, 1990."

Excerpt from Le Drapet Rouge, March 7/8, 1991:

"The National Commission on Law Enforcement declared that Interpol had been headed by a former SS officer, Paul Dickopf, between 68 and 72. Many ex-nazis are still occupying key-positions."

According to the military prosecutor's indictment, Turks had an account in Germany, opened in the Bank für Gemeinschaftswirtschaft in Köln, Account No. 10243246 - BLZ 47040111 - 5 Köln.

On a paper with Türkis's handwriting:

The account of Enver Ahyledi: 225,000 DM
77,000 DM
and there: 13,000 DM

Moreover, 15 American-Express money orders issued by the San Diego Trust-Saving Bank were seized. They were drawn in the name of Alparslan Turks and sent to the seat of the Nationalist Action Party. Proof was obtained that the money transfer was made from California by a certain W.J. Pietsch, Jr. with a card mentioning the Nationalist Party. (May 1991).

Force in the Rome trial

"The attempt on the Pope's life is linked with the third secret of Fatima. In the name of God the Almighty, I announce the end of the world, I am Jesus Christ reincarnated. The whole world..."
will be destroyed during this generation...”
(February 27, 1985)

“I was an ideological anthropologist. Terrorist.
I used to make plans and schemes against
the system, but I have never killed anybody...”
(June 5, 1985)

“The orders to kill the Pope came from the
Soviet Embassy in Sofia. We Grey Wolves
acted with the complicity of the three
Bulgarian officials in Rome. For the assassination
attempt, the first secretary of the Soviet
Embassy in Sofia paid three million Deutsche
Marks through Bekir Celik...”
(June 11, 1985)

Those crazy words pronounced by Mehmet
Ali Agca marked the opening of the trial of the
“Bulgarian Connection” which was held in
Rome. That sort of “reincarnation” of the
Turkish terrorist inside a kind of “bunker”,
that was specially built for the trial of the
Red Brigade, have given rise to serious doubts
about the psychic state of this “Grey Wolf”,
who is the main witness for the prosecution
in the present trial against the Bulgarian citizen
Sergio Rismondo and two Chilean countrymen.

As noted by the Italian daily Le Soleil of
May 26: “How can we trust this not very com-
manding person, who is so eager to make
confessions, to create confusion, and whose
views are subject to frequent and sudden
reversals? And now he is even making statements
worth of a village idiot!”

Obviously, after Agca’s statement, the
“Bulgarian Connection” is in serious danger...
In contrast, Agca’s cross-questioning - as well
as that of Cemal Bagci, another defendant at
the Rome trial - is giving substance much more to
the “Grey Wolves Connection” than to the
“Bulgarian Connection”.

The foreign connections of the “Grey
Wolves” have not been limited to local fascist
people or organizations in Europe, but they
also had contacts with arm and drug dealers.

A former Turkish Interior Minister,
Mr. Hasan Fedim Gunes, revealed before the
court that several “Mafia” type families had
cooperated with the “Grey Wolves”. Sixty-six
depuities of the CHP called for a parliamentary
investigation into drugs and arms smuggling
and said:
“Enemies of democracy and of our people
have started to put into practice their bloody
conspiracy planned underground. Drugs and
arms smuggling is one of the main factors of
anarchy and terror, which have reacted today’s
dissension in our country. It has been said,
written and testified repeatedly is courts that
a political party’s militants, sad organizations
and aggressors trained in camps, are taking a
significant part in the terrorist incidents. Two
thousand million liras (67 million DM) worth of
illegal arms have been seized within the last
two years, and perhaps ten times more arms
than this amount is now being used by enemies
of democracy and pawns against Turkey’s future
and our democracy.”

During the investigation into the arms and
drug smuggling and on the attempt against the
Pope, much proof was obtained about this
collaboration.

In 1967, former CIA agent Frank Terpel
declared on British Television how he sold
guns, explosives and poisons to clients, includ-
ing the now-imprisoned Ugandan dictator Idi
Amin, the last Shah of Iran, and the Grey
Wolves.

Despite all the evidence of the Grey
Wolves ties and complicity with European fas-
tsists and smugglers, certain media started a
campaign to publicize the “Bulgarian connec-
tion.”

Four or five days after the assassination
attempt, the Italian daily Gazzetta Nuova
presented it as a Slovak plot.

On September 5, 1981, British TV network
 ITV claimed that the assassination attempt
had been hatched by the Bulgarian and Soviet
secret services.

On September 4, 1981, British TV network
 Thames Television designated this affair as the
“Bulgarian Connection”.

In September 1982, Readers Digest maga-
zine published a story by Clare Stirling on the
“Bulgarian Connection”.

However, between May 13, 1981, and
May 2, 1982, no element whatsoever, that
could be considered relevant from a legal point
of view, had been found to support the argu-
ment in favor of possible Bulgarian involve-
ment - examining judge Martella started a new
investigation late in 1982, following Agca’s
claims regarding the “Bulgarian Connection”.

In the meantime, Agca had been sentenced
to life for attempting to murder the Pope. The
verdict said he acted on his own.

Since then, the claims and the accusations
Grey Wolves start their actions again

As the leaders of the Nationalist Action party (MHP) are tried before military tribunal in Turkey, their accomplices abroad enjoy open support and protection of the Turkish diplomatic missions. According to the report given by Demokrat Türkiye, the chiefs of the Türk Federasyonu (Federation of Grey Wolves organization) organized a meeting in Hanover on May 8, 1982. The Turkish Consulate allowed them the Turkish House (FRG) for the meeting. But on protests by Turkish and German progressives, the meeting could not be held.

The 4th congress of the Türk Federasyonu was held in May 1984 in Koblenz. Serdar Celebi, Ali Batman and Efter Ahmet, who are accused by the military prosecutor of having organized Grey Wolves abroad, addressed the congress. At the end of the meeting, Serdar Celebi, who would be arrested later in connection with the Agca Trial, was re-elected chairman of the federation.

The Grey Wolves again started their assasays against progressive Turkish citizens in Europe in 1985. On January 7, at around 6 pm, Turkish worker Zeki Sonraci was assaulted and badly wounded in Hanover, FRG, by eight activists of this Turkish extreme right movement. Shortly before, these eight persons had been distributing leaflets edited by the Frankfurt-based "Türk Federasyonu" (i.e. the European Federation of Turkish extreme right organizations). Sonraci had refused to accept this leaflet.

The victim had lived for 13 years in West Germany and had taken an active part in the activities staged by the West German trade union IG Metall.

On the other hand, on January 12, 1985, 24 Turkish and German associations staged a
demonstration in Munich in protest against a meeting due to be held at Schwabinghain Hall the next day on the Grey Wolves' initiative. These associations sent a letter to the mayor of Munich, Social-Democrat G. Kronawitter, calling for a ban on the Grey Wolves' meeting. This letter included a statement that Munich was increasingly becoming a center for the Grey Wolves' drug trafficking and arms dealing.

The congress of Türk-Federaasyon was held in Castrop-Rauxel, West Germany, on May 18, 1985, on the eve of the opening of the trial in Rome. On this occasion, they adopted a resolution in support of their former chairman Sennar Celbi, one of the defendants at the trial. Ali Batman was re-elected chairman.

Next, the Grey Wolves passed a further stage at the opening of the trial in Rome: about fifty members of the Türk-Federaasyon managed to get into the courtroom chanting slogans in favour of their former chairman.

In short, Grey Wolves have entered 1986 restructuring their organizations and restarting their violence. Since all their notorious leaders have already been released, it will not be a surprise to see Grey Wolves again playing their provocative role in future if there comes a relatively more democratic period in which left-wing forces have a chance to regain power.
ECONOMIC SITUATION

CHICAGO BOYS' MONETARIST DIKTAT

The military regime rendered possible putting in practice all drastic measures imposed by the IMF. Big capital has been given all privileges to the detriment of working people. Although Turkey can serve debt payments by putting a curb on consumption, foreign debts in total climbs from 18.4 to 24.6 billion dollars in five years. Inflation rate is still the highest among the OECD countries. Growth of GNP remains lower than expected. Annual foreign deficit remains at the same level. The annual income per capita fell under the level of 1,000 dollars. Foreign investments, despite all encouragement measures, are still very far from satisfying Turkey’s needs.
As explained in detail in previous chapters, one of the principal tasks of the military rulers was the restoration of "law and order" and the strengthening of the US military hegemony in the region. This was put in practice by the dramatic economic measures imposed by the IMF and adopted on January 24, 1983, by the civilian government. These measures, which the civilian government could not apply as the IMF wished because of strong social and political opposition, were mainly:

- reducing the workers' purchasing power to restrain inflation,
- encouraging savings by having high interest rates,
- increasing foreign capital and the credit flow by granting them extraordinary benefits,
- increasing export by curtailing internal consumption.

It was not so hard for the junta to carry out the first of the measures, after suspending the right to collective bargaining and strike and jailing all progressive union leaders and officials.

Nevertheless, one cannot say the other measures were as successful.

In the first three years, wage-earners lost 50% of their purchasing power because of the suspension of their trade union rights, on one hand, and, on the other, because the rise in prices could not be controlled. The inflation rate was still over 20% in 1983 and Turkey still had first place among the 24 OECD countries. The new economic policy worked only in favour of big capital. As a result of the "free interest rate" policy, hundreds of brokers were aroused and started to collect savings with the promise of an interest rate of up to 60% for one-year deposit accounts. The banking system was so regulated that it allowed only the strong banks to survive. Already in 1983, half of all savings was placed in the two biggest banks in Turkey.

The same process could be observed in the development of industrial and commercial firms. The total number of stock holding companies increased from 2,406 in 1980 to 7,903 in 1982, while the total number of small size firms decreased from 9,216 to 7,325 in the same period.

Private enterprises obtained on average a 458,362 TL profit per worker in 1982, while the figure was 183,652 TL in 1979.

Unemployment climbed from 2.1 million in 1979 to 3.3 million in 1982; in other words, from 14% to 16%.

Because of the fall in real wages, two-thirds of the factories failed to increase their production. The average capacity usage ratio in industry remained at 59%.

On June 22, 1982, some sensational news upset public opinion: just at a time when the debts of banks marketing their deposit certificates through brokers reached a very high level, the most famous broker, Cetin Ozen, better known as "Banker Kasimu" fled the country for Switzerland, and three companies he owned demanded their liquidation. The certificates of deposit marketed by Kasimu and his side-companies amounted to 56 billion Lira, together with interest coupons.

The main victims of this financial scandal were the small and medium-sized enterprises for whom the brokers had been the only source of financing. The other victims were the savings owners. This layer of the society, facing an annual inflation rate of 50%, could save themselves from starving only by investing their savings with brokers, in return of an annual interest rate of 20-60%.

Although it was the military junta itself which was really responsible for this financial scandal, General Ecevit found a scapegoat in order to save the junta's prestige. It was Vice-Premier Turan Ozturk, who is known as the architect of the austerity measures and had the reputation of "economic czar" of Turkey. He was forced by General Ecevit to resign his post, along with Finance Minister Kaahk Edemir. The Junta named a new "economic czar" Ahmet Basar Kafangoğlu, Ecevit's advisor for economic affairs.

The changing of the "economic czar" did not mean a modification in the economic policy imposed by the IMF. After taking over the Finance Ministry, Kafangoğlu declared that there would not be a major change in the economic policy, but he made public that he had the intention to decrease the interest rate and to lessen anti-inflationary policy in order to satisfy industrialists. What is most important, the new "czar" of the economy announced that, in order to avoid repetition of the "Banker Kasimu" scandal, it would be better to encourage big capitalists only instead of supporting all enterprises.

The daily Hurriyet, defender of the interests of big business, in its issue of June 26, 1982,
announced the opening of a new era in Turkey's economy. "The shock of June 22 has been a new step in the application of the economic policy of January 24, 1988, that is, to carry some changes to be made as regards its objectives without marring any fundamental change in its essence. This new era will bear the stamp of the big banks and finance holdings."

Return of Chicago Boys

Within a year of the changing of the team, it became evident that the Chicago Boys' mercenary policies could be better applied only by the Chicago Boys themselves. The one year practice of the Kalafagla team resulted in a further deterioration of the economic situation. Since, in the given political framework, there was no alternative economic model, the IMF's favourite man, Turan Ozal, reentered the political scene as chairman of an ultra-liberal policies party, the Motherland Party (ANAP). Despite General Ecevit's personal allegiance to him, Ozal, with the open support of international and local finance circles, succeeded in obtaining absolute majority in the new national assembly and was consequently named Prime Minister at the end of 1983.

Following the formation of the government of "Chicago Boys", all Turkish citizens found themselves subjected to a series of drastic economic measures designed to make the lira soar and the poverty and in turn Turkey into an open market for international capital.

Consistent with his electoral manifesto, Premier Ozal unveiled on December 29 the first package of measures liberalizing imports and taking a definite step toward full convertibility of the Turkish currency. Under the new economic program described as "revolutionary" by an Ozal aide, wealthy Turkish citizens have been allowed to hold unlimited foreign exchange deposits in Turkey's banks. Previously, only Turks residing and employed abroad were permitted foreign exchange accounts at home or in a foreign country. For others holding foreign currency was an offense punishable by a prison term. The government also lifted restrictions on travel abroad. Any Turkish citizen was free to travel to a foreign country as many times as he
likes by purchasing $1,000 worth of foreign currency from the Central Bank for each trip, provided of course, he has no problems with the security authorities and with getting a passport.

The exchange rate of the Turkish lira against other world currencies would continue to be announced daily by the Central Bank. But, according to a new government decree, other banks were allowed a 6 percent "float margin" in determining their own transaction rates against the Central Bank rate.

Another decree liberalized imports in line with Ozal's free market program. Foreign goods were divided into three categories: items whose imports are banned; items that can be imported with special permission; and goods not subject to any import restriction. Any commodity not listed under the first two categories could be imported freely, by paying the required customs tax.

There was also a fourth category, consisting mainly of consumer goods, that could be imported by paying a charge higher than the regular customs tax. Thus, wealthy Turks were allowed for the first time to buy foreign goods, including luxury cars, color TV sets, Scotch whisky...

Ozal maintains that foreign competition on the domestic market will force Turkish manufacturers to produce higher-quality and lower-priced goods and will thus enable them to get a better chance of competing on world export markets. In addition, surcharges on consumer products (for example, $400 on a high-priced color TV set) will go into a special fund that will be used to subsidize low-cost housing.

As for exports, the government encouraged monopolistic companies: those exporting goods worth $50 million or more were to get larger tax reductions than small firms. Like every typical Ozal package, this one also included price hikes. Turkish citizens were stunned when fresh prices increases ranging from 11 to 50 percent were announced for State-produced cigarettes and alcoholic drinks only 3 days before New Year's Day.

Furthermore, the Ozal Government increased interest rates on bank deposits. Banks were to pay 47 percent interest on time deposits of 6 months to one year, up from a previous 35 percent. The interest rate for one year time deposits went up to 45 percent from 40 percent. Interest rates for sight deposits, however, were reduced from a previous 20 percent to 5 percent. As an advocate of free market economy and tight money policies, Ozal considers higher interest rates necessary to increase savings and reduce inflation.

The first repercussions of Turkey's new liberal import regime erupted when an importer of bananas from Panama for the first time in more than 40 years. And Turkey found herself invaded in a "banana war".

In view of the fact that Turkey is a producer of tasty bananas, the appearance of Panamanian and African bananas in the "Chi- quita" brand in greengrocers' stalls gave rise to a lot of controversy.

Adnan Kaya Kafango, the Finance Minister of the previous military-backed government, said: "The balance of payments situation in 1984, with an estimated deficit of $3.5 million, does not allow such measures. Even much richer countries cannot venture on such a liberalization program."

In Premier Ozal's opinion, this reaction was a new example of what he called "bureaucratic details". Before leaving Ankara for Davos in Switzerland where he was to attend the meeting of the European Management Forum, he termed the "banana import" a "sword of Damocles" and emphasized the need to prevent "artificial" likes in banana prices.

Although the measures announced by the Ozal Government were the continuation of those which had been adopted on January 25, 1980, when Ozal was the economic advisor in the then government, on the 4th anniversary of these policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund, Ozal asserted that the "January 24 package" expression was out of date and that the Ak model should now be labeled the "Turkish model."

"The systems implemented in other countries are not identical with ours", Ozal said. "Ours is a Turkish model, a Turkish miracle which has a lot of prestige. Why? Because it has succeeded in stemming inflation and at the same time raised the national income by
During the General Assembly meeting of the Association of Turkish Industries and Businessmen (TÜMAD) held on January 20, 1984, two fractions of big business collided with each other: the fraction that had gained its economic power thanks to the policy of "imports substitution" and, on the other hand, the faction that has grown richer over the past four years thanks to the "exports fostering" policy. Whereas members of the former contented themselves with marketing their products only within the country, the second generation of Turkish businessmen made a breakthrough, especially toward the Middle East countries.

The Özal government, by granting trade privileges with socialist countries to 13 firms whose exports reached $50 million in 1982, openly put its weight in favour of the new generation of businessmen.

Consequently, the first generation of Turkish business accused the government of serving the new monopolies. In response, the Government spokesmen reminded them that for 20 years the first generation of businessmen had exploited the domestic market thanks to the policy of "imports substitution", and that it was the turn of those who endeavoured to exploit the foreign markets, thanks to the Government's new economic policy.

Wherever of these two factions was right, it was beyond doubt that Turkey had been in an accelerated process of monopolization of all economic sectors since the imposition of the January 24, 1982 measures, and this process destroyed the "mainstream", a term used by Özal for the masses of wage-earners, little peasants, tradesmen and handcraftsmen, while the wealthy classes were getting more and more wealthy.

According to the dailies Terimcan of January 19, 1984, over the past year 7,082 small firms had been forced to close down through inability to cope with the competition of monopolistic companies.

**Fall of the monetarist policies**

When Turgut Özal presented his government program in December 1983, he claimed this the main feature would be an attempt to control inflation and to reduce its annual rate from 60% to 10% within a 5-year period. 

...
But the 2-year period of his government shows that while inflation is constantly falling in other European countries, it has gained new impetus in Turkey and price hikes have been higher than expected, and all efforts to fight inflation have turned out to be unsuccessful.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Rate of inflation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>107.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have the monetarist policies of the Turkish "Chicago Boys" been successful? The easiest way of assessing the consequences of this policy is to look at figures, such as the GNP, inflation and unemployment rates, balance of payments and various other statistics.

First of all, the Gross National Product...

Although a relative growth was registered just after the coup, it has been stagnating since 1981 at a level which is lower than the 8% forecast in the 3-year Plan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Growth of GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>-1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>+4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>+4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>+3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>+5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>+4.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In view of the annual growth rate of the population which is still about 2.6%, the real GNP growth rate is much lower than the announced rate. Besides the Turkish Lira's loss in value against foreign currencies has produced a negative effect on the national income per capita:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Income per capita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,313 dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,308 dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1,551 dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1,606 dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>974 dollars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>973 dollars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most ambitious objectives of the ultra-liberal economic program was to narrow foreign trade deficit. Although the volume of exports has risen from 2.9 billion dollars in 1980 to 7.2 billion dollars in 1985, foreign trade still suffers from a chronic deficit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Export</th>
<th>Import</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2,910</td>
<td>7,013</td>
<td>4,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>8,567</td>
<td>3,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>5,890</td>
<td>8,518</td>
<td>2,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>5,905</td>
<td>8,895</td>
<td>2,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>7,389</td>
<td>10,331</td>
<td>2,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>7,928</td>
<td>11,581</td>
<td>3,652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(in million dollars)

Thanks to worker remittances totalling 2 billion dollars annually, the foreign deficit has narrowed to about 1.5 billion dollars. But in Europe and the USA, Turkish exporters of textiles and clothing face serious restrictions. There is a considerable fall in the turnover of the Turkish contractors in oil-producing Islamic countries. Because of all these reasons, a rapid increase can be expected soon in Turkey's foreign trade deficit.

On the other hand, Turkey's luxury imports have continued to increase while the great majority of the population is deprived of vital consumer goods and services.

Luxury imports such as whisky, cigarettes and cigars, jewelry, cosmetics, artificial flowers, automobiles of baby foods increased to 130 million dollars in 1985 and this figure is expected to be 190 million dollars in 1986.

According to a survey by the Financial Times, the Turkish companies operating in the Middle East and North Africa obtained contracts totaling 14 billion dollars up to the end of 1982. While the annual turnover of these firms was 5 billion dollars at that time, this figure fell to only 8.36 million dollars in 1985.

Another of Oztal's objectives has been to increase foreign capital flow by granting foreign investors extraordinary incentives and facilities, such as tax exemption. While the total flow of foreign capital from 1954 to 1983 was only 228.1 million dollars, in the last five years, from 1980 to October 1985, foreign investors have applied to the Turkish Government to invest 1,775 million dollars. However, of this promised foreign capital only a third (488 million dollars) was newly invested in Turkey. Furthermore, a big part of this invested
ISLAMIC BANKS IN TURKEY

Turkey, whose commercial relations with the Arab world have expanded steadily over the last three years, has recently authorized two Turkish-Arab Islamic finance operations to begin operations. The Al-Baraka and Fatih Finance, of which the principal shareholders are Saudi Arabia's Bank.

"The two Islamic banks, which were set up in 1982 under the auspices of the Turkish and Arab governments, will be engaged in providing financial services to Arab investors willing to invest in Turkey, and will also provide financing for the development of Arab enterprises," said Fatih Inan, Governor of the Central Bank of Turkey.

In addition to the above, a third Islamic bank, the Ad-Daraj, which will be headquartered in Istanbul, is also expected to begin operations soon.

Foreign capital in the form of guaranteed trade credits rather than a real-long currency investment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Capital promised</th>
<th>Capital invested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>337.5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>167.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>102.7</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>271.4</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>200.1</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1,175.2</td>
<td>404.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is more, foreign investors have repatriated to profits about 500 million dollars:

According to information provided by the Foreign Capital Department of the State Planning Organization, Turkey's capital earnings are expected to amount to $4 billion within the next 3 years. The government's public investment projects, which are expected to generate additional capital earnings, are expected to require $6.2 billion. Of that amount, about $2 million has been secured so far.

Of the total capital requirement of $4 billion, 302.5 million is needed for agriculture, 567.9 million for mining, 247.7 million for industry, 2,547 million for energy and $4,499 million for transport.

The government is also planning to attract foreign capital flows to Turkey, the Turkish Government announced a new agreement with the USA on July 16, 1985, in Washington, covering various classes for US businessmen wanting to invest in Turkey.

According to the agreement, US capital to be invested in Turkey will not be "nationalized" with the exception of public interest. The US business will not face additional paper work relating to investments and US banks will make money transfer at once and no additional tax will be imposed on this. Furthermore, the agreement also guarantees security for US business in case of disturbances."
The daily Camlicrainier of July 18, 1985, reported that businesses of five other countries will also be granted similar guarantees in future.

Foreign debts The principal reason for the drastic economic measures applied for six years was no doubt Turkey’s increasing foreign debt. In order to guarantee repayment of these debts, the Turkish people have been forced to make sacrifices. But the 6-year practice clearly shows that Turkey’s foreign debts, instead of decreasing, climbed to 24.6 billion dollars in 1985, from 16.4 billion dollars in 1980. Increases of 5.5 billion dollars have occurred during the last 2-year period of Özal’s Government.

According to the latest data, Turkey still holds 12th place among the most indebted countries. Of the total foreign debt, 16.35 billion dollars are medium- and long-term debts, 1.05 billion dollars are debts to the IMF, 6.45 billion dollars and short-term debts, 3.26 billion dollars are commercial debts and 3.18 billion dollars are the savings of Turkish migrant workers living abroad.

Besides her economic foreign debts, Turkey also owes 3.5 billion dollars to the United States incurred by her purchasing military materials.

Premier Turgut Özal disclosed on September 16, 1985, that Turkey does not plan to sign a new standby agreement with the IMF. Turkey’s first standby agreement with the IMF was signed in 1976 when the country was in a severe financial crisis, unable to service its foreign debts of around 15 billion dollars and to import necessary goods to keep its industry functioning. Turkey received 1.65 billion dollars in loans from the Fund in the 1976-82 period. Yearly standby agreements, providing 240 million dollars annually, were signed in 1983 and 1984. The latest agreement expired in April 1985.

Despite Özal’s declaration, the planning of the Turkish economy still depends mainly on the directives of the IMF. On September 5, 1985, an IMF delegation of five arrived at Ankara to review Turkey’s economy and hold talks in various economic circles. During the talks, the major issue on the agenda was the impact required for the IMF’s annual report on Turkey’s economy. Although Turkey will not sign a new standby agreement with the IMF, the report to be drawn up by the 3-man mission will be the principal indicator for international money-lending institutions and banks to determine their credit policy towards Turkey. The IMF Secretariat and its Turkish Desk were very satisfied with Turkey’s performance between 1980 and 1984. “Turkey managed to improve its balance of payments deficit considerably, debt servicing continued according to
schedule. "In this regard, the IMF termed Turkey the only success in the whole the developing world. "As such, Turkey was the living proof of how an IMF-sponsored stability programme saved a country from near bankruptcy and converted it into a highly reliable one with a very good credit standing."

But this was only a part of the story. The improvement in the balance of payment problem also owed a great deal to a substantial cut in foreign currency payments at the cost of a decline in growth and industrialization and to comparative growth in exports resulting from the heavy pressure on domestic demand. Viewed from that angle, the Turkish miracle stemmed from economic contraction and recession. Unemployment was up from an existing high of 16 pc to 20 pc. The hope that foreign capital investment would be the life-saver has been still-born. The private sector is not of the pullier to fill the vacuum created by the public sector. The rise in interest rates and inflation was enough to paralyze the Turkish business community which has long been accustomed to easy means of cheap credits.

The IMF is also unhappy about the rather sleepy way in which economic decisions are taken. Like many observers, the Fund believes many important decisions are taken without due consideration for longer-term or larger-scale implication.

The Ocal government seems to have adopted the Korean model as suggested by the IMF, but the model is not fully appreciated, says a high-ranking Fund official. He notes, in particular that although it is a liberal economy, the South Korean decision-making process is highly centralised and economic reforms there were initiated at the grass roots and in the banking system, in a manner reminiscent of a nationalisation operation. As for Turkey, the banking sector seems to be totally out of control.

Moreover, the easy days for an indebted Turkey have already ended. According to a schedule announced in the Turkish press, Turkey is obliged to serve the following debt payments in a five-year period:

\[
\begin{align*}
2,680 \text{ million } $ & \text{ in } 1985 \\
2,357 \text{ million } $ & \text{ in } 1986 \\
2,429 \text{ million } $ & \text{ in } 1987 \\
2,449 \text{ million } $ & \text{ in } 1988 \\
2,074 \text{ million } $ & \text{ in } 1989
\end{align*}
\]

Whatever the text to be drawn up by the IMF mission maybe, it is now clear that the classical IMF approach will not be enough to solve Turkey's economic and financial problems.

Golden years for monopolies

The only beneficiary of the Chicago Boys' economic policies is a handful of monopolies and foreign banks which opened their branches in Turkey.

Already in 1982, according to a survey published by the daily Cumhuriyet of March 8, the process of monopolization in the Turkish economy had reached alarming dimensions: Of 123 economic sectors, 18 were dominated by one firm, 27 by 2 firms, 14 by 3 firms, 7 by 4 firms, 9 by 5 firms, 16 by 6 firms, 4 by 7 firms and 5 by 8 firms. Only 15 sectors were still free from monopolist control.

The Turkish monopolies had also been engaged in a race to control the main private banks and credit institutions in Turkey.

The daily Güneşyurt of March 22, 1982, published the table below showing the distribution of banks by holdings:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sahabah Holding: } & \text{Akbank,} \\
\text{Koe Holding: } & \text{Garanti Bank, Kozaeli Bank,} \\
\text{Cukurova Holding: } & \text{Pamukbank, Yapi-Kredi Bank, International Industrial Development Bank,} \\
\text{Canisoglu Kosmopolel Holding: } & \text{Hasebask,} \\
\text{Zeitounlu Family: } & \text{Ekibank,} \\
\text{Dogus Yarimar: } & \text{Imar Bank,} \\
\text{Ozkacar: } & \text{Tatbank, Istanbul Bank,} \\
\text{Sarac Holding: } & \text{Middle East Economy Bank,} \\
\text{Hemir Holding: } & \text{Workers Credit Bank,} \\
\text{Mitsuioglu Group: } & \text{Teachers Bank,} \\
\text{Erman Holding: } & \text{Türk Sisbank,} \\
\text{Yasar Holding: } & \text{Turgutlar Bank,} \\
\text{Tari: } & \text{Mills Aydin Bank}
\end{align*}
\]

Mr. Ismail Nihat Aksal, the Chairman of the HB Bank, biggest private bank of Turkey, said that the year 1981 had been the year in which the laws, regulations and reorganisation measures of the September, 12 regime had produced positive results. The 1982 fiscal year report of the HB Bank showed a 92.1 percent increase in the total amount of deposits and a 85 pc increase in the total of the assets.
According to the daily Cumhuriyet of October 16, 1985, both the turnover and profits of the 500 biggest firms in Turkey had reached a mixed-bagging peak in 1984. While 52 of the 500 firms belong to the public sector, the remaining 448 are private companies. As the inflation rate was at 52% in 1984, the total turnover of the 500 biggest firms increased by 73%. Their profits also increased by 107%.

British review South, in its November 1985 issue, published the list of the 50 biggest Turkish industrial firms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Sales turnover</th>
<th>Profit/ (loss)</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Total/ Net assets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tigers Walling</td>
<td>3,808.00</td>
<td>28,448</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cessna-Turkey Prensi Ekinler</td>
<td>2,180.55</td>
<td>26,016</td>
<td>1,240</td>
<td>1,680.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Haci Omer Meden</td>
<td>2,220.00</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>1,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Turkish Petroleum AS</td>
<td>1,238.50</td>
<td>23,810</td>
<td>7,277</td>
<td>1,712.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Yildiz Oteliburun</td>
<td>2,265.00</td>
<td>22,950</td>
<td>74,076</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. E 3. Diren Krankusi</td>
<td>384.50</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>57,400</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Profilo Holding AS</td>
<td>330.00</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The Snel Company of Turkey Ltd. Sh</td>
<td>448.50</td>
<td>13.44</td>
<td>51,354</td>
<td>49.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sarote Krankusi Instituto Krankusi</td>
<td>62.45</td>
<td>113.71</td>
<td>62,035</td>
<td>1,116.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Novel Denne de Calis Fal</td>
<td>304.66</td>
<td>34.67</td>
<td>8,032</td>
<td>694.83/695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sabanci Sanat Factorys</td>
<td>383.15</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>57,115</td>
<td>85.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. T. Oto de Calis Sermamet</td>
<td>234.52</td>
<td>(92.7)</td>
<td>59,499</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Petrol de Petrolevy</td>
<td>225.00</td>
<td>17.12</td>
<td>3,312</td>
<td>211.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Turk Airline</td>
<td>275.00</td>
<td>61.52</td>
<td>7,753</td>
<td>154.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Mesko Oil AS</td>
<td>236.71</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>61.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Cay ولكن</td>
<td>229.94</td>
<td>28.42</td>
<td>17,722</td>
<td>174.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Seceal Turkiye Nefet Arkestruc Construction Co</td>
<td>215.90</td>
<td>37.10</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>249.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. 1st de Banco de Banco Turkulohar</td>
<td>100.71</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>2,253</td>
<td>96.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Turk Transfer ve Inzal Mandates AS</td>
<td>82.72</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>50.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pearl Spinal TSP</td>
<td>185.69</td>
<td>13.16</td>
<td>146,101</td>
<td>90.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Aona AS</td>
<td>123.08</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>2,887</td>
<td>66.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Same group Sermamet Jil Sad AS</td>
<td>112.23</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2,883</td>
<td>169.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Alte Armining Kayna ASI</td>
<td>114.27</td>
<td>23.57</td>
<td>71.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Ohein Oldebelde Sad AS</td>
<td>113.56</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>74.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. T.O.F AS Turk Oldebelde Fakultas AS</td>
<td>102.32</td>
<td>9.47</td>
<td>1,744</td>
<td>46.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Olay-Brandon Olayno Pabst AS</td>
<td>112.72</td>
<td>13.24</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>103.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Fabrikas AS</td>
<td>90.16</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>1,084</td>
<td>87.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Fabrikas Tula komunialnyy AS</td>
<td>85.09</td>
<td>29.66</td>
<td>4,714</td>
<td>4,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Fabrikas Bandimka Grup san kaynak AS</td>
<td>89.08</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>91.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Leso Lokal de Sad AS</td>
<td>88.69</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1,104</td>
<td>95.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Urevbo-En Toflim and Euroset Turk Ltd Sh</td>
<td>87.45</td>
<td>13.70</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>41.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Otomeats Odehme de Market-Asar San Sad</td>
<td>82.45</td>
<td>14.69</td>
<td>1,609</td>
<td>41.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Hadi Karami and Odehme Sad AS</td>
<td>81.30</td>
<td>8.66</td>
<td>1,081</td>
<td>41.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Iogos-Industri de Odehme Sad</td>
<td>75.49</td>
<td>(2.5)</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>104.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Metal-mer Metalas Fabrikas TSP</td>
<td>70.23</td>
<td>13.01</td>
<td>1,071</td>
<td>51.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Pelika Parra Sad. de Calis de calis AS</td>
<td>109.06</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>86.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Nisad Alumunim de Sad AS</td>
<td>72.06</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>66.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Ohein Oldebelde Sad AS</td>
<td>60.59</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>203.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Sula de Sad de Sad Sermamet</td>
<td>61.27</td>
<td>(1.88)</td>
<td>4,977</td>
<td>514.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Fabrikas Service Fabrikas AS</td>
<td>61.61</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>65.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. ETS Seydikoy de Market-Asar latoun</td>
<td>57.35</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>7,096</td>
<td>149.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Cukures de Sad AS</td>
<td>52.24</td>
<td>(0.2)</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>52.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Suri de Sad AS</td>
<td>56.02</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>1,012</td>
<td>57.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Ohein de Sad. de Sad de Ohein Sad</td>
<td>52.45</td>
<td>(6.4)</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>157.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Akteh Service de TSP de AS</td>
<td>48.18</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>1,524</td>
<td>53.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Cukures Sad. de Sad AS</td>
<td>48.71</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>81.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Bosta TSP de Sad. de Sad de Sad</td>
<td>48.59</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>4,771</td>
<td>45.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Chrysler Garrett Industriski</td>
<td>45.15</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>56.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Kayra de Sad. de Sad TSP de AS</td>
<td>53.70</td>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>1,871</td>
<td>55.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Univero Elodub</td>
<td>61.84</td>
<td>(3.7)</td>
<td>1,227</td>
<td>(86.46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same review reports that 13 top Turkish industrial firms had placed among the world’s 500 biggest industrial companies in 1984. Another international review, Business Week, reports (on the basis of a survey carried out in 63 countries) that among 1,025 leading financial and industrial firms in the world were 9 Turkish financial and industrial firms.

Fabulous profits Mainly because of high interest rates and amendments in foreign exchange regulations, Turkish banks and also foreign banks operating in Turkey made tremendous profits in 1984. All Turkish banks exceeded their planned targets and broke their former records. Even banks that previously suffered losses, have recovered and made substantial gains. According to data provided by banks, the gain realized by Turkish banks was approximately 173 percent; 11 Bank’s profit amounted to 125 percent and Akbank’s 89 percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bankasi</td>
<td>11,200</td>
<td>24,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Akbank</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>23,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Halk Banki</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Denizbank</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Turkbank</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ulker Bankisi</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sekerbank</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Vakif ve Kredi</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Garanti Bankasi</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Paribank</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Halkbank</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1984 was a year of fabulous profits for the foreign banks operating in Turkey as well. The number of foreign banks allowed to have branches in Turkey has reached 18. The list of their profits in 1984 reads as follows: 11

1. American Express International Banking Corporation TL 4,066 Million
2. Citibank N.A. TL 1,297 Million
3. Bank Melli TL 5,098 Million
4. Arab Turk Bankasi A.S. TL 2,312 Million
5. Banque de Rome TL 1,361 Million
6. Habib Bank Limited TL 1,258 Million
7. Olsani Bankasi A.S. TL 1,092 Million
8. Bank of Credit and Commerce International (London) TL 714 Million
10. The First National Bank of Boston TL 246 Million
11. Manufacturers Hanover Trust TL 1,014 Million
12. Chase Manhattan Bank N.A. TL 1,015 Million
13. The Bank of Ottoman Established in 1956
14. Bank of America Established in 1965
15. The Chemical Bank A.S. Established in 1985
17. Saudi American Bank (SAMBAN) Established in 1985

In comparison with their invested capital, some of these banks made fabulous profits within one year. American Express Bank’s annual profit was 4,066 million TL against its 2,450 million TL, and 15,340 million TL against its 9,250 million TL for Citybank.

Big business not yet satisfied

Despite all the incentives granted by the Ozaat Government, big business is not yet entirely satisfied.

Addressing a meeting in Girnun on September 29, 1984 Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges Chairman Mehmet Vatan, the key figure in Turkey’s private enterprise, said the government had failed to overcome inflation through tight money policies. "Now the emphasis should be on increasing the supply situation and boosting production to counter inflation," he said.

He presented the following 15-point alternative measures:
- The value of the Turkish lira should be increased.
- Special concessions to exporters should be scrapped and funds worth 200 billion liras should be diverted to industries.
- A 10 percent decrease in all public spending (with the exception of investments) to narrow the budget deficit is needed.
- Special middle-term loans for industry with low interest rates should be given.
- 500 factories where production has been stopped should be reactivated.
- Bank debts of companies should be rescheduled and unpaid loans should not face interest payments for a given period.
- The financial requirements of industry should be met through the activation of a dynamic stock market.
- Interest rates on deposits should be decreased.
- State Economic Enterprises should be overhauled and each public industry should be carefully scrutinized.
- Special consumer loans should be provided to create temporary demand.
- Housing credits should be determined according to costs.
- The incentive system for industry should be re-evaluated.

Another top businessman, who asked not to be named, said his recent meetings with Prime Turgut Ozal show that the government has no intention of changing its policies, and that "despite all our warnings they (the government) are set on following a dangerous course."

"The time is up. We have shown all moderation and patience. We have given the Ozal administration ample time to fulfill its economic promises, now we will start criticizing government policies," he said.

State enterprises for sale

On February 29, 1984, after a stormy 16-hour long all-night session, Parliament adopted the controversial bill which will allow the government to sell state economic enterprises or installations to private bodies.

The bill, popularly known as the "Bosphorus Bridge Sale Bill," empowers the government to sell shares in state enterprises or income sharing certificates for revenues generated by state-owned installations.

Prime Minister Ozal said the funds earned from such sales could then be used to build new installations. "Sell a bridge and build another one," was his slogan.

Opposition deputies attacked the bill harshly, saying it gave sweeping powers to the government and one of them declared "Some day we may well see this parliament building sold if this bill passes."

"Free zones" in Turkey

On the directive of General Evren, with the purpose of encouraging foreign investments in Turkey, the Turkish Government announced that free zones would be set up in the region of Izmir on the West and in the regions of Antalya, Adana and Mersin in the South.

Improved by the experience of some Far East countries which he visited, General Evren declared that he would not give heed to critics drawing attention to the danger of creating free trade zones in the country, and he charged the government to prepare the project as soon as possible.

Business circles believe that Turkey has a lot to gain from free zones, provided that certain problems are solved. First, Turkey's chronic problem of inadequate infrastructure is a serious threat for the free zones chances of success. Improvement in communications, transportation, banking and insurance, among others, are of top priority in this regard.

Secondly, the fact that the Turkish Lira is not a convertible currency may prove to be a real drawback. An inconvertible Turkish currency may leave the prospective free zones merely as exclusive areas limited to re-export functions.

In fact, the establishment of free trade zones in Turkey will serve to intensify exploitation and the progressive impoverishment of the working people of the country. The bulk of the capital to be invested in the "zones" will belong to transnational corporations which hold undivided sway in the management of the area. According to the International Labour Organization, there currently exist about 800 free trade zones while another 40 are in the process of being established. Roughly half of them are in operation in countries of South and Southeast Asia. The transnational monopolies are attracted to these zones by the fact that the wages there are only one tenth of those in Western Europe, the duration of the workday is 50 percent greater, while spending on social needs is only one fourth of that in the developed countries. In these foreign enclaves there are normally no laws limiting the omnipotence of monopolies; trade unions and strikes are banned and there is no collective bargaining. Thus the expected "industrial oasis" and "enclaves of industrial development" become zones of poverty (with lack of rights and rampant exploitation of the working people) and outposts of neo-colonialism.
The main victim of the military repression has been the working class as well as other unprivileged classes and strata of the society. The purchasing power of the wage earners fell by 50 percent within five years. The combattant trade unions of workers have been banned and their leaders prosecuted. New legislation on trade unions and collective bargaining deprives workers of their social and trade union rights. The majority of Turkey’s population has undergone an unprecedented impoverishment.
The main victims of the military repression have been the working class as well as other unprivileged classes and strata of the society. While the repressive measures resulted in the working class being deprived of its combatant trade union organizations and social rights, the application of drastic economic measures has led to a 50 percent fall in purchasing power and to a rise in unemployment from 15 percent to 20 percent in a 2-year period.

As it is explained in preceding chapters, the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK) has been suspended and all its leaders have been brought before military tribunals under the threat of capital punishment or life sentences. As for the pro-government TURK-IS, the Turkish Trade Union Confederation, it has been allowed to carry out some limited activities as a reward for its collaboration with the military regime. Sadık Side, the Secretary General of this Confederation, consented to take part in the military government and signed all anti-labour decrees despite violent protests from international trade union organizations.

The 1982 national convention of this confederation was held under the surveillance of the military, and all delegates, with few exceptions, expressed their gratitude and loyalty to the military junta. Nobody talked of the arrest of the DISK leaders and militants. Some delegates criticized the policy of freezing wages, but the arrows of criticism were directed at Vice-Premier Yüregir, not Sadık. Nobody dared to attack the military or the international finance institutions which imposed the drastic measures.

The most striking event of the congress was the re-election of Secretary General Sadık Side, one of those who have been responsible for all governmental decisions taken against the interests of workers. This dual position of Sadık Side had provoked reactions in Turkey as well as abroad. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) suspended Türk-İş's affiliation for the duration of Side's stay in the ministerial post.

Disregarding all the protests, Side defied the international trade union movement and declared at the congress that he had no intention to leave either the ministerial post or the seat of the secretary general of Türk-İş. Under pressure from the military, all delegates were obliged to vote for Side's re-election.

As for the post of chairman... İbrahim Dentziner was replaced by Senket Yılmaz, who is known as one of the most reactionary members of Türk-İş's administrative board. Although he had declared before the congress that he could not take part in an administration together with Side, he changed his view the last day and accepted working beside a minister of the military government.

Following the congress, the first thing the new chairman did was to visit General Evren and present him with Türk-İş's gratitude and loyalty.

During the 1982 referendum on the new Constitution, the Türk-İş leadership gave full support to this anti-labour text after obtaining the keeping of a "check-off" system in the new legislation. Prior to the referendum, while CIA boss William Casey was making a 36-hour visit to Turkey and having secret negotiations with the Turkish authorities, Morris Palladino, the General Manager of AAFLI (a CIA-backed education trade union institute), also arrived in Turkey in order to convince the Türk-İş leadership to campaign in favour of the new Constitution. Right after these talks, it was announced that AAFLI had guaranteed 50 million TL to finance Türk-İş educational complex in Ankara.

Meanwhile the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to which the Türk-İş affiliated, and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), to which the Türk-İş was candidate for membership, raised sharp criticisms against this Constitution.

After the adoption of the Constitution, General Kenan Evren, as the new "President of the Republic," made his first visits to the seats of Türk-İş and the Confederation of Turkish Employers' Unions (TİSK). During these visits, Evren urged both unions to work for industrial peace and emphasized: "There will be nothing like the strikes we observed in the pre-September 12 period."

Türk-İş Chairman Senket Yılmaz and his colleagues welcomed General Evren with great enthusiasm and presented him with a golden plate expressing their gratitude to the military junta.

The last bitter gift from the military junta to the working class was the new labour legislation. Just before leaving legislative power to the new elected National Assembly, the NSC adopted new laws on Trade Union and Collective Bargaining. In fact, the new legislation has
been based on the claims put forth by employers before the 1980 military coup.

The Law on Trade Unions

According to the first article, trade unions are no longer considered professional organizations which protect economic, social and cultural interests, but organizations protecting economic and social interests in the bounds of the labour relations. This term "in the bounds of the labour relations" added to the text specifies that unions will lead their activities exclusively in this sphere. Hence, from the first article, the interlocutors of the unions are limited by their partners in labour relations (employers) and unions are deprived of their particularity of being social class organizations in general and professional organizations of colleagues in particular.

The article 3/4 of the law states precisely that "unions can no longer be founded only on the workplace level." In this case, workers of a given enterprise who wish to bargain for collective agreement with their employer will be bound either to join one of the existing unions or to found a new union which should be organized on the industry level and gather 10 per cent of the workers of the industry.

Unions will only be founded on the industry level and industries will be defined by the government. This implies that some unions would be supported by the government while others annihilated, for it will be sufficient to the government to do away with an industry in which unions would become "too restless".

According to article 5, only those who have worked for three years in a given industry can found an union. The convention of the new union should be held in the following six months and, to be eligible for the obligatory executive branches one should have worker...
status for at least ten years. The reelection to these offices will no longer be possible for more than four successive conventions.

The law lays down the obligatory executive branches as following: the Executive Board, the Board of Supervision and the Board of Discipline. These boards with a certain number of members are set up separately with contradictory powers. In such a way that, between two conventions, the EII will no longer be responsible to the union convention but to the Board of Supervisor. Thus, by its tripartite nature the union administration will be in a state of total confusion and powerlessness, with the decentralization of the power.

Article 28 makes a union’s affiliation to an international organization depend on the exclusive authorization of the government. This is the system which was in force before 1960, and no union could obtain such authorization in that period.

Article 30 provides that: "The employer can annul the contract of the union representative providing that he or she points out the reason clearly." It means that, on the contrary to what is said, the autonomy of the union representative is reduced to nothing, for the reason to courts is nothing but a discussion on an accomplished fact.

Articles 37, 38 and 39 put drastic curbs on trade union activities: "Trade unions can no longer foster political objectives, cannot be in relation or collaboration with the activities of political parties, cannot in any case or on any matter act together, cannot support or be supported by any political party, cannot receive or give aids or donations from or to political parties, cannot act together with associations, foundations and public vocational institutions for political motives."

The commission of a union leader automatically results in an expulsion from a political office as well as his or her condemnation for infracting of articles 125, 148, 142, 144, 155, 163, 166, 171, 177, 313 of the Turkish Penal Code. (These articles mostly are related to opinion offenses.

"Confederations, unions or sections cannot organize meetings or demonstrations out of their own subject matters or objectives."

To remind you that these "objectives" are limited by the conclusion of the collective agreement.

"Trade unions cannot receive aid or donations from international organizations other than those to which they are affiliated or of which the Republic of Turkey is a member, except in the case of governmental authorization."

According to the law, union dues will be determined by the union convention and cannot be taken away by any law for 8 hours.

On the other hand, unions will have the right to help their members to found funds for unemployment, marriage or confinement and co-operative. Unions can also invest in industry.

According to article 45: "The state has the power of administrative and financial control over unions and confederations." Unions and confederations shall submit to control of the register and by the Ministries of Labour and Finance once a year. Unions whose incomes originate from sources other than those provided for by law will be suspended from 3 to 6 months. Besides, the election of delegates to union conventions and of members of the obligatory executive branches will take place under the state judicial supervision.

Provisional articles 2 and 3 of the law provide that: "Any union which has not adopted their statutes and functioning according to the law in 8 months will be considered automatically dissolved."

This obviously takes aim primarily at the Progressive Trade Union Confederation of Turkey (DISK) since its activities are "suspended" and it cannot modify its statute in due time. Consequently, it runs the risk of being considered dissolved by these provisional articles.

According to provisional article 5, the suspended unions whose leaders were indicted for trespass to the person of the state can only resume their activities with the acquittal of their leaders. These unions cannot collect dues or, their members will have the right to resign. At present, among the suspended union, only DISK and the affiliated unions are in such a situation. As for the other suspended confederations HAK-İ (Fundamentalists) and MEB (Islamist) took up their activities again since up to now no legal proceedings have been initiated against its executive bodies till present. Obviously, this provisional article aimed only at the total liquidation of DISK.
The new law brings a set of restrictions on the right to strike.

Article 25 gives a definition of "the illegal strike": "The strike carried out without fulfilling the necessary conditions for the legal strike is an illegal one. Political strike, general strike, sympathy strike, occupation of the work place, slow down strike, fall in productivity and other acts of resistance are outlaw strikes.

"No strike can be carried out running counter to the indivisibility of the State’s integrity with its territory and nation and the National Sovereignty."

Article 47 provides that;

"The rights to strike and lockout shall not be exercised in any way which contradicts principles of prudence, which nourishes the society, or which destroys the National Patrimony."

According to the law, from now on strikes are banned in banks, coal-mining, petroleum, gas-works, coal-gas, roads, fire-brigades, carriages (land, maritime, air and railway), urban transportation. The number of workers concerned is more than 300,000.

Besides, the law provides a set of formalities to get over concerning the strike procedures and the decision to strike. Henceforth, the government will have the right to postpone any strike for 60 days.

The law equally provides for prison terms and fines for instigators of the prohibitions and restrictions or strike and lockout. Unions shall be established on the industry level but, collective agreements can only be concluded on the enterprise or workshop level. Thus, unions will not have the right of industry wide bargaining.

In order to carry out a collective agreement a union must fulfill the following conditions:

- gather at least 10 percent of the workers in the industry,
- gather more than half of the workers in the concerned enterprise,
- prove that it fulfills these two conditions and obtain an authorization certificate.

Article 9 provides that non-union workers can profit by the conditions of a collective agreement concluded by the existing union in their enterprise providing that they pay the union a "solidarity tax."

On the other hand, according to article 11, a collective agreement concluded by a union gathering at least 10 percent of the workers in an industry can be imposed on the whole industry by the government after it carries out "necessary modifications." Once the government has "modified" a collective agreement as pleased and generalized it to the whole industry, it will be impossible to start new collective bargaining in this industry until the term of the imposed agreement expires, that is to say, for two years.

Despite TURK-IS’S submission to all these anti-labour enactments of the Junta, the Executive Board of the KFTU, following a heated discussion, decided on May 20, 1983, to restore this federation’s affiliation. TURK-IS Chairman Selviy Yılmaz told the committee that Side would never regain the General Secretary position in the consideration as long as he remained Chairman and also promised that he would support all efforts for the release of the jailed DISK leaders.

At TURK-IS national congress held in 1984, Sadık Side was re-elected to the Secretary General position. As for Selvât Yılmaz himself, he was re-elected chairman, as well. After the election, Yılmaz and Side shook hands and hugged each other and declared they would work "hand in hand." This strongly contrasted to the statement Yılmaz made prior to the Congress that he would not work with Side as his Secretary General.

After the Congress Yılmaz said that their display of friendship was "not a show" but "a sincere act." Side told reporters: "We were not against each other. The Chairman has been my friend for 20 years. There have been some people who wanted to break us apart but they were unsuccessful."

What was more astonishing in the face of
this sort of hypocrisy was the tacit consent of the ICFTU to the Side's re-election.
Yet, the results of the election were very far from being a real victory for the Yılmaz-Sade duo. While Yılmaz was receiving only 192 out of 349 votes, Side obtained 171 of 345 votes. It was the first time in the history of TÜRK-IS that two of its major leaders were elected with such a low percentage.

Considering the 50-percent fall in spending power over the past three years, this result was not a surprise. Besides, the enormous difference between the incomes of the wage-earners and those of the TÜRK-IS leaders was one of the reasons for the cukur-and-file's reaction against the Yılmaz-Sade administration. According to the right-wing daily Yurttaş Man of December 27, 1983, the monthly salary of TÜRK-IS officials was more than 300,000 TL ($1,000), while the minimum salary was 10,000 TL ($33) and the average wage was 25,000 ($83).

Under these circumstances, the first legal strike since the 1980 military coup started on October 2, 1984, at the Desai-Yıldırım Dockyards in Tuzla. But this move can hardly be regarded as really using the fundamental right of the working class of Turkey, because the number of workers employed was a mere 67 and only 21 of them participated in the strike. While a minority of the workers were "picketing" the dockyards, the majority carried on with their work under the "protection" of Martial Law Decrees.

More restrictions on Trade Union rights

Not satisfied with existing restrictions on trade union rights, Turkey's business circles forced the Government in 1984 to draft a new amendment to the labor code, so as to impose further restrictions on trade union activity.

According to the bills drafted by the Government, the Ministry of Labor is entitled to stop the Labor Court to ban any trade union assembly it considers unlawful.

"Any trade union official accused by the Ministry of Labor of making expenditures not provided for in the labor code, can be sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to one year. So, a trade union official can be imprisoned for sending flowers on the occasion of a ceremony or for giving a dinner in honor of a foreign trade union mission visiting Turkey.

To check if at least 10 percent of the employees in an economic sector are affiliated to a particular trade union which is a condition for being entitled to engage in collective bargaining - the Labor Court shall take into consideration only the registers of the Labor Ministry. Registers certified by a notary will no longer be considered proof.

In the event of a vote resulting in rejection of a strike, the trade union will be obliged to conclude a collective agreement with the employer within 15 days. If the agreement cannot be signed within this period, the trade union concerned will lose its competence for bargaining and the workers will be denied any wage increase until the designation of another trade union for starting up collective bargaining.

The number of government representatives in the Supreme Arbitration Council will be increased. The Government will be represented by three members, whereas the workers and employers unions are both of them - being represented by two mandates.

Therefore, trade union officials declared that, should these amendments be adopted by Parliament, their unions will be turned into "mutual aid associations".

On the other hand, the Government issued, in 1985, a new decree to press employees of state economic enterprises to give up trade union membership. According to this new decree, any employee who gives up his affiliation and signs a special contract with the employer, is to benefit from a wage increase of 10 percent compared with unionized workforce.

In fact, even before these new amendments and decrees, workers had in practice already been deprived of the right to strike. Turkish Press-Workers Union Chairman, Ali Ekber Gökten described, in his statement of March 26, 1985, the right to strike as the workers' most important weapon to defend their economic and special rights. "But when we study the laws in Turkey, we see that there are clauses which aim to prevent workers from using their basic rights or which aim to make the right to strike less effective," he said.

The Chairman of the Health Workers Union, Mustafa Basoglu claimed that practice proved that it is urgent to reconsider the cur-
rent labor laws. The recent adjustments have totally ignored workers, and with the laws presently in force, there is no possibility for workers to strike.

Bayram Merai, the Chairman of the Highway Workers Union, said that the labor code was a blow to workers' rights and free trade unions. "Production should cease once a strike has been announced in a plant. But in Turkey, the practice is rather strange. You announce a strike but the employer is free to forward his stocks to the market or to hire another group of workers and to carry on with production. Who on earth could describe this situation as a true strike?"

According to the Cumhuriyet of January 18, 1985, 37 trade unions had been declared competent to engage in collective bargaining for a total of 1,598,777 employees in 27 major economic sectors. However, the total workforce in those 27 sectors is 2,590,978.

It was announced that in the course of 1985, the competent trade unions would be engaged in collective bargaining for 1,811,068 employees.

The daily Hurriyat of March 17 reported that a total of $30,000 employees in the sectors declared to be of strategic importance for the security and welfare of the country were officially deprived of the right to strike: 24,000 in the oil industry, 81,000 in the coal industry, 62,500 in banking, 69,000 in energy, 46,500 in education, 11,000 in road transport, 28,000 in railway transport, 14,000 in maritime transport, 21,000 in health services, 32,000 in national defence services and 124,306 in municipal works.

Moreover, the Government on March 14, 1985, issued a new decree depriving firefighters and factory guards in the sectors where strikes are permitted, of the right to go on strike. Besides, the strikes of 800 workers in agriculture and 300 workers in timber work which had already started, were banned by Govern-
Impoverishment of wage earners

Whatever repressive measures the government may take, it seems that resistance by the working class will grow greater because wage earners’ living conditions are getting worse and worse due to the economic policies of the present government. Meanwhile TUBK-IS leadership is still unable to oppose to this anti-labour stand. Since DISK is still suspended and its leaders are still being tried before military tribunals, wage earners are deprived of reliable leadership and are obliged to resort to some spontaneous actions.

Workers are discontented with the present situation because they have lost about a half of their purchasing power since the military coup of 1980. The following table shows very clearly the fall of real daily wages since 1979:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Daily Wages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>111.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to a survey published in the 
Turkish Daily News on November 19, 1985, real wages decreased by 19.1 percent, within the last 2 years; that is, since the foundation of a civilian government.

Despite the fact that collective bargaining was again allowed at the beginning of 1984, new wage increases are still very far from covering the rise in prices. The relationship between the gross minimum monthly wage and the monthly per capita income has developed to the detriment of wage-earners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Minimum Wage (TL)</th>
<th>Per Capita Income (TL)</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>101.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>15.30</td>
<td>19.24</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>24.53</td>
<td>34.62</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>41.00</td>
<td>57.00</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the income of wage earners has been decreasing sharply, profit’s share in the industrial added value continuously climbs. According to the daily Cumhuriyet of October 16, 1985:

- profit’s share in the added value rose from 53.3% to 52.2% in 1984, while wages’ share fell from 5.5% to 4.8%;
- the wages of industrial workers increased by only 35.9% in 1984, against 107% of the profit.
- the number of workers employed by the 500 biggest industrial firms fell by 5%, from 625,456 to 597,207.

Data given the Turkish Daily News of February 14, 1986, show also a sharp decline in the share wage earners and farmers have in national income and a correspondingly sharp increase in the share that business has.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Laborer</th>
<th>Business</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>23.87%</td>
<td>26.60%</td>
<td>49.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>23.17%</td>
<td>24.68%</td>
<td>52.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>21.79%</td>
<td>24.56%</td>
<td>53.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>20.23%</td>
<td>24.84%</td>
<td>54.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>18.11%</td>
<td>21.48%</td>
<td>58.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>19.85%</td>
<td>19.50%</td>
<td>62.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1984 World Development Report prepared by the World Bank confirms that among the 43 countries examined, Turkey is seventh on the list with respect to the number of very poor people striving to get their daily bread just to stay alive. In contrast to this, Turkey is also seventh among the other countries whose rich population dominates in number over others in the society.

The World Bank report divided the population of Turkey into five slices of 20 percent each. According to this survey, businessmen and industrialists get the lion’s share with 50.5 percent of national income.

The second group of people who may also be described as well-to-do are the parliamentarians, artisans and tradesmen, who get 19.7 percent of the national income.
The high group are the highly paid civil servants or specialists working for the private sector with a share of 12.5 percent.

The remaining two groups are the lowest paid. Workers and civil servants get 5 percent of the national income. Only 2 percent is left for the clerical poor who struggle each day for a loaf of bread.

The top-siders of the national income distribution was displayed in May 1985, when General Evenn visited the Ulmig health resorts in 1965. He remarked that he was amazed to see that so many rich men live in Turkey. The same day newspapers reported that 14 people committed suicide within one week because they were reduced to a state of dire poverty.

According to another survey published by the daily Hurriyet on May 13, 1965, the gap between the fortunes of the poorest 20 percent of the population and that of the wealthiest 20 percent is rapidly growing. The difference has already reached a ratio of 1 to 16, compared with 1 to 4 in Finland, 1 to 5 in Britain, 1 to 7 in Spain, 1 to 8 in South Korea, 1 to 9 in France and 1 to 10 in the USA.

As a result of the devaluation of the Turkish Lira, the hourly salary rate of Turkish workers which was equivalent to 1.5 DM in 1960 decreased to 0.90 DM in 1983, while wages in other countries were rising in their Deutsche Mark equivalence.

**HOURLY WAGES IN DM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1993</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>16.48</td>
<td>18.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>14.98</td>
<td>16.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>17.25</td>
<td>19.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.I.G</td>
<td>14.14</td>
<td>15.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>18.03</td>
<td>20.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>16.97</td>
<td>19.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>13.23</td>
<td>14.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>16.94</td>
<td>19.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>17.60</td>
<td>19.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10.94</td>
<td>12.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>9.24</td>
<td>11.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>14.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>13.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURKEY</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again according to a survey published by Hurriyet on March 15, 1965, even the most qualified workers in the industrial sector are still badly paid in Turkey in comparison with other countries. Given that a garage mechanic and a turner were paid 100 in Vienna in 1984, their colleagues in other European cities are paid comparatively as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Garage Mechanic</th>
<th>Turner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Düsseldorf</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zürich</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
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<td>Oslo</td>
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<td>Athens</td>
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<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to another survey published by the daily Cumhuriyet on January 20, 1985, the duration of work necessary to buy some basic consumer goods has increased considerably since the application on January 24, 1980, of drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF.

**WORK TIME NECESSARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consumer Goods</th>
<th>in 1977</th>
<th>in 1984</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. Bread</td>
<td>13 min.</td>
<td>13 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. Meat</td>
<td>130 min.</td>
<td>364 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kg. Margarin</td>
<td>136 min.</td>
<td>188 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Eggs</td>
<td>65 min.</td>
<td>89 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 L. Gas oil</td>
<td>9 min.</td>
<td>39 min.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 L. Milk</td>
<td>37 min.</td>
<td>82 min.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, Turkey’s economic policies have resulted in the rapid rise of unemployment in the country. The full unemployment rate rose to 21.8 percent in 1985, whereas it was 15.7 percent in 1980. It should be kept in mind that another 20 percent of the active population are unemployed, and their families live in miserable conditions.

As a result of the wage policies applied by the military regime and the O National Government, Turkey has been turned into a "paradise" for foreign investors from the point of view of labour wages. According to a study published in daily Cumhuriyet, the average daily wage in Turkey was $3.04, as against $11.36 in South Korea, $11.86 in Taiwan, $9.76 in Hong
Kong, $17.52 in Singapore, all currencies which have a reputation for low wages.

During his visit to Turkey in February 1985, the Vice-president of the America Express Bank, George Carmody, expressed his satisfaction in the following terms: “Your wages, unlike a few years ago, were higher than those of other Asian countries. Now they have fallen under the level of them. Thanks to this evolution, your goods have become competitive on the world market.” The Chairman of the British delegation of commerce, Michael Turner, had already voiced the same view: “The wages are so low in Turkey that the high inflation rate has no negative effect on foreign investments.”

The weekly Nokta published a survey spotlighting Turkey’s richest families in 1985. Of the country’s 100 richest families, ten hold a fortune of over 200 billion TL ($400 million dollars) each, namely Koc, Sabanci, Karamehmet, Yaşar, Ercalbasi, Direkler, Yüces, Haznedaroğlu, Kocak and Ercan families.

The daily Hurriyat of May 26, 1985, pointed out that, even if the declared income taxes are considered reliable, there is still a colossal gap between the net incomes of businessmen and wage-earners.

After tax deductions from their gross revenues, the annual net income of the top businessmen has been calculated as follows:

Meheret Ali Yılmaz 554.6 million TL, Yüksek Tatnakoğlu 506 million TL, Sarık Talat 400.4 million TL, Ali Özmân Sömmez 354.6 million TL and Ali Rıza Çakmak 310 million TL.

As for the wage-earners, their annual minimum net salary is only 199 thousand TL and can rise to 471 thousand TL for qualified workers. So, the annual income of a worker getting the minimum salary is 2,722 times less than the average income of the record-holder in tax payment.

Workers’ raising resistance

After a 3-year silence under pressure, the trade union movement of Turkey, with the support and solidarity of the international anti-labour movement, has begun to raise its voice against anti-labour laws and unimportant living conditions by resorting to different ways of protest.

On February 22, 1986, about one thousand workers from all over Turkey converged into İzmir, for the first open-air labor rally allowed by authorities since 1978. The meeting, organized by the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TÜRK-IS) to protest high inflation, low wages and restrictions on labor rights in Turkey’s 1982 Constitution, ironically, this confederation’s leadership has also been responsible for all anti-labour measures adopted by the military regime.

Living conditions having worsened extremely, the grass-root of this confrontation has carried out pressure on the union leadership to take a more active stand and to organize mass actions.

Prior to the rally, thousands of security forces were deployed around the Cumhuriyet Square. As police helicopters flew over the square, police searched most of the people coming to the rally area.

During the meeting, workers often rebuffed Türk-IS leaders for their conciliatory position. The Turkish Daily News of February 24, 1986, commented on this reaction as follows: “Workers from Amasya, from the provinces of Erzurum to Balikesir, from Sivas to Dıyarbakır, had assembled at the rally ground to clearly and vocally protest the economic policies of the government. The Sivas people prepared by Türk-IS were rather dry and came far from steering the crowd who had a rather social-democrat leaning while a majority of the trade union chiefs addressing them were right-wingers. Thus the speeches did not make a great impact. The social-democrat president of the Harp-Is (War Industry Workers Union), Kızmen Durukan, was the only trade union chief who really received a proper ovation. The workers who were not satisfied with the addresses started protesting against Sevket Yılmaz, Chairman of Türk-IS. The meaning of this march was: The leadership of Türk-IS is being dominated by right-wingers and, until the rally, the workers never had proper personal contact with their trade union chiefs, headed by Yılmaz. Their leaders were seen only on TV or in the newspapers. This time it was different. They had the chance to see union leaders in the flesh and hear what they had to say. When the addresses were far from satisfying, the rally, which was intended as a protest
against the government, turned into a protest against the ‘Turkish’ leadership.

"One very interesting point was that the workers who vocally protested against the trade union chief during, and especially after the rally, were unanimous in showing great support and affection for Aydin Green Gürgan, the chairman of the main opposition social democrat party, SHP. The crowd clapped and cheered Gürgan for several minutes and did not allow him to leave the rally ground for quite some time."

After the rally, the police forces took 77 people into custody for having shouted slogans against the government’s policies and the Turkish leadership.

Prime Minister Turgut Özal, in response to the rally, said that the slogans chanted against him were unfair. "They declared me an enemy of the workers, whereas we all know that the engineers of these slogans are trade union lords," he said. Özal also accused Gürgan of having violated the Political Parties Act by participating in a trade union rally.

Theronopoulou, SHP Chairman Gürgan, accused the government of stamping down on the masses, saying: "There is a serious tension within this government toward putting Foreign pressure on people. For a short time I hesi-
tated to use the word ‘fascist’. I was under the impression that early use of this word would bring hatred rather than benefit. But I have now decided to use this word. It is unfortunate that the fascist tendencies in this government can no longer be hidden."

At the beginning of 1986, during the rise of workers’ resistance, DTK chairman Abdülkadir Battırk, the defence before the military tribunal was a new blow to the anti-labour forces and raised the working class’ will to struggle. At the 25th and 25th sessions of the court on February 25 and 25, 1986, Battırk’s defence attracted widespread attention and raised much pressure in Turkey as well as all over the world. Observers from ETUC, ICTU, WFTU and from many other international trade union organizations attend-
ed these sessions and had talks with DSK Executive Committee members and a number of other defendants. The epilogue of Battırk’s defense is as follows:

"The accusation in this lawsuit is based on the hypothesis that DSK and its affiliated trade unions are illegal political organisations. All other events and documents in the indictment are evaluated according to this hypothesis. In other words, the accusation of DSK to
violate the Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code is not stated judicially after the investi-
gation of what DISK has done, but on the contrary, DISK is considered as an illegal
organisation in advance by prejudice and then what DISK has done and indeed in many
cases, what DISK has NOT done is investig-
ated and accused in order to prove that DISK
was an illegal organisation. Thus the claims are
made without denying any evidence, the
accusations are not proven by evidence, on
the contrary, we trade unionists are forced to prove
the falsity of those claims and accusations.

"In my examination, during the evaluation of
the written evidence and in this defence word
of mine, I have proven by the documents of
DISK and official evidence that DISK and its
affiliated trade unions have never had any
intention, material or moral conspiroation, ille-
gality or illegal organisation elements that are
necessary for the application of the Articles 141
or 146 or 142, and I stress that strongly once
more. DISK and its members never aimed the
domination or the abolition of any social
classes. DISK, its affiliated trade unions and
everybody who is tried in this lawsuit are all
innocent.

"In my whole life as a worker and a trade
unionist, I merely and only fought for demo-
cracy and freedom with the consciousness of
my responsibility I bear for the society, the
workers and all labourers. I struggled for a
peaceful future, for love and friendship, for this
PURPOSE I took my place in the struggle for
independence, democracy and socialism.

"I am proud of being a member of the
working class. I have a deep respect and confi-
dence in the minds and hearts of the hands
weaving the future, my brothers. I am very glad
and content that I participated in the fight for
democracy and freedom, through all my years,
both in the Parliament and in the democratic
meetings of the workers; I am very happy that I
had my share in the last 25 years of the trade
unionist struggle of Turkey. I have the honour
of presiding both at Genel-Is and DISK.

"I also bear the great honour of being a member
of the boards of the PSM and ETUC, side by
side with my esteemed friends, the
European trade unionists who showed the best
elements of international solidarity and never
left us alone in the days we were subject to the
most unlawful accusations.

"The iron and stone dungeons, the unlaw-
ful treatment and torture we experienced, all
the things we suffered were not the first and not
the last as well. The clash between the people
who fight for the better, for the happiness and
the ones who are the supporters of exploitation
and oppression will continue further. But I am
sure that one day, certainly and absolutely, our
children will expect a better future, all the
workers will unite the songs of freedom, frater-
nity and peace will be sung in my country and
all over the world. And then the struggle of
DISK and the things we suffered will be
recalled and conceived once more and illumi-
nate the future.

"DISK has functioned within the context of
the 1961 Constitution, the principles of the
110 which were signed and accepted by the
Turkish Republic and Codes numbered 274
and 275 as an independent and democratic
confederation of trade unions, and will func-
tion in the same way. "DISK has always struggled for the rights of
labour, the bread and work of the labourers,
the development of democracy and the free-
doms, the realization of the basic human rights
and freedoms, freedom of organising in trade
unions, and the social rights, friendship and
brotherhood, liberty and peace, preventing
exploitation and oppression, the happiness of
all labourers.

"DISK means the full application of
the 1961 Constitution.

"DISK means the realization of basic
human rights and freedom to carry on collec-
tive bargaining.

"DISK means the freedom of thought and
freedom of living.

"DISK means democracy and freedom
"DISK means legality and law abiding.

"We did what we did for we believed in the
democracy of Turkey and in order to streng-
then this democracy

"The invariable law of history orders to
support what is right and just

"DISK has always supported and struggled
for everything just and right

"Our greatest eye-witnesses are the history
and the social realities.

"Time will accuss DISK and us

"Our share in the struggle for democracy
and the freedom and our words of defence, the
words of whom are seated in the rows of sus-
pected in the Court, will leave profound traces in
the making of the real democracy."
ARMED FORCES

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

One of the initial objectives of the junta was to turn Turkey into a military power in the region and to strengthen, for this purpose, the existing military-industrial complex. The United States has been the principal supporter of this boost with a view to having a militarily strong ally in the area and to opening new profitable markets to its armament monopolies. Parallel to the militarization of the Turkish society, all resources of the country have been allocated to the armament industries. The military's foundation OYAK turned into a giant finance holding.
The declared objective of the military junta, author of the coup d'état of 1980, was not only "establishing law and order", but also strengthening the military power of Turkey. This has also been the objective of the United States which earlier had lost, due to the Islamic revolution in Iran, a very important strategic position in the Middle East. A Turkey to be politically stabilized and militarily strengthened was the only chance for the United States to maintain its control over the region.

Already in 1972 a special low had been adopted for an additional expenditure of 5 billion dollars for implementing the Army's reorganization and modernization program (REMO). After a 5-year rule, the aim of strengthening the military power of the country has already been achieved to a great extent. The army chiefs have reached "satisfactory and pleasing levels" by using all financial and material possibilities of the State and by exploiting a man-power deprived of the right to defend itself by the means of collective bargaining and strike actions.

Strengthening the military power of the country, in fact, was not only the affair of the army chiefs. Behind them were also NATO (particularly its two major partners, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany) and big business, looking for fabulous profits in the creation of a military-industrial complex in this under-developed country.

Prior to the military coup d'État, a study drawn up for the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives and issued on March 3, 1980, said: "In summary, Turkey and the United States still have important issues to resolve between them in the important area of defense cooperation. Turkey's value as a NATO ally and partner of the United States in helping stability and security in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East has been accentuated by the recent upheaval in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. A successful resolution of these matters would permit Turkey to assume once again an effective role in protecting the vital security interests of NATO and the free world."

The daily Cumhuriyet of September 17, 1980, reported that "after the military takeover, the efforts for creating a military-industrial complex with the participation of public and private sectors have been intensified. This complex aims to produce military equipment and also to export high quality steel, integrated circuits and cuttings."

What was the status of Turkey's military forces before the coup d'état? Were these forces capable of defending the country? If not, what were the reasons? And one more critical question: In the case of rearmament of the Turkish Armed Forces, who would be the real beneficiary: Turkey or the United States and NATO? We can find the answer to this question again in the US survey mentioned above: "The Turkish Armed Forces are equipped almost totally with US equipment, they were and still are heavily dependent upon access to US spare parts and supplies. Much of the Turkish military hardware is of World War II and Korean War vintage. Increasingly, older items in the Turkish inventory are becoming difficult to support because US spare parts for these items are, or will be, unavailable. US officials have estimated that nearly 50 percent of Turkey's military equipment is badly in need of repair and is difficult to operate, making Turkish combat effectiveness fairly low. Cannibalization of some major weapons systems to keep others operational has become widespread, especially in the Turkish Air Force. Maintenance difficulties have become severe and training of crews has suffered, leading to additional losses of equipment through accidents. Currently, the Turkish Armed Forces have been weakened to the point that they would find it difficult to fulfill their NATO responsibilities."

A remedy for Turkey's military problems noted above have been outlined by former SAC/STR, General Haig, by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General David C. Jones. Turkey, they have argued, needs spare parts sufficient to maintain and improve the readiness of military equipment currently in its inventory and requires a modernization program to enable the Turkish Armed Forces to fulfill their NATO missions. The modernization program would include improvements to existing communications equipment, anti-aircraft ordnance, antiaircraft weapons, field artillery, munitions and mechanization. It would include some replacements of obsolete aircraft and qualitative improvements in the rest of the Turkish Air Force and Navy. The program would also involve expanded training in the use of the more modern types of weapons systems that have been introduced into Turkey.
such as the UH-1H helicopter; R-4 and F-16; aircraft; Avroc and Harpoon missiles.

"The costs of the United States of providing military assistance to Turkey in order to upgrade her military forces have not been detailed by American officials. Gen. David C. Jones has noted that a figure of 4.5 billion dollars over a 5-year period has been discussed as a possible amount involved. Such an amount would not provide Turkey with "large amounts of new equipment, the current generation," but would mainly improve the equipment Turkey has at present. Although General Jones did not wish to speculate on what specific Defense Department requests might be made of Turkey in future years, he acknowledged that "obviously, Turkey is going to require some continued assistance." It seems apparent that if history is a guide the United States will be requested to provide the largest share of that assistance." (Info-Talk, US Interests in Turkey, 1967, p.13)

The military-industrial complex in Turkey is composed mainly of four components:
1. Turkey's defense budget.
2. The military foundations by strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces.
3. Turkish big business including the Army Officers' Finance building companies.
4. The US and other NATO Countries' war industries.

First of all, since the military coup of 1980, the share of military expenditures within the Turkish national budget has sharply increased by climbing from 15% to 19.6% in 1986. In comparison with the 1985 Fiscal Year Budget, military expenditures increased by 51.8% to 1,300 billion TL. As for the military expenditure share in the GNP, it was 11.68% in 1984. It should be remembered that in the national budget the sums allocated to national education and to health and social services are respectively 8.7% and 2.7%.

The second area of the military-industrial complex is the three foundations for strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces. The Turkish military has been moving towards creation of a local war industry since the Cyprus crisis of 1974 which was followed by a 3-year US embargo on military sales to Turkey. The assets of these three foundations amounted to 70 billion TL (200 million dollars) in 1985.

Turkish Air Forces

The leading one among them is the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force (THKGV). The assets of this foundation had already reached 2 billion TL by the end of 1980. It owns 34 percent of the shares of the Turkish Aeronautical Industries (TUSAS), founded for the task of modernizing the Türk Air Force and manufacturing war planes. The Turkish aeronautical industry cooperates with more than 130 local firms for the production of different pieces. The THKGV itself is also contemplating the production of photographic film and paper to be used at reconnaissance activities of the Air Force.

The major step towards the realization of the Turkish aeronautical industries has been the foundation of the aircraft factory, on November 30, 1984, with the purpose of assembling
and co-manufacturing Turkey's first F-16 fighters.

"We will be overwhelmed in the near future when these planes start flying through our skies," a jubilant Eren told the guests at a special ceremony at Murted Air Base only a few kilometers from the capital.

The initial accord had been signed on May 2, 1984, after US aviation company General Dynamics won the stiff competition against McDonnell Douglas and Northrop.

According to this initial accords, the Turkish-American joint venture for the assembly and co-manufacture of the F-16 fighter is to be carried out by "TUSAS Aerospace Industries Incorporated". This new corporation was set up by the Turkish parent company, TUSAS (Turkish Aeronautic Industries) on the one hand, and on the other, by the General Dynam- ics. TUSAS has a 49 percent share in the new company. The Turkish Aviation Institute (TIF) has a 31 percent share and the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Force (THKG), 1.9 percent. The remaining 42 percent of the share go to General Dynamics and 7 percent to the engine supplier, another US company, General Electric. Under another agreement signed in 1984, General Dynamics will meet through the offset arrangements 1.5 billion dollars of the 4.5 billion dollars estimated total cost of the aircraft project. Turkey is to provide one billion dollars from its own resources and the rest is to be met by US military grants and credits.

Turkey plans to buy eight F-16 aircraft to start with and then assemble and later co-produce 152 more planes over a period of 10 years at the Murted plant.

On November 9, 1984, Turkey and General Dynamics concluded a new accord for financing the project. Besides its direct participation with 1.5 billion dollars, General Dynam- ics promised to assume its offset deal including export of spare parts produced in Turkey as well as other Turkish products of 1.27 billion dollars.

According to the daily Cumhuriyet of October 31, 1984, 1,509 qualified personnel will be employed in the aerospace industry plants. These plants however will produce only 5,000 out of 120 thousand parts of a F-16 plane; the rest will be imported from the United States and assembled in Turkey.

As for the engines of the aircraft, General Electric will furnish F-110 motors which will be assembled in another plant to be set up in Erkisheir.

For the electronic parts of the aircraft, another Turkish-American company has already been founded in Turkey, 51 percent of the shares of this company, named Havelsan- Aynan, belong to the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Forces (THKG), 38 percent to the US company Aynan Corporation and the rest to another Turkish company, TESTAS.

If there will be any unexpected obstacle, the aircraft factory will start to assemble first F-16 planes at the end of 1986. From January 1987 on, the Turkish aerospace industry will start to produce certain parts of the aircraft. And in January 1988, the first co-produced F-16 will fly over Turkey's skies.

Expecting the realization of this project, the Turkish military have decided to replace the aging Korean War F-100 jet fighters of the Turkish Air Force by more advanced aircraft.

According to the daily Milliyet of August 22, Turkey plans to buy as soon as possible 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt, 15 Phantoms and five F-5 from the United States, 170 F-16 fighters from the Federal Republic of Germany. The Turkish Defence Minister, Mr. Yavuzturk, announced that the production of the F-16 in Turkey, the Turkish Air Force will be equipped with almost 100 Phantoms and 170 F-104.

On November 24, 1984, Pentagon an- nounced that the United States decided to grant 12 F-5 jet fighters to Turkey despite objections from Greece.

The FRG promised to hand over to Tur- key 75 F-104 aircraft until the end of 1984, 45 fighters in 1985 and 50 fighters in 1986. All these F-104 fighters are being replaced in the German Air Force by Tornado jet fighters, manufactured by a British, German and Italian Consortium.
BRIBERY CONCERNING F-16 PURCHASES

Allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 jet fighters purchases have gone amok in connection with Ex-Generals Tahsin Sahiltas, former member of the military junta and commander of the Turkish Air Force. In the 27th round of hearings, the Turkish government decided on September 7, 1985, to select the F-16 Fighting Falcon as the fighter it will co-manufacture with General Dynamics. The contract covers assembly and co-manufacturing 160 planes at an estimated cost of 42 billion dollars. The holder of the race were F-16s McDonnell Douglas and F-20s General Dynamics.

On June 25, 1985, General Erven laid the foundation for the F-16 jet fighter engine plant in Elbasya. A few weeks later, the former vice-president of General Dynamics, Mr. Karl Veltkamp, released as an interview with the Turkish military, July 17 the company had given a crown of 12.5 billion to some top officials in Turkey in order to get the deal but he did not give the names of the bribed persons.

However, the American magazine Time, on November 14, 1985 had already mentioned the case of General Sahiltas as one of the bribed persons and qualified him as "one of the senior military generals of the world.

Although opposition circles noted the State Council of Inspection as the highest authority in this field, to take up the matter. Provincial Article 1. The constitution drawn up by the military junta forbids any legal investigation or action against any persons or masses whatsoever. Which by the Council of National Security (the military junta)

Justice Minister Necat Edin laid the allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 issue may be investigating Parliament decides to lift Provincial Article 15.

The parliament, because of the pressure coming from General Erven, cannot act accordingly and the bribed "General Tahsin Sahiltas still keeps his title of "Member of the Presidential Council.""

The Canadian government informed that it would grant secondhand F-104 fighters to Turkey. 10 out of these fighters will be delivered after being repaired at a cost of 6 million dollars; the rest, 34 other F-104 will be used by the Turkish Air Force as the spare parts for the repair of 26 fighters.

The initial agreement for the purchase of 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt has been suspended on Cairo's own objections.

Great Britain proposed to Turkey, during the visit of Yavuzturk to London, the sale of 40 Tornado's fighters, each of the Oman 80 million dollars. But the proposal of British Defense Minister Michael Haeline was later declined by the veto of the British Chancellor of the Excheque Nigel Lawson. British Prime Minister Thatcher also announced on December 13, 1984, that the cesus not before Turkey is a suitable market for Tornado planes.

Another new project of the Turkish Air Force is the replacement of the aging World War II vintage C-47 transport planes with modern planes. Turkish officials announced that they also aim to secure a deal whereby Turkey will be able to co-manufacture the transport planes and their spare parts. Therefore, transport aircraft manufacturers and officials from Canada, Spain and Italy have invaded the Turkish capital for this half a billion dollar plane deal. The Canadians have offered the DCHS-Buffalo or Grisly or Twin tail planes, while the Italians their G2-222. The unit price of the 52 new transport planes to replace the C-47 varies between 5.5 to 12 million dollars. Turkish Defense Minister Yavuzturk said on September 12: "We are looking for a partner. Any of the planes of Spain, Italy and Canada is acceptable to us. But our condition is to set up a joint venture."

Turkey has concluded another accord with the US with the view of co-manufacturing UH-1H helicopters in Ankara under the license of US Textron. 10 out of 27 helicopters will be delivered immediately by the United States, the rest will be assembled in Turkey.

The Turkish military also aim to reinforce the Turkish Armed Forces with the installation of new missiles. During the Spring 1984 meeting of the NATO Defense ministers, Turkish minister Yavuzturk called upon his colleagues to support the Turkish project of buying Harpoon missiles to be deployed in Turkey's Aegean region. Despite the fact that this demand was considered acceptable by NATO circles, the deal has been suspended due to the opposition of the Greek side which claims that the installation of these missiles of 90 kilometer range in Turkish territory will upset the balance of forces in the region, because the French-made EXOCET missiles in the possession of
the Greek Army have only a 50-kilometer range.

Thereupon, Turkish Ministers have stated a new bargaining with the British Minister Heseltine for the installation in Turkey of the British anti-air missiles RAPPIER. According to the daily Milli on August 22, 1984 Turkey has ordered 36 Rapper missiles to Great Brit-
ain.

Besides, Turkey also ordered from the United States Super Side Winder and Sparrow missiles. The United States announced also its intention to deliver to Turkey Matrak missiles which are used from air to land.

Another Euro-American joint venture project concerns co-production of land based anti-aircraft radars in Turkey. The U.S. company Westinghouse offered an immediate cash inflow of 2.5 million dollars and another 1.5 million dollars in equipment, parts and techni-
cal know-how. Westinghouse has also offered to modernize the radars currently in use in the Turkish Air Force's F-4 Phantom fighters. The Corporation is also the manufacturer of the radars for the F-16s which Turkey will co-
manufacture in the future.

Land forces The first step towards the building up of a war industry to produce materials and equipment for the Land Forces has been the establishment of the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Land Forces (KKGV) which has registered a very rapid development after the military coup (that of 1980). At the General Meeting of the Foundation, held in 1983 in Ankara, General Nurettin Erten, Commandant of the Land For-
ces and member of the 5-man military junta, said that the Foundation had made important improvements during 1982 and its assets reached 5,310 million L (27 million dollars). Half of this amount was reportedly donated by Turkish workers abroad. Those donations have been collected at Turkish consulates and border check points either by exploiting nationalist sentiments of the Turkish workers or by forcing them to pay it. The KKVGV owns investments in many enterprises and founded ASELSAN (Military Electronics Industry) to produce electronic pieces and wireless equip-
ment, and later ASPILSAN to produce batter-
ies for military equipment.

At present, the main objective of the Land Forces is to modernize 600 M-48 tanks with more powerful guns and better engines. Modernization of 178 M-48 tanks (transfor-
ming in diesel) was already realized at the end of 1983. The US Defence Department announced on August 4, 1984, that the Turkish Army plans to buy "conversion kits" to upgrade its more than 30-year old M-48 tanks at a cost of 129 million dollars. They will be re-equipped with 105-millimeter guns, replacing 90-milli-
meter weapons.

In addition to the modernization of these tanks, Turkey concluded an agreement in 1980 with the Federal Republic of Germany for the co-production of 77 Leopard tanks in Turkey. Profiting from a 600-million DM Special Mil-
itary Assistance, this project also envisages the supply of other types of weapons, including 2500 Milan missiles.

These talks turned also to the co-produc-
tion of a more advanced type of tanks, Leopard-2. But the realization of this project has been suspended by the FRG for financial reasons. But the press reports that the real reason for this suspension was rather the objec-
tion of Israel which considers the production of these tanks in Turkey as a threat to its security. The Turkish Defense Minister Yavuztöz spécified on September 12, 1984, that "This argument is not serious. If the Arabs can't buy the tanks produced in Turkey, they will buy them from Great Britain or from the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact there are claims that in some Arab countries there are also indigenous tanks." He expressed the hope that the talks with the FRG will be resumed in the near future.

Turkey has concluded another agreement with the United States for co-producing anti-tank missiles in Turkey. US General Defence Cooperation participates in this joint venture with 30.8 million dollars. It is reported that the co-production of these JF-105 missiles will start at the end of 1985.

On the other hand, within the framework of NATO Projects, a tank paint factory was opened on November 9, 1984, in the province of Adapazari (Art Ministry). The FRG granted Turkey 29.5 million DM for the finance-
ing of this project.

As for the Machinery and Chemical Indus-
try Corporation of the Armed Forces (MKI),
Naval forces The Foundation for Strengthening the Navy is the parent company heading creation of naval industry. Thanks to the donations collected from Turkish immigrant workers abroad, this foundation first constructed two speedboats named “Gurbet-I” and “Gurbet-II” (Exis-I and Exis-II).

According to a survey of Jane’s Defence Weekly, reported by the daily Hurriyey of August 23, 1984, Turkey is among 24 countries which are able to produce their own submarines. The Golcuk dockyards of the Turkish Navy have been developed since the coup d’etat to produce Dogan (Larsen) class missiles armed gunboats, landing craft and even tankers. In fact one of the six submarines of the type 209 given by the FRG is being assembled at Golcuk dockyards. It is reported that Turkey will be able to assemble 8 or more submarines at the same dockyards. The Turkish Navy has bought from the FRG the 4 “Meko-200” escort boats. The first two will be delivered in 1986, the other two will be assembled at Turkish dockyards.

On the other hand, 13 LCT landing boats are being constructed in the dockyards of Iskikar with FRG collaboration. Three of these boats and one coast-guard boat have already been launched on July 27, 1984. A few weeks later, on September 9, the first tank landing boat, equipped with two 30-mm Oerlikon guns and 12.7-mm Vikers guns, were launched at the naval dockyards in Emirlik.

It was recently announced that the Turkish Navy decided to build a new naval base in the zone of Akars in the region of Manisari of the Aegean Coast. This new installation to be named “South Western Anatolian Naval Base” costs about 2,772 million Turkish Liras.
always buys arms. We have the know-how and the necessary technology. We should not be regarded as underdeveloped in this field. The NATO defence ministers discuss the new generation of weapons for the 1990s. With the current pace of technological developments, the arms in use today become outdated very quickly. We want to have a part in the manufacture of new weapons systems and modernising air forces. Turkey should be able to sell arms while also buying them."

**OYAK: a new giant**

There is no doubt that the lion's share of the war industry belongs to the finance holding company of the Army officers: OYAK.

As has been explained in detail at the beginning of this book, the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund had been founded in 1961, with the aim of supplying army officers and NCOs with cheap consumer goods, providing credits with low interest rates and constructing low-cost residences for Army officers. But over a 15-year period, this fund has turned into a giant finance holding company, distributing profits to Army officers and NCOs and has developed its collaboration with foreign capital in different fields of investment.

Only one of its joint ventures, OYAK-Renault which produces French-licensed cars, had place among the 30 biggest industrial firms of Turkey with an annual turnover of 112.72 million dollars.

According to the financial report presented to the 25th General Council meeting of OYAK, held on May 31, 1983, the foundation's profitability climbed to 130% in 1984, and all its military shareholders received a profit-share of 42.4% in the same year.

In 1985, OYAK and the three army foundations owned the following industrial and commercial firms:

1. Türk Otomotiv Endüstrisi A.S. (automobile)
2. Motorlu Araçlar Tic A.S. (automobile)
3. OYAK-Renault (automobile)
4. Motorlu Araçlar A.S. (automobile)
5. Agir Diskin Sanayi A.S. (iron casting)
6. Good-Year A.S. (text)
7. Çıkurova Çimento A.S. (cement)
8. Mardin Çimento A.S. (cement)
10. Üreç Çimento A.S. (cement)
11. Otomarsan (automobile)
12. Koytas
13. Sidas
14. OYAK-Karulas A.S.
15. OYAK-Karulas Insaat A.S.
16. OYAK-Kotulas Pazarlama A.S. (marketing)
17. OYAK-Karulas Prefabrik A.S. (prefabricated houses)
18. Işbir
19. Asgilatan (military battery)
20. Mutas
21. Netas
22. Havelsan (military electric)
23. Hava Uzay Sanayii (aeronautic)
24. OYAK-Insaat A.S. (construction)
25. TUSAS (tourism)
26. Aselaan (military electric)
27. DITAS
28. Turgutlu Konservecilik (Canned food)
29. Eti Pazarlama ve Sanayi A.S. (marketing-industry)
30. Hektas
31. Petkim-Petro Kimya (petro-chemical)
32. Petras
33. TESTAS Elektronik A.S. (electronic)
34. OYAK Yatırım Holding (Investment holding)
35. OYAK Sigorta (Insurance)
36. Osman Nakliyat A.S. (transport)
37. Tam Gida Sanayi A.S. (food)

OYAK and three army foundations also have joint ventures with the following local and foreign firms:

1. General Dynamics
2. General Electric
3. General Motors
4. Philips Dodge
5. Northern Electric
6. Renata
7. Good Year
8. Mobil
9. International Harvester
10. Shell
11. General Motors
12. Koe Holding
13. Kutlutas A.S.
14. Sabanci Holding
15. Yasar Holding
Turkey's defence industries, already the largest in the Middle East, were given a further boost by the establishment of a government fund to finance investment in armaments which replaces the foundation for strengthening land, naval and air forces. Prime Minister on November 19, 1985, that it would have an annual income of 350 billion TL (600 million dollars). Its income will come from levies on cigarettes and alcoholic drinks, surcharges on the national lottery and other forms of gambling, a special 5% levy on petrol and other liquid fuel, donations, and from a straight allocations from the budget. It will be administered by a "defence industry inspection coordination board", which will include the Prime Minister, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, other ministers and army commanders. It will handle the procurement and manufacture of weaponry for the Turkish Armed Forces and is also authorised to encourage manufacturing investments, including joint ventures with local and foreign partners.

News of its creation has sparked off a scramble among large private industrial groups to find foreign partners for joint ventures in the arms industry. Major Turkish finance holdings such as Koc, Akçar, Sancar, Ecmen, Teeklen, Poddilo, etc., have started talks with foreign war industry giants such as Westminster, British Aerospace, Plessey, Alvis, British Royal Ordnance Group, General Electric, Dornier, Gec-Marconi, AEG, Thyssen-Henschel, Kraut Mafl, Sankey, Panhard, FMC, INI, Mecer, MAM, Cadillac Gage, Ford Aerospace, Westland.

INVENTORY OF THE ARMAMENTS OF THE TURKISH ARMY

The Turkish Armed Forces today constitute the second of the most powerful armies of NATO. They include more than 2,000,000 officers and men, of which 700,000 are in permanent service, in the case of military mobilisation, 830,000 reserves can be called to arms. In those conditions, the duration of service is 18 months.

LAND FORCES

They are composed of 4 armies which have their headquarters in Istanbul, Mersin, Konya and Karaman. The First Army is responsible for the operational plan for Eastern Thrace and a minor component of armoured troops and those of mobile divisions.

The Second Army is responsible for Central and Northern Anatolia, the Danedrites and furnishes the Turkish forces in Cyprus with supplies.

The Third Army controls the Eastern Anatolian and is integrated into the First and Second Armies, in the operational command of NATO.

The Fourth Army is responsible for the Aegean region. It was created in 1970 and is not incorporated into the operational command of NATO.

The four armies consist of 12 corps, 2 mechanised infantry divisions, 8 armoured brigades, 4 mechanised brigades, 1 infantry division and 11 infantry brigades, 1 brigade of paratroopers, 1 regiment of armoured cars, 1 regiment of armoured vehicles of 40 independent battalions (12 of reconnaissance, 32 of artillery and 9 anti-air). The strength of the Land Forces is 1,000,000 of which 700,000 are permanent. In the case of military mobilisation, 830,000 reserves can be called to arms.

The armament of the Land Forces is in different sectors.

AMMUNITION FORCES: 123-180-30, 50 (Dragunov); 3-500-47; 300 M; 48 M; 250 M; 112; 200 Commando APCs.

ARTILLERY: 39 guns M-11041 of 75 mm; 14 M-10141 of 105 mm; 150 M-58 400 M-1141 of 155 mm; 116 M-115 of 203 mm; 400 M-71; 1105 M-118 of 155 mm; 210 M-46 of 155 mm; 48 M-100 of 203 mm. The artillery has
at its disposal also 1,750 guns of 50, 81 and 107 mm; howitzers of 120 mm; 18 "Honest John" so-called missiles and M-44 guns of 155 mm.

ANTI-TANK ARMS: 1,200 guns of 57 mm; 390 of 75 mm; 800 of 106 mm; also 85 Cobra missiles, SS-55-11 missiles, TOW guided missiles. Field artillery, 2,300 M-119 guided missiles have been ordered.

ANTI-AIR ARMS: 360 howls of 20 mm; 900 guns of 40 mm as well as M-51 guns and 75 mm and M-117-6 guns of 90 mm.

AIRCRAFTS OF THE ARMY: 18 U-17; 2 DH-2; 6 Cessna-209; 3 Cessna-421; 15 Dornier-27; 9 Dornier-28; 20 Beren; 5 T-42; 40 Dassie 1055 training planes; 106 Augusta Bell 204/7 helicopters, 30 Bell 47G, all LH-10 and 30 TH-300. Besides, 27 LH-11 helicopters have already been ordered.

AIR FORCES

Their strength is 53,000 men (of which 40,000 are permanent). 66,000 reserve troops can be called to arms in the case of mobilization.

The Air Force is composed of 4 commands 2 tactical and 1 training.

13 SQUADRONS 525 BOMBERS, of which 2 are equipped with 40 F-5A and 17 F-5E; 2 with 40 F-100, 4 P-57/58 with 80 F-5E and 8 NF-5E, and 3 squadrons with 50 F/F-104G.

2 SQUADRONS OF CONTAINMENT, equipped with 70 T-34.

1 RECONNAISSANCE SQUADRON, equipped with 20 RF-5A and F-105.

2 TRANSPORT SQUADRONS: 2 equipped with 40 C-130 and 20 C-160, 3 squadrons equipped with 30 C-47 A and one squadron with "VAF", 2 standard, 12 helicopters UH-1D/H and 5 UH-1D. 3 SQUADRONS OF FIGHTERS SQUADRONS. They have already dispose 40 T-33A, 2C-47A and 2 UH-1 helicopters.

2 TRAINING SQUADRONS. Equipped with 23 T-34, 25 T-37 60 T-38 and 30 T-44.

There are also 30 VARIOUS MISSION SQUADRONS which have at their disposal 36 F/100/P and 20 F/T-104 and another VIP fleet with 2 C-47A.

AIR-MISSILES 750 Super Sidewinder AIM-9P as well as Sidewinder, Sparrow, Falcon and Shakti missiles.

AIR S.O.L. MISSILES AS-12, Bullpup and Maverick.

There are also 8 SOL-AIR squadrons equipped with 36 Nike-Hercules and 36 Nike Ajax.

NAVAL FORCES

The strength of the Navy is 46,000 men (of which 10,000 are permanent). 70,000 on reserve troops can be called to arms in the case of war.

There are 5 naval bases in Turkey, Göcek, Izmir, Istanbul, Izmir, and skenderun.

SUBMARINES: 5 type 209, 10 ex-US Guppy, 1 Tangan, 1 ex-US Balao.

DESTROYERS: 9 Gearing (2 leased, 5 with 14"8 ARMOR, 4 Fletcher, 2 Tumier, 2 Carpenter and 2 Sand person carrying 1 helicopter).

PATROL BOATS: There are 13 patrol boats with missiles and 8 with torpedoes. In detail: 4 type Degan (Lurssen type 209), 5 with 4 Harpoon GEM (3 Karak 7114, 1 Jaguar) and 4 Penguin 2 GS4, 9 boats with Jaguar torpedoes and one with type Gime.

MINELAYERS: 1 type hulaj and 9 coastal minelayers.

MINESWEEPERS: 12 type US, 46 ex-Can MCB, 6 ex-Vegasack capstall 4 US Cape.

There are also 72 landing ships of different types, 56 auxiliary ships of which 4 transport and 23 patrol boats.

Other ships have already been ordered. One submarine Tyu 209, 4 frigates Melo-202, 2 Leray carrying missiles, 13 landing ships as well as Harpoon passive.

The fleet is also comprised of one ams-such-turkinye unity, equipped with 18 S-2E aircraft and 7 AS-20B and 7 AS-212 helicopters.

The Marines Brigade is a 3,000 man unity which is composed of a headquarters, operation battalions, an artillery battalion and a unity of support.

FORCES IN CYPRUS

This total above should be added a Corps comprising 2 infantry divisions total strength: 17,000 which is charged with maintaining occupation regime in the northern part of Cyprus. This corps has at its disposal 150 armored tanks and vehicles (M-47/48 and M-113) as well as 212 guns of 105 and 155 mm. It has also Howitzers of 203 mm and anti-aircraft guns of 40 mm.

(Sources: Turkey Almanac 1983, America's ILLS, The Military Balance 1983-1984, London, 1984. It must be understood that the data given above do not include the last orders of arms which are explained in the preceding pages.)
GROWING
U.S. MILITARY
PRESENCE

Eliminating all obstacles thanks to the coup d'etat, the United States have concluded new military and economic agreements with Ankara, and Turkey has become a key strategic site on the nuclear frontline. The country is deeply involved in the nuclear build-up and bristles with U.S. communication and spy stations. Turkey's enhanced role fits in well with NATO's new military strategies, which are focusing more and more on areas to the south of Europe and moving farther and farther away from NATO's traditional battlefields.
Just after the military coup d'état, on October 17, 1980, a communiqué issued after the high level Turco-USA talks in Ankara said: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of Turkish defence relations through mutual efforts and that the progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as multilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO alliance." One of the immediate consequences of the military coup was the ratification, by the Sman Junta, of the Defence Cooperation Agreement between Turkey and the United States. This agreement which had been confronted with the opposition of the majority of the pro-coup Parliament laid down the basic principles of bilateral defence relations and assured continuing operation of the key US bases in Turkey.

Benefiting from the restored "stability" in Turkey, General Rogers, Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, visited Turkey twice and had talks with General Ecen. The immediate result of these contacts was Greece's surprise return to the military wing of NATO.

The second step in the direction of developing Turco-American military cooperation was the establishment in December 1981 of a "Joint Defence Council" charged with defining the common military needs and finding solutions and also with deciding the US contribution to the Turkish war industry. On that occasion, US Defense Minister Caspar Weinberger, during his visit to Turkey on December 6, 1981, said: "The Turkish military government has fulfilled our highest expectations since assuming power. We particularly admire the way in which law and order have been restored in Turkey. This is to say, an admiration for mass arrests, tortures, life imprisonments, executions, press censorship, suppression of the right to collective bargaining and strikes, etc...." During a press conference held in January 1982 by US State Secretary Haig following the NATO meeting, in Brussels, a British journalist suggested that there was a double standard in sharply criticizing the Polish regime while not criticizing military rule in Turkey and other pro-Western states.

On this question, Mr. Haig virtually exploded in anger at the British journalist and praised the Turkish generals. This double-faced defence of Turkish generals was reflected in the pro-junta Turkish press with a great appreciation and the Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Turkmken regretted that other allies of Turkey cannot take such a far seeing stand.

In a world-wide TV show on Poland produced by the United States on February 1, 1982, Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit was presented as the defender of freedoms despite the fact that his military-backed government carried on a brutal repression in his own country. Even the International Herald Tribune said: "It was neither entertainment nor intelligent propaganda. 'Poland be Poland'- a phrase whose actual emptiness expressed the political as well as moral vacuum at the center of the enterprise. The presence of the military dictator of Turkey, deploring the existence of a military dictatorship in Poland, notably contributed to this aspect of the affair."

At the General Assembly of the United Nations in February 1982, the Turkish delegation abstained from voting for the resolution condemning the annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel. Foreign Minister Turkmken said that this abstention was due to a request in the resolution which accused also the United States. On this vote, the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Kaddumi postponed his visit to Turkey.

US Secretary of State Haig, in another diplomatic offensive, confirmed his government's support to the Turkish military regime during his visit to Ankara on May 14, 1982. But the Gulf War and the Middle East appeared to have been the principal issue discussed at his talks with General Ecen. It was emphasised at the end of the visit that all the discussions were held inside a NATO context, implying that Turkey did not deal bilaterally with the United States in this affair. But a few days later, the Ministerial Council of NATO, held on May 17-18 in Luxembourg, declared in its final communiqué that "Some members of the NATO can take certain measures for defending any region out of the NATO zone." This was a ray of light for bilateral cooperation between Turkey and the United States to station the Rapid Deployment Force in Anatolia.

The summit of NATO held on June 10, 1982, in Brussels, declared a "common interest in the security, stability and sovereign independency of the countries outside the NATO area" and readiness of the members of the alliance to "contribute either directly or indirectly" to
ensuring them. Having taken the US Rapid Deployment Force under its wing, the NATO Summit has authorized Turkey to open Turkish territories to this force.

In order to accelerate the preparation for the stationing the RDF in Anatolia, General Rogers, Supreme Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, Admiral Crowe, Commander of Southern European Allied Forces visited Turkey in June and July 1982. With the spirit of "cooperation", the military junta has permitted the flights of U-2 spy planes and of AWACS from air bases in Turkey.

More than 250 Turkish and American businessmen met in Istanbul on October 3-6, 1982, to discuss in pursuit the prospects of boosting Turkish-American economic cooperation. "Turkey is capable of becoming the breadbasket of the Middle-East," Burke McGowen, an American banker, said in an interview. "Investors in a foreign country are primarily interested in the durability of the administration of that country." The President of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, Ali Koçman announced that "Turkish businessmen offered the American numerous projects to develop jointly. American businessmen are considering using Turkey as an economic outlet to produce here and export to the Middle and Near East area."

On October 7, 1982, it is the first time that the US Rapid Deployment Force took part in the NATO manoeuvres code-named "Determination 82" carried out in Turkey and landed troops from the air in the area of Kesan of the Turkish Truce. Just before the referendum on the new Constitution, CIA Chief William Casey made a 36-hour visit to Turkey and held talks with Turkish authorities. Responding to a question, Turkish Premier Ulusoy declared that he could not reveal the subject discussed with the CIA chief.

On October 31, 1982, Turkey and the United States reached an agreement to improve and modernize the facilities of an undisclosed number of Turkish air bases for use by US Forces in case of major crisis or war. Turkish Defense Minister also declared that cooperation in the military field was being contemplated with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Tunisia. A few days later, on November 4, 1982, Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan, during his visit to Ankara, announced that Egypt was ready for a strategic cooperation with Turkey. On November 15, 1982, US Ambassador Robert Strauss-Heppe told the Turkish Press that there were plans for stockpiling military equipment at Turkish airfields which were to be modernized under the new Turkey-American agreement. What is most important, two big chiefs of the NATO Alliance, US President Reagan and West German Premier Helmut Kohl, announced in a joint communiqué issued on November 17, 1982, in Washington that both countries would support the Turkish Government's efforts to return to democracy. The issue of Turkish support to the Rapid Deployment Force gained a new dimension with the signing of a new agreement between Turkey and the United States on November 29,
1982, in Brussels. This agreement stipulated building new airfields in Turkey and modernizing the existing ones, and gave the US the right of military storage on Turkish soil. In the meantime, it was announced in Washington that the US had set up a new military command in the Middle East for defending US interest in the Gulf Area and Indian Ocean.

On April 17, 1984, the Turkish daily Hurriye reported that, for making them suitable to NATO standards, the military airfields in Gariantep and Dalaman were being built in Erzurum. When these works were completed, the most sophisticated aircraft of the NATO Alliance would be able to land and take off from these airfields. All these works are estimated at 16 million dollars.

Another facility provided by the Turkish side is that the maintenance and repair of AWACS planes flying over Turkey are carried out by the Turkish maintenance workshops at the Yeşilköy Airport in Istanbul. These workshops are charged also with the maintenance of other military planes in NATO's service such as C-5, C-141 and A-4K (Hurriye, October 25, 1984).

In return of all these facilities, the United States first increased its "aid" to Turkey up to 547 million dollars in 1981, 703 million dollars in 1982.

Has it been sufficient for covering Turkey's military expenditures?

First of all, one should be reminded that an underdeveloped country such as Turkey is obliged, due to her engagements in the NATO Alliance, to spend 11.68 percent of her Gross National Product, while this percentage was 4.54 percent for Greece, 3.57 percent for Portugal, 1.64 percent for the Great Britain, 1.20 percent for the United States and 0.79 for the FRG.

According to a report from the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which appeared in the press on May 16, 1984, the total military spending of Turkey for 1982 was 3.4 billion dollars.

Turkey assigned 19.8 percent of the State budget to military expenditures in 1983, while this percentage was only 10.4 for education services and 3 percent for health services.

But neither the Turkish military nor the United States considers this sacrifice sufficient for the strengthening of Turkey.

A Middle-East specialist in the United States estimated in his survey published by the Orbis Magazine that the Turkish Army needed at least 18 billion dollars over a 15-year period for reaching NATO's minimum armaments standards (Hurriye, December 24, 1983).

Although the United States had raised the sum of military "aid" to Turkey after the military coup d'état, it was very far from reaching the needs of modernization and rearmament of the Turkish Army. In order to persuade the United States to give a higher contribution to the military expenditure of Turkey, Süleyman Demirel, the Turkish ambassador to Washington, illustrated the strategic importance at the Conference of Turkish and American Businessmen held on September 15, 1984 in Istanbul, as follows:

- Turkey is the only NATO country which shares a 1200-mile frontier with the Soviet Union (300 miles in the East and 900 miles at the Black Sea).
- The Turkish Straits are the only means to control the passage of the Soviet Navy from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea.
- Turkey constitutes the only barrier between the Communist world and the Arab Peninsula. She is in a position of preventing a Soviet penetration to the Eastern Mediterranean.
- Turkey defends 33 percent of the frontiers between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.
- The US Forces in Turkey take advantage of using data gathering stations in this country.
- Turkey assures good relations of Arab countries with United States and plays the role of static, protecting the State of Israel.
- The Turkish Army, with its available force of 220,000 men, is the second most powerful NATO army behind the US Army. The force of the Turkish Army is superior to the total of the armed forces of Greece, Gr. Britain, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Canada. (Cumhuriye, September 16, 1984).

However, Turco-American relations do not always develop evenly. For example, while U.S. peshmak elections were drawing near in 1984, the relations started to take a turn for the worse as a result of some Congress resolutions. Although the 1980 Coup was encouraged and supported enthusiastically by Washington, and Turkey had distinguished herself over the past four years as the USA's most
TURKISH WORKERS BEATEN UP BY US MILITARY POLICE

On March 13, at the end of the day, workers at the US airbase at Incirlik, a city located in south Turkey, were preparing an usual to leave the base to go home. At the exit, they were stopped by 35 heired US MP, led by a squareup commander, who started searching the workers. But these, along with their own representatives the HAMP US trade union, refused to the body search which was not in conformity with current laws. Then, the MP commander ordered his men on the spot to use force.

The MOP, brandish by police dogs, charged into the workers. As a result, six of them were injured, two of whom had to be transferred to a hospital.

Thanks to the marital face of the MP on the other hand, neither the local martial face nor the protective district concerned to receive a National Assembly member speaking for the workers.

The US air base at Incirlik had become famous at the time when a US-2 plane took off from there and shortly after was shot down, it was being over the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the base is also being used to threaten Middle East countries.

On September 18, 1984, the US House passed by voice vote the aforesaid resolution, which was followed by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee decision calling for Armenian claims to be considered in the conduct of US foreign policy and referring to parts of Turkey as Armenian homeland for the past 2,500 years.

Despite the fact that more than one million Armenians had been massacred or deported in the late 19th and 20th century by the Ottoman Empire's rules, the successive governments of the new Republic of Turkey have persisted in denying categorically this fact.

Following the Congress resolution, Turkish Premier Ozal warned the United States that "friendly" bilateral relations could suffer damage "difficult or sometimes impossible to repair."

Ozal's statement appeared to have been prompted by the uproar in Turkish press and parliament over the US Resolutions. "We submit toбуд舒服 that these resolutions lend support to international terrorism, aimed also at US citizens, including in particular the criminal acts of ASALA and other similar terror organizations."

On the contrary, the supporters of the Resolutions claimed that it was international indifference to the Massacre of Armenians that gave way to growing violence by young Armenians and that the Congress resolutions were likely to stem the escalation.

Another move which angered Ankara was a cut in US "aid" to Turkey. The Appropriations Committee of the US House of Representatives, while approving a 17.8-billion dollar foreign aid bill for 1985, called for a cut of 215 million dollars worth of "assistance" to Turkey. The Reagan Administration had proposed a 755-million dollar "military aid" package to Turkey. The House panel approved 540 million dollars for Turkey and the amount cut from the Turkish assistance was appropriated to the economic aid extended to the Philippines.

Earlier, a provision in the Senate authorization bill would hold up 215 million dollars aid until the Turkish Cypriots handed over the city of Varosha to the Greek Cypriots. As for the House Appropriations Committee, it included in its decision a statement saying that Congress hopes Turkey will be able to use its influence with the Turkish community on Cyprus in moving toward a settlement in finding a solution to the problems that have divided the island for 10 years.

Thereupon, the Populist Party (HP) demanded an extraordinary session of the Turkish Parliament immediately to discuss the subject. A motion tabled by this party said the decisions of the US Congress cannot be just swept aside with a mere condemnation by the Turkish Foreign Ministry and recommended that "this decision, which has deeply hurt the Turkish nation, should get a due reply."

However, Necmettin Karaduman, the Speaker of the National Assembly disclosed on
September 14 that there would be no extraordinary session in Parliament to discuss the US Congress decision.

In fact, in spite of the uproar in the Turkish press and political parties, General-President Evren and his Prime Minister Turan Oral preferred to follow a "wait and see" policy. In their view, the US Congress Resolutions were merely maneuvers of some politicians who were seeking support of Armenian and Greek lobbies for the coming US elections. The Government's spokesmen stated their confidence in Reagan's policy and claimed that after the elections all these initiatives "out of narrow and short-term political considerations" would be brushed aside.

This moderate response of Turkey's rulers became the subject of varying comments in the Turkish press.

One of Turkey's most influential daily newspapers, Głosyodyne, claimed on September 19, without daring to allude to General Evren, that Oral's "wait and see" policy resulted from fear.

"Oral does not wish to make himself a target for the USA," the newspaper said.
"Therefore, he acts cleverly. He knows well enough that whoever got into a scramble with the US lost in the end. Rumors that blackmail by the chairman of the Democrat Party was what underlay the May 27, 1960, incident, sent former prime minister Adnan Menderes to the gallows in 1961 for crimes against the State. When the USA in the late 1950's refused to give him the 350 million dollars he had requested, Menderes said, "If you don't give it to me, I'll get it from the Soviets." The extension of Silmarbank plants and the setting up of Çairova Glass Industries were two of the things achieved, thanks to progress he made during that period. Menderes said that he might even visit the Soviet Union. Oral is careful and cautious, he wants to get out of this matter in good time without harming our higher interests. That is the reason for his cool-headedness."

It is rather ironic that on the day this article was published, a high-powered Soviet foreign trade delegation flew out of Turkey after signing a trade agreement to increase annual trade volume from 300 to 600 million dollars in a year. Foreign Trade Undersecretary Ekrem Pekdemirli said that natural gas would be purchased from the Soviet Union for a period of 25 years starting in 1987.

According to the 1985 Trade Protocol, Turkey would export hazel nuts, citrus fruits, beans, meat, tobacco, olive oil, textile products, ground barite, chemical materials and various industrial products to the USSR. Conversely, Turkey was to import from the USSR machines and equipment, crude oil, electrical energy, steel rods, timber and cellulose.

It should also be pointed out that this agreement enlarging the export of Turkish textile products to the Soviet Union was concluded just after a US restriction on Turkish textile exports. As explained in preceding chapters, both the military coup of General Evren and the monetarist policies of Turgut Oral have not only been welcomed and supported but also imposed by the US. Over the past five years, it is the United States that have been the main supporter of the military regime. Both Evren and Oral are very well aware of the fact that without US support their anti-democratic and anti-popular policies could never have been enforced and applied and that they would have been doomed to total isolation in the international arena.

In this respect, the military regime has already paid the price of this US support by concluding a lot of both military and commercial bilateral agreements with the United States. The reopening of the US military bases, modernization of Turkish air fields so as to enable their possible use by the US Rapid Deployment Forces, permission given to US spy planes and AWACS radar planes to fly over Turkey, US participation in Turkey's war industry, purchasing of 160 F-16 aircraft from General Dynamics at an overall cost of 4,200 million $ and a 300 million $ order for a new electronic telephone system from ITT are the main items of the enlarged collaboration program with the US.

As for Turco-Soviet economic and commercial relations, the US have no objection to their extension as far as Turkey complies with the restrictions imposed by COCOM (Coordination Committee for the Restriction of Strategic Exports). As seen in the case of US pressure on the Belgian export of boring and milling machines to the Soviet Union, many restrictions likewise, have already been imposed by COCOM on Turkish export of strategic items and materials to socialist coun-

□ 320 □
TURKEY ON THE NUCLEAR FRONTLINE

Since the fall of the Shah of Iran, two nuclear threats have emerged, one from nuclear-armed Iraq and another from Libya. The fall of the Shah of Iran has led to a nuclear arms race in the Middle East, with several countries developing nuclear weapons.

Turkey has become a key strategic ally for the US and NATO to monitor the nuclear arms race in the region. Turkey is home to several US military bases and is a key base for NATO forces in the Mediterranean region.

Turkey is also home to several US military bases, including Incirlik Air Base, which is a key strategic location for monitoring the nuclear arms race in the region. Turkey is also a key ally for NATO in the Mediterranean region, providing a strategic location for monitoring the nuclear arms race in the region.

The nuclear arms race in the Middle East has led to increasing tensions between Turkey and its neighbors, including Iran and Syria. Turkey has been a key ally for NATO in the region, providing a strategic location for monitoring the nuclear arms race.

Turkey's nuclear arms race with Iran and Syria has led to increasing tensions in the region, with Turkey taking a leading role in monitoring the nuclear arms race in the region. Turkey's nuclear arms race with Iran and Syria has led to increasing tensions in the region, with Turkey taking a leading role in monitoring the nuclear arms race in the region.
tries, and all Turkish governments have obe-
diently accepted these restrictions.

For all these reasons, it would be very naive to
claim that the said tension in Turco-
American relations results in a radical change
in Turkish foreign policy.

In fact, after President Reagan's rejection,
Premier Oral made a very "satisfactory" visit to
the United States in April 1985.

This first official visit of a Turkish Premier
after a 15-year interval, was an occasion for
President Reagan to express his admiration for
his guest. "You are, he said, a loyal friend and
an important ally." The chief of the White
House also promised Oral to assign to him for
the next fiscal year $ 399 million in aid and
credits: $ 75 million for the military and
$ 150 million for Turkey's economic needs, an
amount which was higher than the aid decided
by the US Congress for all African countries
suffering from hunger.

Oral had hoped for at least $ 1.2 billion in
to modernize the Turkish Armed Forces.
The promised aid, according to the Belgian
daily Le Soir of April 9, was rather small in
comparison with US aid to Israel and Egypt,
particularly if one takes into consideration the
strategic importance of a country which was
labelled by State Secretary Schulze as a "nat-
ural barrier against Soviet expansionism".

Nevertheless, the same newspaper reported
that, during the Greek threat to close down
the US military facilities on Greek territory in
December 1985, at the expiry of the contract
signed in 1983, in the event of Papandreou win-
ning the anticipated general election (which
was expected to be held in June 1985), the
Reagan administration might not hesitate for a
long time between Turkey and Greece.

According to the Turkish press, Oral gave
President Reagan his guarantee that, in the
event of Greece persisting in its intentions,
Turkey would be ready to welcome the US
military installations and the maintenance
facilities of the US Sixth Fleet. In return, the
US President promised Oral to counter the US
Congress' tendency to protectionism for pre-
venting an increase in Turkish exports to the
United States.

After this visit, the military; presence of the
United States and NATO gained impetus. The
following press excerpts give a better idea on
this escalation:

The German review Stern announced in its
July 1985 issue that a British spy plane, "Black
Bird SR-71," had been fueled on a military air
base in Diyarbakir, Turkey, for its reconnoit-
sance flight over Soviet aircraft carriers and
naval arsenals at the Black Sea.

In September 1985, a military report sub-
mitted to the US Congress revealed the follow-

ing facilities given by Turkey to the United
States:

- All underground and surface nuclear
  experimental explosions of the Soviet Union
  are listened to by the US installations in
  Turkey.
- 25 percent of intelligence on the Soviet
  regions where missiles have been reassembled
  can be carried out only by the US installations
  in Turkey.
- 20 percent of the fuel provision of the US
  6th Fleet is made in the Turkish ports.
- US military presence in the Murs and
  Batman bases constitute an obstacle against
  any Soviet intervention to the Middle East and
  the Gulf Area.

On February 1, 1986, The Wall Street Journal reported that Turkey's strategic impor-
tance has grown since the construction of new
dredges which start from Iran and run to the
Mediterranean Sea by passing through Tur-
key's south-eastern territories. These new pipe-
tines have also decreased the strategic impor-
tance of the Iranian Gulf. While 41 percent of
the oil exported to Western countries were
being sent from the Gulf, ten years ago, today
this has fallen to 15 percent. The newspaper also
described these new pipelines as "the main
supply line of NATO."

On February 5, 1986, the daily Cumhuriyet reported that NATO aircrafts used the Konya
Air Base in Turkey for their training flights.
Among them were US planes taking off from
the 6th Fleet.

On February 24, 1986, Turkey and the
United States signed a bilateral agreement
obliging Ankara to keep secret all information
concerning Turco-American military coopera-
At the end of 1985, the Turkish Govern-
ment, with the purpose of obtaining more mil-
itary aid and increasing the volume of Turkish
exports to the United States, asked for a revi-
sion of the Defense and Economic Coopera-
tion Agreement (DECA) with the United
States. This 5-year agreement was scheduled to
expire on December 18, 1985. In
developments, the United States
pressured Turkey to provide more emergency
facilities for its Armed Forces, including the
rapid Deployment Force, and to grant per-
mission to set up a Voice of America relay
station in Turkey.

In return, the Turkish side, recog-
nizing that Turkey's trade deficit with the United
States reached 700 million dollars in 1985, asked for
the lifting of obstacles put before Turkish
textiles by the United States and for a con-
siderable increase in U.S. "aid" to Turkey, which
toaled 686 million dollars in 1985,
including 114 million for defence.

As "Air Defense Master Plans" was a
brought up in the talks. This plan includes the
modernization of four Anatolian airports and the
establishment of two brand-new ports in
Eastern Anatolia. The Plan also includes the
purchase of 200 Raptor missiles and the gigan-
tic F-16 fighter plane deal. Turkey will report-
edly deploy most of the 500 Rapiers it would buy at
the Incirlik, Pirahmet and Çigli Turco-
American joint defence facilities.
Now in the coming years, the U.S military pres-
ence in Turkey is expected to grow stronger and
more aggressive.

US DEMOCRATIC FORCES' ACTIONS AGAINST THE TURKISH REGIME

Although the U.S. administration has unap-
sparingly been supporting the Turkish regime, how-
v US Congress, newspapers and democra-
tic organizations have raised their voices against the
violation of human rights in Turkey.

In January 1985, the U.S. Congress Com-
mittee on Security and Cooperation, using the
findings of its mission in Turkey, arrived at the
following conclusion in its report:

There is no doubt that human rights are
violated in Turkey. According to the conviction
of the mission having visited Turkey, the actual
situation remains unchanged from the reports of the
pre-publication Ankara. The pollution
of Turkish social authorities. This polli-
cution is enhanced in Turkey, where
cannot be overcome by simple solutions or usual
remedies. Various reports must be made, from the
point of view of human rights. In order for
Turkey to become the main ally of NATO and a
really efficient and stable ally, she must return to
the universal democratic order.

On April 14 of the same year, Congress' Sub-
Committee held a hearing on the violation
of human rights in Turkey. With a view to ac-
knowledge the European situation on this ques-
tion, the parliament of the European Parliament was
invited to this meeting. The German socialist
Deputy Palmarucci took the floor and exposed the
European institutions' observations on the
anti-democratic practices of the Turkish regime.

Because of the human rights record, the mil-
itary aid economic aid for Turkey proposed by
the Reagan administration has dropped by the
extent of lively discussion in the U.S. Congress and
has undergone considerable reductions.

On October 16, 1985, the conference of the For-
reign Affairs Committee and 30 members of the
U.S. House of Representatives sent a letter to
General Barr, asking him to intervene in favour of
political prisoners.

HELINSKI WATCH ON TURKEY

On November 3, 1982, the U.S. Helsinki
Watch Committee, founded in 1979 to monitor
humanitarian and human rights compliance with
the
human rights provisions of the 1976 Helsinki ac-
cords, issued a report on "Human Rights in Tur-
key," "Transition to Democracy." The report was
based on information gathered by Sadip Aksu and Jeti Later during a fact-finding visit to Turkey in late September 1983.

Criticizing the U.S. administration's support for the Turkish regime, the report said: "The destruction of the centers of independ-
ence thought and action lays the groundwork for totalitarianism in Turkey, rather than for a "transition to democracy." (...) In any case, au-
ditorium-watching cannot be considered "beneficial" when it is based on the suffering of thousands, tucked out of sight in military prisons. (...) Turkey is the third longest resident of the United States military and economic aid. Despite the fact that the European Economic Community, in response to Turkey's human rights abuses, withheld an aid program of $250 million dollars from Turkey since 1981, despite the warnings in our own Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting eco-
nomic and military aid from the U.S. government to gross human rights offenders, the Reagan ad-
miration continues to increase its financial support to Turkey. (...) The U.S.-aided defense of Turkey has not only been a source of discord between the United States and its West European allies, but it has also damaged the credibility of the U.S. human rights policies especially crit-
ically in the sensitive relations with Japan when the United States strongly condemned the incar-
pnation of martial law in Poland, to only be reminded by the Eastern bloc countries and certain neut-
ral and nonaligned nations about the situation in Turkey. (...) The newly-elected, February 1982, USAF television program "Last Poland to Be Poland" was ridiculed in Europe, and even among some of the very people whose cases it was intended to serve, the Turkish People are on the screen condemning martial law in Poland. "The Turkish citizens we met in (Turkey) were not interested to have contact with the U.S. Embas-
sy personnel. Some were firmly convinced that the U.S. Embassy is in league with the Turkish secret police," and claimed that "the U.S. Ambas-
sador is a close friend of the great secret." Several people reported that the U.S. Embassy, just before the opening of the Turkish Peace Association's "Peace in the World" festival and the subsequent anti-American demonstration before the Soviet Communist Party and that identical number of people subsequently appeared at the publicity stunt, "an indictment of the Turkish Peace Association." SCANDAL AT THE US EMBASSY IN ANKARA

An analysis of interviews and/or conversations of journalists and/or writers in Turkey, the "new" press which appeared during the follow-up press report presented a fact-finding mission to Turkey between March and June 1983.

The famous American dramatic author Arthur Miller and British Harri Penner declard in-
their visit that Turkey was the only country of the western world to fear and one not being proscribed for his opinions and entitled to was for many years to be brought before a tribunal when he is deceased. They established a parallel with the case of the fallen corners in 1982, that Miller described in one of his pieces, which was also a Mieczyslaw Maciejewski. The Turkish Government, Turks at this visit, kept all references to the PN and Church mission.

Afterwards, Arthur Miller, in an article which he wrote for the U.S. review The Nation of May 1985, described a "scandalous occurrence which took place during a dinner given in his honor by the U.S. Ambassador in Ankara. According to this article, Harold Pinter was engaged in a fervent discussion at the table with a right-wing journa-
list, Miss Neelie Steen, on human rights violations in Turkey. (...) The Ambassador was trying to engage his neighbor in conversation, when, Pinter, with a

pen, raised, crossed the table with, "This is an absurd and was meant as an insult and throw it back in your face!" As I learnt later, she had told Pinter that although the Turks would have to remain and face the realities of their country, he could go home and put it all into a profitable pree.

The Ambassador quickly threw his crumpled glass with a silver top and thrust his hand at her, "If I didn't have to leave now, I would have to have honored you,..." I (understood that it was so easy for him to respond to the..."

I began to thank the Ambassador for the dinner and the welcome, in which I had felt relieved. I went on: "We do know exactly what we have eaten, and what we have seen, there is no tangency with any democratic system in Western Europe or the United States."

In 'The Chequers about people who were exposed..." I thought I saw the eyes of the Ambassador glee with astonishment and sigh of relief."

"It had hardly set down when we began..."

"I went up to..." I turned to..."

I remember that the Ambassador had remarked that there all needed to be a terrible..." I remembered that he had replied, "If you have got an electric wire hooked it your cellar,"..."
The island of two nations had already been divided in two since the Turkish military occupation in 1974. Within the framework of the Turkish military’s expansionism, the proclamation of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” in 1983 officialised this division. Under Denktash’s rule, the economic and social situation of northern Cyprus is getting worse and worse in comparison with the southern part. The creation of the TRNC serves also the U.S. interests in the region.
After the military coup, one of the main manoeuvres of the junta causing to deterioration of good neighbour relations in the area was the proclaimed of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" in 1983.

After denouncing the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution calling for the withdrawal from Cyprus of all occupation forces, the Ankara regime accelerated the colonization of the northern part of the island and prompted Rauf Denktas, an old collaborator of British colonialism and "go-between" of the Turkish Cypriot community, to declare that the independence of this "State" would soon be proclaimed unilaterally.

The fact is that the proclamation of the Republic was not delayed. Although the Turkish Junta claimed that it had not been informed of the Turkish Cypriot leaders' intentions and that it had not been in a position to prevent the proclamation of the Republic, such assertions cannot conceal some well-established facts.

First of all, the northern part of the island had been under occupation by the Turkish Armed Forces since 1974. Although there was no declared martial law regime, all security and intelligence activities were controlled and carried out by the Turkish commanders who were the real rulers of the so-called "Turkish Federated State".

Secondly, after adopting the Turkish Lira in May 1983, the Denktas administration had been staging lots of rallies, meetings and conferences in order to make acceptable the idea of the proclamation of the Republic. These rallies had hit the headlines on the front-pages of all Turkish newspapers, all of them under the junta's censorship.

Thirdly, the proclaimed Republic was to coincide with the enactment of the decree on the establishment of free zones in Turkey, just opposite the northern coast of the island. A free zone and harbor had already been established in 1977 in the port city of Magna (Famagusta) within the borders of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". In late October 1983, the Denktas administration had issued "The Free Port and Zone Law" which was to offer new advantages to foreign companies. These parallel steps pointed to the fact that the northern sector of Cyprus was and is still being viewed by Turkey's rulers as part of a free zone area, economically dependent on Turkey. As a matter of fact, this was a disguised annexation of northern Cyprus to Turkey.

In the wake of the proclamation of the "Republic", Denktas proceeded to the complete alignment of both his economy and monetary and banking system with that of Turkey, inspire of her being "in the red" herself. Whereas the Greek "South" has achieved an impressive economic recovery over the past ten years with a 5% growth rate, inflation not exceeding 6%, a 20% increase in investments, nearly full employment with a jobless rate of 3% and social consensus strong enough to enable a relative austerity program being announced without causing disturbances, the sight is quite different on the northern side of the "Green Line", turned meanwhile into a state frontier. As a matter of fact, there is an almost painful contrast between the busy activity on the one side and utter stagnation in the other sector. Cost of living increased by 103% in one year and inflation reached 59% over the last months of 1984. Investments are getting extremely scarce, and resources from agriculture and tourism remain stagnant. Serious supply shortages are quite often reported in the local press.

Even the Turkish press under the military censorship very often publish data exposing the miserable economic situation in the Denktas's State.

According to the data of 1982, published by the daily Cumhuriyet, the population of the TRNC was 153,000. Although the number of those in the age group 15-65 was about 100,000, only 38,000 of them were employed, the rest being unemployed. The distribution of the working population in the different sectors was as follows: 21,000 in agriculture, 5,000 in manufacture, 4,000 in trade, 4,000 in transport, 1,250 in tourism and 15,000 in public services.

In comparison with the Greek sector of the island, the TRNC is in a complete poverty. As the annual GNP of the Greek sector is about 2,000 million dollars, the GNP of the TRNC rests a level of 200 million dollars, that is to say a tenth of that of the Greek community.

According to the daily Cumhuriyet of 24/10/1984, the GNP per capita has already fallen under 1,500 dollars while this figure has been rising from 4,000 to 5,000 dollars on the Greek side.

As for the national budget of the TRNC, it totalled 16,000 million TL in 1983, 11,800 of
which are allocated to the payment of the salaries of State personnel. A reporter for the daily Cumhuriyet noticed squandering in the daily life of the State officials. The President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, ten ministers, and the President of the Constitutional Court have been given Mercedes cars (1983 model). The main occupation of these officials' is to attend receptions or dinners given very often on State account.

Despite the tension between the two sectors of the island, the TRNC still depends on the Greek side for water and other vital materials. For example, the city of Famagusta in the Turkish sector receives all its water supply from the South. The electricity, LPG, medicines and some chemical products are still being furnished by the Greek side.

A prominent Turkish journalist, Yalçın Dogan, analysing the data given in the new 6-year development plan of the Turkish sector of Cyprus, put forward some undeniable facts:

"Can Cyprus survive economically without foreign assistance? A second development plan covering the period of 1984-1988 drawn up in 1983 pointed out that the 7 per growth rate foreseen for the preceding 5-year period failed to be attained and the rate of growth for this period remained at the level of 2.5 per cent. What is more, this limited growth could be attributed only to auxiliary sectors such as commerce, transport or estate incomes while the basic sectors such as agriculture, industries or construction were in a state of total stagnation. In the course of the last 10-year period, these sectors have been subject to considerable decline.

While the GNP was $2.000 in 1974, it hardly touched $1.200 today.

One of the objectives of the new plan is to get necessary power through undersea cables from Turkey, Turkey which has to import its own electricity from other countries will have to transfer a certain proportion of this energy to Cyprus.

The main source of the State budget of the TRNC is from Turkey alone. While 47 per cent of the revenue is obtained from local sources 29.7 per cent is expected from foreign aid and 24.5 per cent from foreign credits. A Turkey which cannot cover its own budgetary deficit will have difficulty in financing the TRNC's budget in deficit." (Cumhuriyet, November 22, 1983).

This analepsis is shared not only by observers, but confirmed also by the elected representatives of the Turkish Cypriot people.

Since the declaration of independence, five political parties have been founded in the Turkish sector. Five of these parties are represented in the National Assembly of the TRNC.

Among the five parties, TRP and CTP had always been against the declaration of a Republic in the Turkish sector. But at the time of the last elections made by Denktash, these two parties were put under pressure by the Turkish occupation forces and obliged to support the declaration of the Republic.

Interviewed by a Turkish journalist on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, the leaders of the three political parties did not seem optimistic about the situation in the TRNC (Milliyet, 21.7.1984).

Osman Reçber (Chairman of TRP): "Although security of life has been assured, the economic situation has not shown the same progress. The resources of billions of Turkish Liras have not been used for the welfare of the community. The national income has fallen sharply. The objective of the creation of a federal federation has not been realized. Our people have been impoverished. If a political solution cannot be found, we fear that the TRNC will be annexed by Turkey. The Turkish Army may remain in the island until a sound solution is found, but we complain of the fact that Ankara interferes very often in our internal affairs."

Ozan Özgür (Chairman of CTP): "After the military operation we waited for the creation of a federation. The unity of Cyprus should have been realized and this island should have been a bridge of peace between Turkey and Greece. The delay of the solution is against the interests of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The gap between two communities is getting wider. If this situation does not change, the Turkish Cypriots will be more dependent."
on Turkey. A TRNC whose budget is assured by the Republic of Turkey so the tune of 70 pc cannot survive as an independent state. Our community is for lasting peace. We are not again giving concessions on Vareosha. We are for the presence of the Turkish Army until a solution is found. But internal security affairs should not be given to the hands of the Turkish Army. Denktash wishes to give this army some duties which are incompatible with the Constitution of TRNC."

Raif Denktash (SDP): "The past ten years following the declaration of independence are lost years. I believe that we should proceed immediately with the creation of a federation. Otherwise a speedy development can never be realized."

Raif Denktash is in fact the son of the "President" of the TRNC Raif Denktash, but for some time he adopted a critical position against some decisions and practices of his father's administration. Particularly, his participation in a New-Year ball organized in the Greek section of Nicosia by Greek leaders gave rise to polemics in the Cypriot and Turkish press. Embracing the President of Cyprus Kyprisou, Denktash Jr. said: "It is high time for the reunification for all Cypriots. It is a fact that, in Turks and Greeks, we have acted very badly towards one another. Henceforth we should reunite. It is fact that I fought against you in 1974. But I do not wish to fight anymore. I wish you all a happy new year during which I can educate my children as Cypriots and I can live as a Cypriot."

Under pressure from the population, the Denktash administration was obliged to have talks with the Greek side on January 31, 1985. This first Cypriot intercommunal summit meeting aimed at reunifying Cyprus on a federal basis had raised great hopes in the world opinion. But it did not delay in failing.

"Deceived Hope For Cyprus", "Breakdown In UN Talks", according to the French dailies Le Monde et Le Matin of January 32. On the other hand, using its usual jargon, the Turkish daily Milliyet headlined "Greeks Once More Picking A Quarrel With Us!" Another Turkish daily Hurriyet, took a laflant stance: "Stable Front!"

Failure of these talks came as a shock. The summit held on the basis of the UN Secretary General's preliminary settlement document of a federal state on Cyprus, laying down the basic principles, came to an end without any agreement being concluded between Denktash and Kyprisou.

Prior to talks, one might have thought that substantial progress had been achieved towards establishing a federal State, hindered by certain moves (especially Reagan's pressure on Turkey), indirect talks had taken place over the whole autumn of 1984, during which the Turk- ish Cypriot side claimed that it was willing to make major concessions. As a result, the "Government" headed by Denktash had given up demanding that the presidency of the re- united Republic be assumed in turn by one of his associates, in addition, he had accepted ceding back 7 of the 38 pc of the territory occupied by the Turkish Army ever since the 1974 military invasion.

But, as it turned out, one key problem had not been settled: that of the international guar- antees regarded as necessary by the Turkish minority (making up only 16 pc of the approxi- mately 650,000 inhabitants of the island). In their view, these guarantees could only be satis- factory if Ankara was included in it. While he was ready to make concessions with regard to Turkey's military presence, Denktash is not prepared, however, to bridge an inch regarding the diplomatic guarantee: had Turkey's guar- antees not explicitly been laid down in the 1960 Constitution, it is the same way as Greece's and Britain's?

In Kyprisou's view, conversely, it was time to curb these obstacles inherited from the troubled period which led up to independence. In order to avoid unpleasant surprises after- wards, Kyprisou kept on contending that the draft proposed by the UN Secretary-General was merely a basis for further talks. As for Denktash, he insisted all the time that the four-day summit that the draft agreement be signed as it was and that join expert commit- tees are charged with the task of settling all issues left unresolved.

After the collapse of the UN talks, Mr Peter de Cuyser did not explain how he intended to resolve this basic disagreement between the two sides. During a short state- ment, he let his irritation show about rumors that he was initially responsible for the failure of the New York Summit, by not telling each side exactly the same thing with a view to bringing about a "miraculous" reconciliation.
he did not care to be viewed as a "scapegoat," he said.

According to Le Monde of January 22, the Cypriots will still have to come eventually to an arrangement. The Greeks must understand that it is their responsibility to make the major concessions—since they are in a strong position. As far as the Turks, they must agree to stop looking continually towards Ankara: the complete international failure of their separatist "Republic" proclaimed in 1983 should prompt them to do so.

For, as far as the Turkish Cypriot leaders are concerned, an independent policy seems almost impossible for the simple reason that the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is an artificial state set up as a part of the Turkish military's expansionist plans.

Of major importance is the stand taken by Ankara following the breakdown of the New York talks. Without even waiting for Denktash's statement, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to all Turkish diplomatic missions the following directives:

"After the failure of the summit meeting, the draft agreement submitted by the U.N. Secretary-General is no longer valid. The Turkish side has withdrawn all concessions it made prior to the summit. For it is Kyprianou who did not keep the word he had given and he bears the responsibility for this failure."

This stance, which came unexpected to political observers, gave rise to some reactions, even in the Turkish press. For example, diplomatic correspondent M. Ali Hand criticized these directives as follows:

"We weren't long in making the first mistake in the Cyprus issue:

"1. First of all, are the directives not likely to raise further doubts in world opinion about the real author of the Turkish decisions with regard to Cyprus?"

"2. Following these directives, will third countries not be inclined to lump together the Turkish side and the Greek side which, for its part, wants to get rid of this draft agreement?"

"3. In the event that tomorrow the same draft is submitted to us with some modifications, what are we going to do? If, in line with Greek demands, these modifications require the withdrawal of foreign troops, lifting the bilateral guarantees, dividing up the land, etc., are we not going to be forced to make even bigger concessions?" (Milliyet, 26.1.1985)
Moreover, it should be remembered that the failure of all attempts to find a solution to the Cyprus issue cannot exclusively be ascribed to either side's intransigence. As Greece and Turkey belong to the North-Atlantic Alliance, this issue should also be examined within the context of NATO.

Although President Reagan seemed to back the U.N., Secretary-General's recent efforts, Pentagon has been seeking for years to use both NATO members, as well as Cyprus, as a springboard for possible military action in the Persian Gulf area and in the Arabic peninsula.

Even though the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" does not belong to NATO, it is - from a geopolitical viewpoint - favorably located opposite the critical Near East area. Near the locality of Geçitkale, north-east from Nicosia, the Turkish Armed Forces are building a huge military airport equipped with all auxiliary facilities (preparations which are being kept half-secret, are going on for a rather long time).

This is all the more noteworthy since, after the 1974 invasion, the occupation forces had already built an airport at Ercan, north from Nicosia, which fully covers their military needs.

According to the West-German weekly Die Zeit of October 25, 1983, the day the air-support base at Geçitkale (Lefkkonos) is ready, it will belong to the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". Despite their official indignation following the proclamation of the "Republic", the U.S. may then embark on negotiations to secure utilization rights. But, first, Washington should, of course, recognize the new state. Consequently, the foundation of the "TDNC" could be interpreted as the proclamation of independence of an air base surrounded by the land it needs. This would offer yet another advantage. These support bases are located in the Greek sector of Cyprus and practically belong to NATO, the British bases of Akrotiri and Dhokelia, and the USAF radar station located in the Troodos mountains. The Greek Cypriots are constantly using these support bases as a trump card, by threatening off and on to close them down. However, the day Geçitkale starts operating, this asset will no longer be of any use.

On the other hand, the Turkish daily Cumhuriyet published in its November 22, 1983, issue, an article from the New York Times in which the United States and the Republic of Cyprus were reported to have signed an agreement in August 1982, whereby US military aircraft were allowed to use the airport facilities at Larnaka for US intervention in the event of a possible confrontation in Lebanon. However, the Greek Cypriot Government, the article further said, was thinking of withdrawing these facilities. Consequently, the US was examining how they would react should this threat materialize. Apparently, this article may very well have been meant to clear the ground at propaganda level - before announcing the building of the new US base in the occupied sector of the island.

According to Die Zeit, "It is known that for three years Pentagon has been trying to persuade Turkey to allow it to use her territory, even in situations like the invasion of Lebanon in 1958. So far this has been systematically refused by Turkey, seeing that such a move is likely to put her in a very awkward position with respect to the Arab countries, which in turn, would undermine Turkish plans of economic penetration into Asia, which presently constitute one of the basic lines of Turkey's development strategy. Consequently, building a US base in the occupied sector of Cyprus may very well be a solution to that sort of problem from the moment that this base would actually imply a concession from Ankara, while - on a normal level - it would be the business of an independent state, and Turkey herself would not be committed in her relations with Arab countries."

As reported by the Italian daily La Repubblica of January 17, 1985, ground installations work at Lefkkonos airport has cost $450 million.

So the complete failure of all efforts to reunite both communities cannot only be ascribed to the Turkish military's expansionist ambitions and to both sides' intransigent leaders, but, first and foremost, to the instigations, provocations and manipulations by US circles who never hesitate to set one against another with the view of defending and preserving their own political, economic and military interests.

The "State" headed by Denktash is probably not a legitimate child of the United States. However, as the West-German weekly Die Zeit put it, nothing prevents it being the Pentagon's illegitimate one.
DOUBLE-FACED DEALING WITH THE THIRD WORLD

Although Turkey has been at the USA's side against the Third World since the Second World War, the Turkish military made a spectacular overture towards oil-producing Islamic countries, under pressure of the country's deteriorating economic situation. The trade with the Third World countries has quadrupled since 1978. Premier Ozal, with a view to increasing trade, launched a diplomatic offence all over the place. Yet, the dependence on the United States obstructs further progress.
Since the military coup, the Turkish administration has made a spectacular contribution towards Third World countries, under pressure of the country’s deteriorating economic situation.

It is worth noting that Turkey’s economic relations with Islamic countries date back to some years before the oil shock of 1973. Until 1980, however, oil imports played an undeniable role in the decrease of Turkey’s trade volume with Islamic countries. This situation started to change in 1980; in particular, exports to Islamic countries began to catch up with those to European Community countries. Apart from this, Turkish-sanctioned firms and businesses undertaking projects in Islamic countries have provided Turkey with new and important sources of exchange and employment.

And yet, developing economic relations with Islamic countries proved more difficult than expected because of Turkey’s pro-American position in the international arena.

After the Second World War, especially during the 1950-1970 period, Turkish governments had systematically supported US policies against the interests of Third World countries.

The first indication of this stance, contradicting the traditional neutrality policy of the first Republican governments, was observed in 1951, in the Egyptian-British conflict. At that time Egypt wanted to terminate the treaty concluded with the United Kingdom in 1936, which provided the latter with a base at Suez. The United Kingdom was seeking the agreement of the Egyptian government on a formula which would enable its forces to remain in Suez, perhaps at a reduced level, under a joint command to be open to all the countries of the region. This idea was approved by the Ottawa ministerial meeting of NATO where Turkey’s membership had been approved anywhere this idea was also accepted by Turkey. The Egyptian government not only rejected the idea but also denounced the treaty. There is no doubt that this event cast a shadow on Turkey’s image in Arab circles.

The more Turkey got involved in NATO military and political structure, the more her credibility weakened in the Third World.

In October 1958, after the visit of a French governmental delegation, Turkey announced her support of France against the Maghreb nationalists.

The year 1955 was a turning point in Turkey’s relations with Arab countries. At Washington’s instigation, the Baghdad Pact Treaty was first signed between Turkey and Iraq on February 24, 1955. During the same year, the United Kingdom, Pakistan and Iran joined the pact. The aim was to promote a “defense cooperation” in order to deter the Soviet threat. However, other Islamic countries, especially progressive regimes in the Arab World were eager to have a better relationship with the Soviet Union. The late President Nasser regarded this initiative as a scheme against his policies. He labelled it an “imperialist” machine which would enable Western powers to further their aims with regard to the region.

As a result of this negative stance of the new revolutionary regimes in the Middle East, Turkish Premier Menderes, who visited Syria with the aim of convincing the rulers of this country to take part in the new pact, was boycotted on the streets of Damascus.

The heaviest blow to Turkey’s prestige in the Third World was entailed by the Turkish delegation’s pro-American stance at the Bandung Conference held in April 1955. While the conference, composed of the representatives of all Third World countries, was taking an anti-imperialist and neutral stand, Turkey found herself, along with Iraq, Iran, Libya, Lebanon and Pakistan, in a pro-American minority.

The Turkish stance vis-à-vis the 1956 Suez crisis, which started with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, was a reaction against the US decision to withhold the financing of the Aswan Dam project and to lead to a war between Egypt and Israel and to the intervention of France and the United Kingdom, was “further proof that Turkey’s foreign policy towards the Middle East was part of the Western power’s imperialist policy.”

During the Syrian and Lebanese crises in 1957 and 1958, Turkey maintained her pro-American stance. In the Syrian crisis, Turkey and the United States on the one hand, and Syria and the Soviet Union on the other, came face-to-face. Syria accused Turkey of making troop concentrations and war preparations along their common border.

After the Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, when the United States revered its marines on the shores of Lebanon, and the United King-
dom sent its troops to Jordan. Turkey allowed the United States to land 5,000 soldiers on Is- cirlik Air Base in the north, to be used in "an emergency."

All these events coincided with the imple- mentation of the Eisenhower Doctrine whereby the United States appeared on the Middle East scene to take up the roles of the United Kingdom and France on behalf of the "Free World''. For this reason, the pro-American position of the Turkish Government in these crises increased the suspicions in Arab circles about the future role of the "joint defense insti- tutions" in Turkey.

The conclusion of the Regional Coopera- tion for Development treaty between the members of the Baghdad Pact (after the Iraqi withdrawal following the Revolution, it was renamed CENTO), in January 1957, was another cause of deteriorating Turco-Arab relations. It is in this process of deterioration that Turkey voted at the United Nations, in 1958, against Algerian independence, and that the seat of CENTO (Central Treaty Organiza- tion) was transferred to Ankara in August 1958.

After the 1960 military coup, Turkish poli- cy towards the Third World has undergone some changes. One of the main reasons for this was the fact that as a result of the country's total dependence on US policy, Turkey had found herself isolated in the international arena.

Thanks to the adoption of a more liberal Constitution, the press and some organizations could voice their opposition to this pro- American policy. Besides, the country's eco- nomic policy took a new course. Planning was introduced.

Nevertheless, the review of foreign policy matters came much later than in all other fields. Therefore, as far as foreign policy was con- cerned, the first half of the 1960's can be de- scribed as a transition period.

The outbreak of the clash over Cyprus and the ensuing events precipitated this process of review as regards foreign policy with the fol- lowing results:

1) Due to her pan foreign policy, Turkey was being pushed into diplomatic isolation as was reflected in the UN voting on the Cyprus question in 1965. In fact, during this voting, even the NATO countries took an "impartial" position between Turkey and Greece whereas Makarios, who was known to be an influential figure in the non-aligned group, managed to get the support of a great majority within this group.

2) It became evident that the Cyprus ques- tion could hardly be settled in a manner satis- factory to Turkey against the opposition of the USSR, from whom Makarios was enjoying
full support. Consequently, the Soviet attitude had to be softened.
3) Although it was perhaps too early to talk about "detente", the cold war was losing ground. In fact, following the Cuban crisis, the two superpowers accepted the necessity of avoiding a nuclear disaster and instead opted for peaceful competition. Under such a political climate, a period of dialogue started between socialist and Western countries to sound out their mutual intentions and to increase possibilities of economic cooperation. It was only natural that Turkey took part in this endeavor as well.
4) During the Cyprus crisis of 1964, when the Turkish Government set out to use the Turkish Army for a military intervention, US President Johnson sent a letter to Premier Inonu reminding him that, according to bilateral agreements, Turkey was not allowed to use military equipment provided by the United States without US consent. This letter reminded Turkish public opinion that even a close ally could not always be relied upon. It would have been wrong to believe that this ally would always act as Turkey wished him to do.
Under these circumstances, Turkey felt, it was necessary as a foreign policy aim, to diversify her ties without changing the main orientation of her foreign policy and started to promote good relations with socialist as well as Third World countries.
At the outbreak of the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab countries, an improvement in Arab relations was already in the making. During the war and thereafter, Turkey displayed solidarity with the Arab countries, and gave assurances that she would not allow the defense installations under the "Turco-US" joint control to be used against Arab countries.
In the following years, trade and contacts between Turkey and Arab countries developed and reciprocal visits took place at all levels. During the October war of 1973, Turkey again gave full diplomatic support to the Arab countries and provided them with certain aid. She also offered Syria the port facilities on the southern coast of Turkey where equipment sent for Syria from third countries was unloaded for onward transportation.
A larger step was Turkey's participation in the Organization of Islamic Conference, founded after the burning of the Al Aqsa mosque in 1969. Turkey took part in all the meetings held at both a summit or Foreign Ministers' level. Despite the religious underpinnings of some of its objectives, Turkey which, as a secular Republic, had stayed out of all meetings on religious grounds, decided to join this movement since she believed that it would allow Turkey to enter into a pan-Islamic cooperation with Islamic countries as a bilateral level.
After 1973, rising import prices following the energy crisis and inflationary domestic policies led to foreign exchange shortages being experienced starting with 1975. Thus a somewhat conservative attitude towards external borrowing charged in 1975 and, because of the immediate need to solve the newly emerging foreign exchange shortages, Turkey then entered an unprecedented borrowing process, seeking short-term credits on one hand, and attempting to have the repayment of previous short-term credit rescheduled, on the other.
This catastrophic situation compelled the Turkish governments to seek new markets in Arab countries. Until 1981, Turkey only sold what western countries required, so her attempts at diversifying exports were of course, in vain. In 1981, thanks to the opening onto Islamic countries, the ratio of Turkey's export to these countries rose to 34.1 percent of her total export (compared with 16.3 percent in 1980).
Turkish exporters claim that they have penetrated these markets through competition with major western companies. According to some views, the boost in exports was achieved owing to the Iran-Iraq war and it will sag once the war comes to an end. But both the Turkish government and exporters console themselves with the hope that these two countries will have to embark on extensive rebuilding of infrastructure after the war and will also have to increase their consumer goods imports.
As for the other Islamic countries, the Islamic Summit held in Casablanca, Morocco, early in 1984, gave great hopes to the rulers of Turkey. At this meeting, General Evren was elected vice-president for the session and, later, as chairman of the Permanent Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Islamic Conference Organization. General Evren's visit to Saudi Arabia in February 1984 and a series of meetings held in Turkey have raised fresh hopes. In fact, there has been a spectacular expansion of exports to four oil-producing countries
Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Libya - which have absorbed more than half of the increase in Turkish exports over the past seven years. As a result, their share in total exports has more than quadrupled from 7 percent in 1978 to 40 percent in 1984.

Turkish contractors have realized a turnover several times higher than the total amount of transactions in Turkey. The number of contracts given by Turkish contractors has reached 200, totalizing more than 240,000 million Turkish lira, which is worth more than 8,657 million. They are followed by Saudi Arabia with 8,567 million. Contracts in other Islamic countries are divided up as follows: 1,033 million in Iraq, 171 million in Iran, 618 million in Jordan, 100 million in Yemen, 39 million in the United Arab Emirates, 37 million in Algeria, 20 million in Senegal, 17 million in Kuwait and 16 million in Egypt.

However, Turkey's foreign contracts are reportedly going through a sluggish period due to the demand for goods of the Middle Eastern and North African countries. According to industry sources, besides the falling oil revenues, the Iran-Iraq war has also shaken the financial power of oil-rich countries, forcing them to channel money earmarked for development projects into defense.

In order to guarantee the continuation of economic relations with Third World countries, Premier Öcal made an unexpected ges-
ture during his visit to Algeria on February 6, 1985.

"As a nation which has had the same kind of struggle under secular independence causes. Our nation stands by the Algerian people. It is unfortunate that the Lebanese government (at the time of the UV voting for Algerian independence) did not act in accordance with our people's wishes. Today we admit that this was an error, and admitting an error is a virtue."

These words of Turkish Prime Minister Ozal during his visit to Algiers gave rise to many speculations in the Turkish press as well as abroad. While some editorial writers regarded this "apology" as a gesture likely to develop Turkey's relations with the Third World, others claimed that it was disgraceful of a prime minister. The latter added that, despite this "apology" Algiers had given a cool reception to the Turkish delegation.

Ozal emphasized, however, right after he got back from his journey, that this was in no way merely a formal apology. "I did not apologize for what was done in the past. We merely acknowledged it was a gross mistake and set the record straight by recognizing this," he said.

After saying that his visit had now set me scene for better and more active relations between both countries, Ozal added: "I hope this has now been cleared up. As a matter of fact, the Algerian Premier Abdullah Brahim has long and urged me to warmly for my late father at the airport that I felt it was trying to make it clear that Algiers had actually given us a very good reception."

It is a fact that during the visit, photos of premier Ozal and Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid were hung side by side all over Algiers. According to an Algerian diplomat who denied the claim of a cool reception, "The visit, compared with the recent trip of German Democratic Republic leader Erich Honecker, was much more lively and the welcome given to our much warmer."

Despite the very favorable climate portrayed by the officials, observers say there is still a long way to go before the two states establish eco-

nomic cooperation based on a strong footing. Ozal expressed his desire that the current volume of trade between the two countries be increased to a substantial amount, around 500 million. "Turkey will purchase 800,000 tons of oil from Algeria in 1985 and
this amount will rise to one million tons in 1986. Details of other projects will be discussed at the forthcoming Joint Economic Committee meetings,” Oral concluded. But according to press reports, the Turkish side could not obtain the guarantee of payment in cash for Turkish exports and contracting business to be undertaken by Turkish contractors in Algeria. The Algerians, who have seen their oil revenues drop, are seeking to pay for their imports and contracting business on credit terms over several years, rather than in cash payments upon delivery. They have also said they will handle their housing contracts themselves and invite foreign tenders only for other projects.

The expansion of economic relations with Islamic countries has really been heralded for the military regime. However, the question arises whether it can rely indefinitely on exports to and contracts in these countries.

It depends to a large extent on Turkey’s foreign policy.

Despite all the changes in the diplomatic relations with these countries and despite Oral’s apology in Algeria, Turkey’s foreign policy is still dependent on that of the United States and NATO. A double-faced stand which is not well appreciated by the Third World countries.

Özal: Körfezin kapısını actık sonu iyi gelecek

Arms’s statement towards the Islamic world in the Turkish press. Özal: “We have opened the Iranian Gulf’s gate. Things look better for us from now on.” Another title: “Bridge extended over the Iranian Gulf.”
"COEXISTENCE" WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Although the Turkish Government has taken part in all anti-Soviet campaigns orchestrated by the Reagan administration, Ankara’s relations with socialist countries have considerably improved in the last five years. As Turkish rulers were declared “persona non grata” in Western Europe, General Ermen and his ministers were very often welcomed by socialist countries and concluded new economic and commercial agreements with them. Yet, Ankara refuses all proposals from neighbour countries to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-arms-free zone and gives the USA new military facilities to be used against the Soviet Union.
While Turkey’s dependence on the USA has been getting stronger and stronger since the military coup of 1980, the Turkish military rulers have also been very attentive to their relations with socialist countries.

As is seen in the chapter on Turco-Asian relations, the Turkish Government has taken part in all anti-socialist campaigns orchestrated by the Reagan administration, but this engagement has not prevented the military from improving economic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and its allies.

What is more, while General Evers and his prime minister have been declared “persona non grata” by most Western capitals except Washington, they have been invited by all socialist countries within the framework of “cordone pacifico”. In 1982, General Evers paid a series of visits to Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China and Romania.

During Evers’s visit to Bulgaria between February 25 and 28, 1982, an agreement was reached to resolve the problems of immigrant families whose members had been left stranded in another country during the official migration period. The two sides also agreed to develop bilateral economic, commercial and cultural relations and to tackle the problem of border crossing between the two countries. These relations were further developed by Jiskov’s visit to Turkey later on.

However, a Bulgarian initiative establish a nuclear arms-free zone in the Balkans has been rejected by relations, the Turkish Government, relations between the two countries have been deteriorating, following the changing of the Turkish names of Bulgaria’s modern cities into Bulgarian names. Bulgaria justified this practice by declaring that those affected were originally people of Bulgarian origin but they had been forced to convert to Islam during the Ottoman yoke. The Turkish authorities, insisting that they are people of Turkish origin, accuse the Bulgarian government of disrespecting the fundamental rights of the Turkish minority in that country.

In a statement published on January 16, 1986, the Turkish Foreign Ministry reiterated charges that the Bulgarian Government had forced ethnic Turks to change their Muslim names. The Turkish side also criticized the results of a Bulgarian national census because the Turkish minority, earlier estimated at 900,000, was left unmentioned.

Amnesty International stated that more than 250 Moslem Bulgarians of Turkish origin had been imprisoned for resisting the “forced assimilation program” and about a hundred were dead.

A statement issued by the Bulgarian news agency BTA on February 27, 1986, said the alleged slanders were being used by the Ankaray Government “in an attempt to run world opinion against Bulgaria.”

“The allegations are absolutely unbelievable: There are allegedly repression and persecution of minorities in this country. About 6,000 foreign journalists visit Bulgaria every year, not to mention the 6 million foreign tourists who travel in all parts of the country every year. How could it happen that no one noticed anything that could back the Turkish fabrications?”

On October 3, 1985, the European Council’s Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution calling on the Bulgarian Government to put an immediate end to this repressive policy, and to restore their rightful names to all members of the Turkish minority who have been obliged to change them by threat or by force; to put an end to the violation of the rights of members of the ethnic and Moslem minorities in Bulgaria in social, cultural and religious matters; to allow the members of these minorities to enjoy fully the rights stipulated in international agreements and in the Bulgarian constitution.

During the vote on the Resolution, the Greek delegation abstained. Lady Fleming, the spokesman for the Greek representatives, said that despite its strong stance on human rights, Greece believed that Turkey was using the plight of minority groups for its own political and expansionist purposes.

However, debates in the Parliamentary Assembly on this question gave rise to criticisms of the national repression in Turkey. Below are a few excerpts from the speeches of some European deputies:

Vidal-Masquet (France): “If it is true, as underlines by this proposition, that the right to enjoy their own culture, exercise their own religion, to speak their own language, to maintain their traditions and values and to safeguard their national and cultural unity should be a reality in all countries as well as in Bulgaria...”
ria, that right should be more necessary for a county which is member of the Council of Europe. And the Kurdish people, that is 10 million citizens of Turkey, should benefit from the same rights of ethnic minorities as they are defined by our Assembly. That it is very far from being the case. For me, this draft amendment is a manoeuvre of diversion. I am reminded of a famous French proverb: Those who wish to sweep others' homes should first of all sweep the front of their houses."

Gianotti (Italy): "After the draft amend-
ment of Mr Ivan on the Turks of Bulgaria, I intend to present a new amendment in order that the Kurdish minority of Turkey should no longer be deprived of its cultural and religious rights and that it should no more be victims of the violence and man-hunts banned by international agreements and the Turkish Consti-
stitution."

Neumann (FRG): "If it is legitimate to examine the violation of human rights of which the Islamic minorities of Bulgaria are victims, it seems reasonable, as undertaken by Gianotti, to evoke the situation of the Kurdish minority in Turkey as we are debating the situation in this country. I wonder if the Turkish Government treats its own minority in the way it wants the Bulgarian Government to respect?"

Welcomed "warmly" by the Chinese leaders on December 13, 1985, General Even con-
cluded a cultural, economic and commercial agreement with China.

Turco-Soviet relations were given an impul-
s with a 2-day visit to Turkey by Soviet Pre-

ter Tkhoronov in December 1984. This was the first Soviet visit is 10 years. Previously Mr.

Kasughi had gone to Ankara in 1975, fol-

lowed by Mr Eizen's visit to Moscow in 1978.

The French daily Le Monde of December 28, 1984, commented that this visit was believed to have improved the rather cool rela-
tions prevailing between the two countries since the military coup. "These relations had been adversely affected by the renewed tensions in East-West relations in the aftermath of the Soviet troop's entry into Afghanistan. More-

over, the Turkish leaders considered that the Soviet Union had played a certain role in the upsurge of terrorism and separatist activities prior to the military intervention," said the paper.

On December 28, 1984, both countries signed two major economic accords as well as protocol on cultural exchanges. According to the trade agreement which covers the 1986-

1990 period, the Soviet Union was to supply Turkey with natural gas for 10 years. Since the deliveries were payable in kind, the Soviet market would be opened to Turkish products.

As a result, trade volume between both countries would be increased to $6 billion by 1990, compared with $50 million in 1983.

Mr. Tkhoronov was received by General

Eizen, to whom he extended an invitation for a visit to Moscow from Soviet Chief of State. "Despite differences in their economic and social system, both countries have "lasting common interests" which "cannot be influ-

enced by changes arising out of temporary situations," he said.

During the official talks, the Soviet leader deliberately refrained from alluding to the Turco-Greek dispute on the Aegean, which points to Moscow's wish to have a "balanced relationship" with both countries. As regards the Cyprus issue, the Soviets made it clear that they were backing the UN Secretary General's efforts in order to relaunch talks between both communities. On the Turkish side it was noted that Moscow no longer attached priority importance to an international conference on

Cyprus.

On the other hand, the USSR signalled that it remained open to any act of international terrorists, like "those which are aimed at violat-

ing Turkey's territorial integrity". Moskala Sisset, president of the Foreign Trade Association, stated on April 8, 1986, that as a result of natural gas deliveries from the Soviet Union, Turkey would have a giant market for its many products, and trade would flourish rapidly.

According to the data given by the Com-

cereal Councillor of the USSR, Aleksandr

Koumenko, Soviet investments in Turkey have reached around $3 billion since 1960. He summarized the relations between the two countries as follows:

- The Soviet Union will supply by pipeline natural gas equalising 1.7 billion cubic meters to Turkey after 1987. The quantity to be trans-

ported will be increased gradually, to 4 billion cubic meters in 1992. The length of the natural gas pipeline from the Bulgarian border to

Ankara is 800 km.
- Iron-steel production will be increased to 4 million tons in Iskenderun Iron-Steel Factory (ISDEMIR) built with the participation of Soviet Union.

- Soviet Union exported 40,000 tons iron ingot to Turkey in 1985.

- Turkey imports 100,000 tons of diesel oil from the USSR.

- Soviet Union imports special quality steel from Turkey.

- Negotiations continue for prefabricated houses in Turkey.

The Soviet Union has announced also its intention to open a bank in Turkey under the name of "Moscow-Istanbul Bank."

Further development in the relations between the two countries depends, in short term, on the result of the Turco-USA talks concerning the renewal of the DCA on the one hand, and on the other, on the new perspectives to be proposed by the new Soviet leader Gorbachev.

In the long term, improvement of Turkey’s relations with the neighbouring socialist countries depend on a radical change in Turkish politics which may emerge after the 1988 elections.
TROUBLED RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE

Turkey is a full member of the Council of Europe and an associate member of the European Economic Community. The military coup of 1980 led to the Turkish delegation's exclusion from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and to the freezing of EEC-Turkish relations. However, retracing back to Ankara's blackmail and manoeuvres, European governments have reintegrated the regime's representatives in the Parliamentary Assembly, withdrawn their complaint against the violation of human rights and honoured the Turkish minister with the chairmanship of the Council of Europe. As for the EEC, it has decided to resume its relations with Turkey as soon as possible.
The military coup of 1980 and the subsequent human rights' violation in Turkey have been for years one of the burning questions on the agenda of Western European institutions. They were attentive to Turkey while many other countries were suffering from the same kind of regimes, because she was a founder member of the 21-nation Council of Europe and an associate member of the European Economic Community. What is more, Turkey was also one of the first signatories of the European Convention on Human Rights and of the Helsinki Final Act.

After the collapse of three dictatorships, in Greece, Portugal and Spain, the Western Europe, in the late seventies, was the only community in which all countries, without any exception, were enjoying parliamentary democracy. At that time, Turkey, despite many deficiencies in the field of fundamental rights and freedoms, was considered as a future member of the European Communities and Turco-European institutions developed their common works by taking into account this eventual adhesion.

The Turkish application for associate membership was made at the same time and in a similar way to Greece. The Associate Membership Agreement was signed in Ankara on September 12, 1963, taking effect from December 1964. The then coalition government's arguments for Associate Membership (and eventually for full membership) centered around Turkey's political involvement with Western Europe, and her increasing export trade with the Six.

The Ankara Treaty of 1963, which was almost identical to the Athens Treaty, laid down a three-phase plan for Turkey's full membership of the EEC. The first phase was to last five to ten years, followed by a transitional phase of twelve years. The last phase of final harmonization has no specified duration. Its provisions were based on the gradual development of a customs union between the EEC and Turkey. Tariff reductions and the abolition of trade restrictions were to determine the terms. Furthermore the movement of private capital from EEC members to Turkey would be encouraged side by side with the freedom of movement of workers between Turkey and the EEC, twelve years after the ratification of the Ankara Treaty.

During the first period of repression between 1971-1973, Turco-European relations were strained but not frozen because the National Assembly was not dissolved.

After the return to a relative democracy in 1973, the governments of Ecevit and Demirel have, in concert steps with a view to applying for full membership to the EEC.

The military coup of 1980 and the dissolution of the National Assembly and political parties have been a shock to European parliamentary institutions.

As it was already explained in the preceding chapter, the only visible reaction against the coup came from international trade union centers such as the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). All of them asked for the exclusion of Turkey from the Council of Europe and for the suspension of the EEC-Turkey relations.

While the governmental bodies of Western Europe were reluctantly expressing their preoccupations, the parliamentary bodies, under the pressure of trade union and human rights organizations, adopted a more critical stand towards the new Turkish regime.

The legislative branch of the European Communities, the European Parliament adopted the following resolution at its session of September 17, 1980:

"The European Parliament,

*Concerned as the military take-over in Turkey,

*Urgently requests that steps be taken immediately towards guaranteeing for the Turkish people the enjoyment of political and trade union freedoms, within a democratic institutional framework,

*Stresses the importance of ensuring in the medium term the physical safety of those persons who have not been detained, who included Turkish Members of the EEC-Turkey Joint Committee, operating within the framework of Turkey's Association with the Community,

*Considers that the prolongation of non-democratic measures would place Turkey in flagrant violation of several explicit undertakings which it has entered into in treaties (Council of Europe and European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamen-
tial Freedoms, Association with the EEC under the Ankara Agreement);

"Reaffirms that the respect for internationally recognized human rights, as laid down in the European Convention, is an essential condition for dialogue with a European state associated with the EEC.

"Calls on the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation to report to the competent committees of the European Parliament at the earliest possible opportunity on the situation in Turkey, its implications for the association agreement and the steps being taken to re-establish democracy;

"Calls for a full debate on the matter to take place not later than November 1980;

"Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission, and the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation."

Two weeks later, on October 1, 1980, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted another resolution demanding that the military junta re-establish rapidly a democratic system and reminding that, if this demand is not answered in a positive manner, the process of excluding Turkey from the Council of Europe would be started.

The fact that the military junta took heed to the demands of the European institutions gave rise to more severe criticisms at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe at its January 1981 session. After discussing the Rapporteur Steiner's report, the Assembly adopted on January 29 the following resolution:

"The Assembly, having considered the report of its Political Affairs Committee, draws up following a fact-finding visit to Turkey carried out from 5 to 8 January 1981 by two of its members,

"Considering that democratic principles are not at present applied and that human rights are not respected in Turkey as appears from information concerning:

"i. arrests and imprisonment, so far without trial, of thousands of persons;

"ii. several cases of torture although the Prime Minister declared on December 6, 1980, his firm intention to inquire into allegations of torture and, if need be, to prosecute the guilty officials;

"iii. de facto censorship of press and literary activities;"
"In other violations of the Human Rights Convention including ill-treatment;
"Concerned by the recourse to execution of death sentences contrary to previous practice even though in conformity with the law;
"Considering that the absence of concrete progress towards the restoration of democracy would be incompatible with Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe;
"Expressing the wish that the investigations being carried out into the cases of the two members of the Assembly present in detention be completed rapidly in order to make personal contacts possible;
"Instructs its Political Affairs Committee to follow internal developments in Turkey closely;
"Instructs the Secretary General to seek with the Turkish authorities information in every case of alleged torture or ill-treatment of prisoners brought to his attention by members of the Parliamentary Assembly;
"Decides to examine the situation in the light of paragraphs 1 to 12 above, at the first part of its 33rd ordinary session in May 1981."

During the debates, European parliamentarians expressed their anxiety for the violation of human rights in Turkey as follows:
Claude Debard (Belgian Deputy and member of the Belgian Committee for Defense of Human Rights in Turkey) "The numbers published at the beginning of this month by the press, officially controlled by those in power, show that since September 12th, 1980, 52,337 people have been arrested, of whom 1,135 are extreme-rightists, 4,509 are extreme-leftists and 883 are militants of separatist organizations which claim the cultural identity of the Kurdish people. The number of other detainees who cannot be classified as extremists is over 26,000."

"It is a fact that the Turkey of Generals is not in conformity with the requirements of articles 1 and 3 of the Statute and that the dispositions of the European Convention on Human Rights are no more respected in this country. It is a fascist government and has no right to keep its seat among us..."

At the debates, Norwegian deputy Liv Axen also accused the Turkish regime as follows:
"It is quite evident that Turkey is no longer a democracy and that she no longer fulfills the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe. Pluralist parliamentary democracy and its fundamental values are set out in the European Convention on Human Rights and are a necessary requirement of membership of the CE. We all know that if we had strictly applied these requirements, Turkey would already have been suspended from the Council of Europe."

"We know that the situation before September 12 was terrible, with increasing terrorism, but we cannot agree with terrorism being fought by state terrorism. We cannot tolerate police forces or military forces applying torture and this kind of so-called official terrorism. This is clearly stated in Article 3 of the Convention on Human Rights."

"So what are the plans of the National Security Council with regards to going back to democracy? General Evren said in a speech on January 7 that a new constituent assembly would prepare a new constitution. The new constituent assembly will be appointed by the National Security Council. The whole plan is an insult to the politicians, and the result will in no way be democracy."

"During the May session we have to review the situation, and we have to be convinced at that time that dictatorship will be replaced by democracy. We have to express our solidarity as democrats with those who are oppressed, and we have to demand that freedom of political activity, of trade unions and of the press be restored in Turkey. When generals in Turkey continue to govern that country, the consequence must be that Turkey will have to leave the Council of Europe."

On April 11, 1981, the European Parliament adopted a new resolution supporting the Turkish people's struggle to re-establish democratic institutions and with horror condemned executions, torture and imprisonment of innocent democrats.

The resolution reads:
"The European Parliament,
"- Considering that no steps have been taken since the instigation of the military regime to restore democracy in Turkey, despite all the assurances to that effect that the military authorities have given the European countries and EEC institutions,
"- Considering that in spite of the objectives announced by the regime, political violence continues with the support of the latter,
"- Considering that it deserves as well to Turkey as to members of the European Com-
munity, as parties to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights, to guarantee the respect of those provisions, not only on their own territory but also inside the zone covered by the Convention.

Considering that the common statement made by the institutions of the European Community in which they assert that the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms is an obligation for the activities of the Community in itself,

- Worried by detailed reports stating that numerous violations were done to Human Rights and fundamental freedoms irrelevant to the emergency statement, reports that are not yet denied,
- Considering that the announced intentions to restore democracy will lose their credibility if actual measures to that effect are not taken in the time to come,

1. supports the strike of the people of Turkey with a view to restoring democratic institutions, the parliament, political parties and trade-unions,

2. blames the extended interruption of the democratic institutions of Turkey,

3. blames with abhorrence the death-sentences and torture as well as the imprisonment of innocent democrats,

4. requests the Commission, the Council and the member states to take up their responsibilities in pursuance of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, namely by:
   a. requesting the Turkish Government to prevent, without delay, a list of the measures allowing the exercise of the democratic freedoms and including accurate terms to be applied,
   b. notifying the Turkish Government that the association between Turkey and the European Community would be immediately suspended if return to the institutions and to democratic practice has not been made within two months,
   c. demands that freedoms and democratic rights (free trade-unions, political meeting and organisation, etc.) for the workers and the students inside the Community are guaranteed and defended,
   d. instructs the President to transmit the present resolution to the Commission, to the Council and to parliaments and governments of the members states.

In addition to this, the European Parliament adopted also the following motion of urgence:

"The extension of the political situation in Turkey, the extension of imprisonment, torture and execution of political prisoners as well as the military regime's refusal to bring back, in a short time, a parliamentary system in Turkey, compel the Community to take urgent measures."

NEW PROTEST ACTIONS BY TRADE UNION CENTERS

Meantime, the international trade union organization raised once more their voice against the aggravating situation in Turkey. The ETUC and the WCL decided to send a mission each to Turkey to study the real situation there and to talk with the arrested leaders of DISK. The Turkish military government stated that these missions could go to Turkey, but would not be allowed to see the prisoners.

The Turkish government's attitude led Mr. Matthias Hirnseiske, Secretary General of the ETUC to hold a press conference on February 5, 1981, in Brussels. He said:

"In June 1980, the Executive Committee of the ETUC welcomed Turkey's rapprochement with Western Europe and was consequently anxious that the major trade union organizations in that country should join the ETUC as soon as possible.

In early September 1980, the ETUC put forward the idea of sending a delegation of high-ranking officials to Turkey with the view to collaborating with DISK and TUEK-IS (the Turkish trade union organizations which have applied to the ETUC for affiliation) on efforts to seek efficient means of strengthening democracy and the respect of fundamental freedoms in that country and to investigate ways and means of counteracting the deterioration in the social and political situation, which is going from bad to worse.

In mid September, the ETUC emphatically condemned the coup d'etat, abolition of the fundamental freedoms and basic rights of the workers of Turkey, and demanded that the
Council of Europe and the Council of Ministers of the EC take all the necessary measures to make those in power in Turkey restore democracy and freedom. This action has been to no avail, and the ETUC has since been receiving more and more information on arbitrary arrest, inhuman treatment and torture.

"In order to obtain further information on the situation and to make the ETUC's position and opinion known to those in power in Turkey and make it clear to them that the European trade unions would not accept economic, social or political collaboration with a dictatorship and authoritarian regime, the ETUC renewed its decision to send a delegation to Turkey.

"The Turkish Government did not even consider the letter which the ETUC sent explaining the purpose and mission of the trade union delegation worthy of acknowledgement, let alone an official reply in writing. It was only after urgent appeal that the ETUC received an answer by telephone explaining, i.e., that under Turkish law the delegation would not be allowed to meet the members of DISK who are in prison.

"The ETUC regards this refusal to allow the delegation to contact the DISK trade unionists in prison as an admission that the information received on the inhuman treatment of prisoners and their limited means of defense is absolutely true.

"In view of this situation, the ETUC has decided to cancel its mission.

"But this cancellation must not be interpreted to mean that we are abandoning our Turkish colleagues or that we have become resigned to the facts.

"The ETUC considers that every means must be employed to condemn and stop the military dictatorship. At its session of February 12th and 13th, the Executive Committee will seek other ways and means of exerting as much pressure as possible to have democracy and freedom restored immediately and to the full in Turkey."

"In fact, the executive committee of the ETUC, at its session on February 12th and 13th, decided to recommend that the Council of Europe expel the Turkish regime from membership in this organization, and that the European Communities suspend all relations between the EEC and Turkey because of the anti-democratic practices of the military junta in power.

On the other hand, Jan Kulakowski, the Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), made the following statement at his press conference February 11, 1981, in Brussels.

"The WCL has concern for the real defense of workers' and peoples' rights all over the world. The WCL backs the struggles of the workers and their trade unions whose right to strike and to bargain collectively has been abolished, whose autonomous organizations have been prohibited.

"This is the reason that we wrote to the Prime Minister of Turkey and informed him of our decision to send a delegation to Turkey to find out the real situation and to talk to the officers of our friendly organization DISK even if they were in prison.

"The First Councillor of the Turkish Embassy in Belgium, Mr. Orhan Kot, in response to our letter addressed to the Prime Minister and to our treaty of January 21, informed us by telephone that his Government had authorized him to declare that there was nothing against the WCL delegation visiting Turkey. We were not satisfied with this reply and wrote to the Prime Minister of Turkey a second time, insisting that we should be given the opportunity to visit the DISK officers in prison. To this day we have not received any reply to our letter and for that reason we cancel our visit to Turkey.

"The military leaders came forward to put an end to anarchy and terror and to save democracy. It is true that before the coup of September 12th, there was war-wide spread terrorism in Turkey. However, DISK and its affiliated unions had nothing to do with terrorism whatsoever. On the contrary, these unions included trade union leaders and workers among its targets. DISK and its affiliated unions were not against democracy. On the contrary, they were among the leading defenders of democracy.

"After paying a heavy debt from terrorism and repression and judicially threatened with suspension since 1980 for having exercised the right to strike, this is how DISK pays for its determination to defend the workers, the democratic rights and the trend which the labour world was more and more putting in it.

"As we can arrive at the conclusion that we have witnessed a planned destabilization of the
State in Turkey so that a more comprehensive as well as a more democratic policy could be justified and established.

"It is for that reason that the fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the terrorises, attached to it, were lost. Individual terrorists, adventurer groups (calling themselves "Mustafa") responded to them in the same way.

"The adverse effect of this planned terror is spreading the masses. They resist taking action.

"It is true that terror is not present in Turkey as it was before. But neither democracy.

"The Constitution of Turkey and human rights are suspended.

"The Parliament is abolished.

"Activities of all political parties are suspended.

"The right to strike and bargain collectively is completely banned.

"There is a wide-spread tension and repression.

"The press and other public media are censured.

"Trade union leaders, militants and workers are under arrest.

"Now the international financial organizations and the multinationals are free to act as they wish. Wages can be frozen in accordance with the demands of the International Monetary Fund. Unemployment can increase as investments decrease. Inflation can also increase as a result of the high production costs due to the devaluation of the Turkish Lira.

"Demands arising from political purposes connected with strategic interests can meet much more easily now.

"The prospects for the future are also very dire.

"The military junta declared that towards the end of the year's Constituent Assembly' would be declared. In fact, this will not be an assembly but just a mechanism serving as a coterie voting on certain legislative bills, subject to the approval of the National Security Council. In case the Council does not approve a bill voted on by the so called Constituent Assembly, it will have the power to amend it and to enact the final bill.
"This means nothing more than making a joke of democracy. It does not look like the Government is ready to make a serious attempt to allay the allegations that human rights are not respected in Turkey and that there is widespread torture. For about four months the officers and militatants and members of DISK were kept in military prisons and were not allowed to contact even their lawyers. Now that they recently have been taken before the courts, we learn of the torture they underwent. This means that the statements taken from them under such adverse conditions do not and cannot carry any weight.

"The main wish of the WCI is to have Turkey return to genuine democracy. We believe that Turkey must remain a member of the Council of Europe and that conditions could worsen if Turkey were out of the Council of Europe. However, Turkey cannot stay in the Council of Europe under the present conditions.

"It is the duty of the international trade union movement, before all others, to see to it that democracy is re-established in Turkey as early as possible."

As for the ICTFU, a delegation headed by Secretary General Otto Kersten which visited Turkey on April 6-10, 1981, presented the Executive Board with a detailed report which concluded that Turkey's military rulers might have preserved their immediate aim of ending violence in the streets, but they had done so at the cost of a wholly unacceptable suppression of human and trade union rights.

"Collective bargaining is no longer possible in Turkey," Kersten pointed out. "Wages are fixed by a Supreme Arbitration Council on which workers are in any case inadequately represented. In fact, through its decisions, wages are lagging behind inflation in 1981 - even though inflation is decreasing. But it is not only collective bargaining that has been suspended. Legally constituted unions, including the DISK federation and its affiliates, have been suspended and the judicial authorities have sent in so-called curators to run their affairs. Virtually all DISK leaders are in prison awaiting trial on vague, generalized accusations. No specific charges have been made against them. Relatives and defence lawyers are permitted to visit prisoners only once a fortnight, and then under disadvantageous conditions that make it impossible for the lawyers to prepare a proper case. There are about sixty prisoners in each visiting room and they are separated from the visitors by two bed wire fences across which they have to shout in order to make themselves understood.

Some union officials have been dismissed by the 'curators', and all imprisoned officials have had their pay stopped. Thus, their families are left destitute, but any attempt at solidarity relief within the country is blocked by the authorities on the grounds that it constitutes support for illegal organizations. The ICTFU will therefore be looking for ways to bring relief to these families.

"In the ICTFU's view," Kersten stressed, "there is no valid reason for suspending trade unions, including DISK and its affiliates. This measure, together with the imprisonment of trade unionists, is a grave violation of trade union rights."

The mission recommends that the ICTFU should lodge with the ILO an official complaint against the Turkish authorities.

"In discussion with the President of TÜRK-IS, the mission once again emphasised the apprehension expressed by the ICTFU Executive Board about 'the holding of Office, in a government installed by the military, by a serving official of TÜRK-IS.' The mission found a general realisation that urgent action is needed on this matter, in order to dispel any suspicion that TÜRK-IS might be amenable to the dictates of the undemocratic government."

On May 12-13, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers sent another mission to Turkey. Queen's Counsel and British Parliamentarian Davidson and lawyer Pierre Vandernoot summarized their findings at a press conference as follows:

"If it seems beyond all question that the authorities restored public order, it is important to call attention to the following serious facts: military law increased the time-limit for administrative arrest preliminary to any lawful institution to 90 days (previously it was 48 hours...), during which prisoners cannot see either their family or their counsell; opinion suits are intended for the leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade-Unions (DISK) and its activities are forbidden; a procedure aiming at its prohibition is ward at law; counsels and families cannot see prisoners under decent conditions; torture seems to be common..."

The International Association of the
Democratic Lawyers, giving attention to exercise of democracy in Turkey, cannot the authorities re-establish the "de facto" State, to apply their promises for a quick return of democracy, to respect wholly human rights, including fall trade-union freedom and abolition of torture as a method of interrogation.

TURKISH DELEGATION EXCLUDED FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Considering the aggravation of the situation in Turkey, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe decided on May 14, 1981, to exclude the Turkish delegation, as long as a democratic regime is not re-established in Ankara.

After a 2-day discussion, the "21" Assembly has adopted two "guiding lines proposals", to be submitted to the Council of Ministers for consideration.

The first of these propositions expresses the anxiety of the Assembly faced with the situation in Turkey, and its wish that "actual decisions will take place to re-establish democratic institutions in that country."

The second considers it "unnecessary" to prolongate the mandate of the Turkish delegation, bearing in mind the rules of the Assembly.

The representatives of the left-wing (socialist and communists) of the "21" Assembly wished for the inclusion of Turkey from the European Council.

After the vote, Ankara's regime remained represented only in the Committee of the ministers of foreign affairs.

At the same time, the ICFU decided on July 2, 1981, to suspend the membership of the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TURK-IS) of which the Secretary General, Sadik Sule, was at the same time the minister of Social Security in the military government.

On October 5, 1981, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the following resolution on the situation in Turkey:

"The Assembly,

FORGERY OF THE JUNTA'S AMBASSADOR

Deny of getting information about the fate of Mr. Fikri Avcioglu who was arrested together with the other trade union leaders of the DISK on November 8, 1980, the European Parliament member Mrs. Maryanne Doye had written to the Turkısh Ambassador.

The ambassador Mr. Faik Mekas has answered Mrs. Doye's letter with correct falsifications: "I have to inform you that no worker or trade unionist has been prosecuted or arrested owing to his trade union activities since December, 1980. Likewise, no trade union has been suspended by reason of its legal trade union activities. So, the trade unions' confederation Türk-Is which embodies the majority of the workers' ranks on its trade union activities provided by law. The activity of the trade unions' confederation DISK has been suspended because of the serious accusations brought against it as the participation to the terrorist or anarchist actions, acting in connection with illegal organizations and providing moral and material support for them. The former leaders of the DISK are tried by a free and independent law court according to our Turkish legislation..."

In a letter directing to the persons concerned, Mrs. Doye says: "His answer at least makes me perplexed and I submit it to your reflection."

In order to help the verification of the European democrats we call once again their attention to ICFU press release dated January 10, 1983."

"VULGAR DISTORTIONS: The views of the General Secretary of the ICFU Mr. John Vanderwollen who had betaken himself to Turkey from December 14 to December 19 in order to realize on the spot the evolution of the situation in the country about the DISK trial were correctly informed by the Turkish Government's information bureau NUPDOT which is distributed among the diplomats and other foreign representatives in Ankara. In the English edition the Newsport made Vanderwollen say that the trial has been led in an absolutely just manner. He has never made such a declaration. On the contrary, he said the reporters that the mission could not find the least proof that the defendants had committed any act of violence. One can rather imagine that they are tried for their opinions. Vanderwollen added stress on the fact that the ICFU would continue to help the victims of such trials. In fact, when he met the Turkish Prime Miniser, Vanderwollen initiated steps for the discharge of those who are actually brought up for trial for their opinions."
FREEZING OF THE EEC'S FINANCIAL AID TO TURKEY

On November 5, 1981, the European Parliament approved by 218 votes to 53, with 9 abstentions, a roll call vote Amendment which sought a temporary freeze on the 4th EEC-Turkey protocol.

Under the pressure from democratic institutions, the EEC Commission decided to delay the application of the 4th Financial Protocol between Turkey and EEC until the situation is clarified by the Turkish authorities and to freeze 600 million ECU's of financial aid to Turkey.

On these decisions, with a view to convincing the Council of Europe of their "good will", the Turkish military Junta warmly welcomed a European mission between January 7 and 14, 1982. But the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, after having observed the continuation of the violation of human rights, adopted on January 28, 1982, the following resolution recommending implementation of a Council procedure under which any member country may bring the Turkish regime before the Human Rights Commission to answer charges:

"The Assembly"

1. Having considered the report of its Political Affairs Committee and the opinion of its Legal Affairs Committee, which particularly take account of the fact-finding visit carried out by an Assembly delegation from January 7 to 14, 1982;


3. Having taken note of the statements of the Turkish Head of State on December 31, 1981, indicating a timetable according to which a draft constitution will be submitted to referendum in the autumn of 1982 and legislative elections will take place in 1983 or at the latest 1984;

4. Considering that the present situation in Turkey is still incompatible with the Council of Europe's Statute, but that Turkey's continued membership of the Council of Europe gives over the restoration of democratic institutions and the respect of human rights in that country;

5. Stressing its links of friendship with the Turkish people and reiterating its faith, confirmed by the fact-finding delegation to Turkey, in the people's attachment to Europe in general and to the ideals of the Council of Europe in particular, recognizing at the same time the importance of the role of this people as
a cultural bridge between Europe and the Middle East.

6. Recalling that the terms of Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights provide that Contracting Parties can derogate from the provisions of the convention only "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with its other obligations under international law";

7. Recalling with a view to making use of all available means for verifying allegations of torture, its Order No. 393 (1981), by which it instructed the Secretary General to seek with the Turkish authorities information in every case of alleged torture or ill-treatment of prisoners brought to his attention by members of the Parliamentary Assembly;

8. Noting in this context that the Head of State informed the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on January 8 that any allegation of torture can be brought by any individual to the attention of the Minister of Justice for investigation;

9. Expressing satisfaction that terrorism has diminished in Turkey, but noting that this has not yet been accompanied by a corresponding restoration of human rights and fundamental freedoms limited or suspended in conformity with Article 15 aforementioned;

10. Condemning the recent decision of the National Security Council to dissolve the political parties and to confiscate their property;

11. Concerned by reports according to which torture and ill-treatment are still practiced, but noting that the Turkish authorities have reaffirmed their intention to investigate all allegations and punish officials found to be guilty of torturing prisoners;

12. Considering that a Consultative Assembly has been set up to draw up a draft constitution, while deploring the fact that political parties are excluded from participating in the work of this Assembly;

13. Concerned about the undemocratic aspects of some recent legislation, such as the law on the universities, which might prejudice the democratic quality of the draft constitution;

14. Considering finally that the Council of Europe cannot, at the risk of losing its credibility as a human rights institution, postpone again the taking of a firm stand against the current situation in Turkey;

15. Condemns the human rights violations which have taken place in Turkey, inter alia the abolition of political parties and trade union organisations, detention for offenses relating to the holding of opinions, torture and ill-treatment inflicted on political prisoners, and the holding of trials without the rights of defence of the accused being guaranteed;

16. Asks the Turkish Government to free political prisoners, to allow democratic and trade union organisations to reconstitute free from interference, to ensure the protection and equality of treatment of the country's religious minorities and to re-establish democratic institutions;

17. Draws the attention of the governments of member states of the Council of Europe to the Convention which permits any contracting state to set up the Commission of Human Rights of any infringement of the provisions of the Convention;

18. Expresses the opinion that the procedure envisaged under Article 24 of the Convention ought to be utilized in the case of Turkey, in order to verify the extent to which the allegations of torture and other violations of human rights in Turkey are founded;

19. Urges the Turkish Government:

a. to ensure that the draft constitution which is to be submitted to the approval by the Turkish people, as well as the future laws on political parties and on the electoral system are fully in conformity with Turkey's obligations under the Council of Europe's charter and the European Convention on Human Rights;

b. to see to it that adequate provision is made for free public discussion before the draft constitution is submitted as planned to a referendum by a street ballot in autumn 1982;

c. to respect fully all provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights from which no derogation is admitted, with special emphasis on the elimination of the practice of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, and pursue vigorously its investigation of all reports in this connection;

'd. to give a delegation of the International Red Cross the possibility of undertaking an objective examination of the conditions in prisons in Turkey, particularly in connection with allegations of torture;

'e. to guarantee the right of every individual to a fair trial before fully independent courts
as well as humane living conditions in pri-
son establishments, and to release all pri-
soners unduly detained.

"1. To abolish all laws which unduly limit the
right to free expression, the activities of pol-
itical parties and trade unions and to gua-
rantee these rights explicitly;

"2. To recognise the Turkish population's right
to information by establishing genuine
freedom of the press;

"3. To ensure that all the conditions of demo-
cracy are complied with to enable, in the
not too distant future the new democratic-
cally elected Turkish parliamentarians to
take their places again in parliamentary
delegation to the Council of Europe."

SUSPENSION OF THE EEC-
TURKEY ASSOCIATION

Meanwhile, the European Parliament, at its
session of January 22, 1982, decided not to
renew the mandate of its members in the Joint
Parliamentary Committee of the Turkey-EEC
Association. It also adopted the following reso-
lution by 36 votes against 53 and 9 abstentions:

"The European Parliament,

"deeply disturbed by the news that the
death sentence has been requested for 52 lead-
ers of the DISK trade union in Turkey.

"having regard to the thousands of arrests
on the grounds of dissension, the dissolution of
the political parties and trade union organiza-
tions, the executions and the torture of political
prisoners,

"whereas after the coup d'état of 12 Sep-
tember 1980 the Turkish military régime has
shown no serious desire to restore civil and
democratic freedom,

"having regard, therefore, to the lack of
credibility of the repeated claims by the régime
in power in Turkey that it intended gradually to
restore democracy,

"1. Reaffirms its strong condemnation of the
military coup d'état in Turkey;

"2. Condemns the present violence and in
particular the mock trial now under way in
Istanbul of representatives of the democratic
forces;

"3. Calls for the immediate release of the

political detainees, the re-establishment, in full
freedom, of the democratic and trade union
organizations and the restoration of the Turk-
ish democratic institutions;

"4. Reiterates its request to the Commis-
sion and the Council to suspend the Communi-
ty's financial aid to Turkey until such time as
respect for human and civil rights and democ-
ocratic liberties is once again assured in Turkey;

"5. Requests its President and the Presi-
dent of the Council to take action to help the 52
trade union leaders whose life is in danger and
to seek their release;

"6. Requests the Foreign Ministers meet-
ing in Political Cooperation to condemn the
violations of human rights in Turkey;

"7. Decides not to renew the mandate of its
members on the Joint Parliamentary Commit-
tee of the EEC-Turkey Association until such
time as the Turkish Grand National Assembly
has been freely elected in a secret ballot by
direct universal suffrage and has taken office;

"8. Instructs its President to forward this
resolution to the Council, the Commission and
the Governments of the Member States."

TURKISH REGIME BEFORE
HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMISSION

The European press on the Turkish mil-
itary régime was brought to a climax on July 1,
1982, when five European governments, fol-
lowing the resolution of the Parliamentary
Assembly of the Council Europe, filed a com-
plaint against Turkey to the European Human
Rights Commission in Strasbourg.

The governments of Denmark, France,
Norway, Holland and Sweden accused the
Turkish régime of having violated the follow-
ing dispositions of the European Convention
of which Turkey is also one of the signatories:

- Article 3 (Prohibition of torture and inhu-
man or degrading punishments or treat-
ments)
- Article 5 (Individual's right to freedom and
security)
- Article 6 (Right to a fair trial before an inde-
pendent and impartial tribunal)
- Article 9 (Freedom of opinion, conscience
and religion)
- Article 10 (Freedom of expression)
- Article 11 (Freedom of meeting and association).

To the astonishment of observers, a few days later, as a result of right-wing parliamentarians' manoeuvres, the European Parliament adopted, on July 8, 1982, a resolution contradicting its former stand. Although it expressed anxieties about the restriction of human rights in Turkey, 105 parliamentarians voted for the resolution based on right-wing German deputy Von Hassel's report which does not condemn anti-democratic practices, while 100 voted against and 9 abstained.

The Resolution reads:
*"The European Parliament, believes that Turkey, in this extremely critical period of history, should receive understanding from its western partners, particularly the Member States of the Community; aware of the governments of the Member States to consider what can be done to attract investment to Turkey, following the return to democracy; calls on the Commission to recommend that the Council adopt the Fourth EEC-Turkey Financial Protocol as soon as the various stages of the return to democracy have been finally completed."

During the debates on the report, social and communist deputies proposed many amendments for condemning the Turkish regime, but could not obtain the necessary majority.

CONSTITUTION
AND ELECTIONS
DISAPPROVED BY EUROPE

On the other hand, prior to the referendum on the new Constitution, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted, on October 6, 1982, the following resolution which expressed its disapproval for the way of preparation and voting of the new constitution:

"The Assembly, noticing also that five member states of the Council of Europe have introduced applications before the European Commission of Human Rights which most verily whether the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights are respected by the Turkish Government and the denigrations foreseen under its Article 15 are exactly applied; considering that the National Security Council began on 1 October 1982, the examination of the Constitution as adopted by the Consultative Assembly on 24 September 1982; aware that the National Security Council is in a position to make modifications to this Constitution before it is submitted to a referendum on 7 November 1982; recalling that for the membership of Turkey in the Council of Europe it is of the utmost importance that the new Constitution fulfils the requirements of parliamentary democracy and human rights in the sense of the Council of Europe's Statute; considering that, in view of the present situation, it would be of great importance for the organs of the Council of Europe to be informed of the conclusions reached by the European Commission of Human Rights as soon as possible, and that the states concerned should make every effort to contribute to accelerating the procedure; deeply concerned by the allegations of torture and ill-treatment which are still being made. Also concerned by the limitations placed on citizens' freedom of expression by Decree No. 70, while considering that the lifting of the curfew and the repeal of Decree No. 52 could assist progress towards the normalisation of public life, expresses the earnest hope that the Turkish authorities will:
- a. respect the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and do everything to eradicate the practice of torture and to pursue its enquiries into all allegations on this subject;
- b. ensure that the draft Constitution be submitted to referendum is in full conformity with the Statute of the Council of Europe, and particularly that it ensures pluralism of political parties and trade unions, the protection and equality of treatment for the country's religious minorities, the rule of law and the separation of powers, and that it incorporates the safeguard of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights;"
"c. take the appropriate measures to ensure that the referendum takes place in accordance with the rules of democracy, and that it is preceded by a campaign in which all individuals or groups of individuals are free to express themselves freely on the draft Constitution and to seek to influence the choice of their fellow citizens;"

"d. take the necessary steps, in conformity with Assembly Recommendation 951, on voting rights for nationals of Council of Europe member States, in order to enable the large Turkish community of nearly two million people living and working abroad to participate in the vote for the referendum."

Three days after the referendum on the constitution, the foreign ministers of the 21 adopted a waiting attitude at their meeting in Strasbourg, avoiding any decisive position on the Turkish question.

Nevertheless, the European parliamentarians' reaction against the new constitution was not so comprehensive as that of governmental circles. At the end of a 2-day debate, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted on January 28, 1983, with the vote of a great majority, a resolution which "takes seriously into consideration" the eventuality of Turkey's exclusion from the ministerial committee of the organization as well. The resolution adopted by 97 votes to 15 and 5 abstentions asked also the Turkish Government to refrain from using its voting rights in the Committee of Ministers until parliamentary democracy is fully restored and until Turkey is once again represented in the parliamentary body of the Council of Europe. (For the full text of the Resolution and the remarks of European parliamentarians on the Constitution, see the Chapter 1982-83 in the preceding pages).

The European Parliament too debated the new constitution at its session of March 8, 1983, but intense discussion on two different motions, one from the left and the other from the right, resulted in the withdrawal of both two, without adopting any resolution.

The way of holding the first legislative elections too gave rise to criticisms in European institutions.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe declared in a resolution adopted on September 30, 1983, that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey on November 6 could not be considered to represent the Turkish people in a democratic manner, and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe."

As for the European Parliament, on October 13, 1983, it this time condemned the Turkish military regime, insisting that Turkey should respect human rights and reject it advance the results of the upcoming elections which straight off were called a "fiasco" by certain MPs.

TURKISH "FAIT ACCOMPLI" AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Again to the astonishment of observers, despite the fact that the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe had condemned the National Assembly to be elected in Turkey, deputies chosen during this election came to Strasbourg and set down on the benches of the Parliamentary Assembly on January 30, 1984, without invitation, and better they took part in the vote throughout the session.

Ankara indeed succeeded in making a real bid for power thanks to the complicity of the European Right which seized and took advantage of every occasion in order to prevent the scheduled debate on Turkey from taking place. The delegation from Ankara, consisting of 12 representatives and 12 substitutes, made use of the rules permitting a delegation whose eligibility is being disputed, to sit pending a decision by the Assembly. As for the European deputies of the right or the "moderate" left, under the pretext of a partial strike of the interpreters started on February 2, they decided to adjourn until May the debates on Turkey and on the Cyprus question.

According to Le Monde, the 35th ordinary session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly was concluded prematurely, amid a confusion rarely noticed in the 21-state assembly.

These developments in Turkish-European relations that resulted in the failure of the democratic European deputies' initiative at the Council of Europe, had begun just after the
Turkish elections with a challenge of General-President Evens claiming that by holding elec-
tions, Turkey had allegedly proven that de-moc-

racy had been restored, and charging the
new-elected deputies with the task of going to
Strasbourg to represent Turkey in the E.C.

Mr. Ozal, the head of the new Ankara
government adopted the tone of General
Evens, threatening to sever totally Ankara's
relations with the Council of Europe.

On January 8, President Ozal told reporters,
"If the Parliamentary Assembly's attitude con-
tinues and if, as a result, we cannot be repre-
sented at the parliamentary wing of the Council,
then we shall not continue to be present at the
Committee of Ministers." Subsequent to this
challenge, the National Assembly elected 12
parliamentarians to represent Turkey in the
Council of Europe. The latter immediately
started their "shuttle diplomacy" in 15 Euro-
pean capitals.

Ozal’s decision to send a parliamentary
delegation to Strasbourg embarrassed the
Council of Europe and Karl Ahrens, chairman of
the Parliamentary Assembly, flew to Ankara
in an effort to dissuade the Turkish authori-
ties from their "deterioration," but failed in his
efforts to convince the Turkish government of
waiting until the next plenary session in May,
instead of forcing a possible confrontation
now.

On January 30, the Parliamentary Assem-
bly of the Council of Europe held one of the
most crucial sessions since its creation. Despite
the fact that the same assembly had passed a
few months ago a resolution not to accept the
Turkish parliamentarians proceeding from the
November 4th elections, 12 representatives of
the new-elected Turkish Assembly and their
12 substitutes were present in the grand hall of
the European palace.

A provocation against their presence came from
the Socialists Group. At debate opened over the
cREDENTIALS of the Turkish delegates, Danish
socialist MP, Mr. Lauris Bilde, intervened on
behalf of his group, the largest in the
70-member assembly. "The most important
question is this. Is the parliament in Turkey
freely elected?" he said, "it is not. Only three of
the 15 parties who wished to participate could
do so." Mr. Bilde said that although some
progress was being made towards democracy
in Turkey, the Socialist Group had decided
unanimously to oppose any validation of the
Turkish delegate's credentials. "Human rights are deeply violated in the state of Turkey," he said, "the trade unions are not free, the press is not free, the universities are not free. The jails are full of political prisoners and we see the lack of an amnesty."

But those who were determined to quash the Turkish deputies on the first day, in the opening session, felt defeated when Parliamentary Assembly President Karl Ahrens, a German socialist, announced that he is referring the issue of the credentials of the Turkish parliamentarians to the Stasirow Committee.

The pro-governmental Turkish press reported this first obstruction as follows: "The tough and arthritic approach of the Socialist group was expected even before the sessions started and observers anticipated that the moderate Socialist members would not go along with them."

At last common sense prevailed and those who realized Turkey, which is the southern bastion of Europe, should not be sacrificed and those who had some feeling of responsibility moved to moderate the anti-Turkish move.

The principal figure of the "moderating operation" was Karl Ahrens who had recently visited Turkey prior to the Assembly meeting. For the first time in the history of the Council, the Assembly broke off a session to await the decision of the Statute Committee. The Committee which was convened immediately, helped the Turkish regime by referring the issue to a joint meeting of the Political and Legal Affairs Committees.

The motion to refer the issue to the joint committee was approved by the Assembly by 116 votes to 7 and the first round utterly went to the Turkish regime.

In the evening session of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee, two opposite views clashed bitterly. At the end Austrian deputy Ludwig Steiner's report criticising Ankara was watered down and 39 members of the joint committee voted for a conciliating solution on the Turkish representation in the Assembly, while 15 voted against and 8 abstained.

Again, according to the Turkish press, the Committee, adopting this attitude, killed two birds with one stone. The rapporteurs of both councils were charged with the task of drawing up a new joint report to enable Turkey to keep her place in the Assembly while also satisfying the opposition by saying that the credentials of the Turkish deputies will be taken up in the Council's May session.

But the heated debate on a compromise text ended unresolved. The Socialist Group and the Conservatives held firmly to their opposing views on Turkey with some splits among the Socialist ranks. Some members in the Turkish delegation reportedly wanted to walk out when the Steiner-Ahlert joint report attempted to alter the status of the Turkish parliamentary delegation to "observers." The Socialists tried to muster motions into the resolution urging Turkey to lift martial law and announce an amnesty, and making this condition for Turkish participation in the Parliamentary Assembly's May session.

At this point the Turkish deputies started also to quarrel fiercely one with another because of their different views. The fact that the deputies of the MDP had distinguished themselves by their diplomatic experience, prompted their jealous colleagues of the two other parties, ANAP and HP, to insist on an early return to Ankara. Therefore there was a flurry of diplomatic communications between Ankara and Strasbourg as the Turkish delegation had separate telephone talks with Premier Turgut Ozal and Foreign Minister Vahih Halefoglu. The latter suggested to the Turkish delegation that a walkout would only serve those who want to push Turkey out of the Council.

Meanwhile, US diplomatic circles started exerting heavy pressure on the European governments for preventing a resolution against the Turkish regime. The Wall Street Journal of February 1 said: "Turks have had a pretty rough time, what with three years of military rule to stamp out Soviet-sponsored terrorism. They just had an election and the generals have gone back to the barracks. But instead of extending a well-done neighbor welcome, the 21-member Council of Europe attempted to refuse to seat a Turkish delegation."

While the discussions on Turkey were going on in the European Palace, taking no heed of the opposition in the Council against the presence of the Turkish deputies, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly Karl Ahrens gave a reception party in honor of the Turkish delegation, with the Turkish Ambassador to the Council of Europe taking part. On February 3, the Parliamentary Assembly sessions plunged into confusion and the
debate on Turkey and Cyprus turned into a comedy of errors after the European parliamentarians had a bitter discussion on which question to debate first.

Earlier the plenary session had decided to defer the debate on Cyprus to the Assembly's May session. However, the Political Affairs Committee insisted that Cyprus be discussed and a second vote was taken which opened the way for the Cyprus debate. At that point several European deputies called for a debate on Turkey rather than on Cyprus, but this demand was rejected.

Sources said the Conservative group was against a debate on Turkey until May. The Socialists did not want a debate because it could show splits among the Socialist ranks with "moderates" taking a stand in favor of the Turkish regime.

There were at least 76 speakers asking for speaking time in the debate on Turkey, that means that a debate on the credentials of the Turkish delegation could take up 5 hours. 45 speakers were eager to address the Assembly concerning the political situation on Cyprus, which would take up 3 hours of Assembly time.

Amidst the Cyprus debate the interpreters suddenly stopped translating and started reading out their own declaration for a new pay scale and better working conditions. The Chairman of the Assembly, Karl Ahrens, excused but the situation did not improve and the session came to a halt.

According to Le Monde, only interpreting in German and Italian, which are additional work languages of the Assembly, could not be emulated. Although interpreting in English and in French, the two official languages of the proceedings, was going on, most constructive and Christian Democrat representatives favorable to the Ankara regime seized this occasion for calling for a moratorium. Thus, the new Turkish delegation, against which the left and the liberal in the Assembly had raised protests for "breach of the rules of democracy", emerged as the winner. According to the rules, the deputies who had been sent by the Ankara Parliament were wholly entitled to sit in the Assembly pending the validation of their credentials. But this validation was not to occur until the beginning of the 3rd ordinary session of the E.C., that is next May.

As the debate on Turkey at the Parliamentary Assembly ended in failure, Irish representative Andrew expressed his impression as follows: "Here, the Council of Europe has finally turned into a circus." As for Austrian representative Siger, also rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, he described this situation as "unbearable for the Council". Belgian Socialist andre de Secker who always distinguishes himself by his determined attitude on the defense of human rights in Turkey blamed some socialist deputies who did not take heed of the decision taken unanimously by the Socialist Group, for their lack of enthusiasm. In Ankara, the spokesman of the Turkish delegation, Kamuran hakan, claimed that the Turkish regime had won a political and diplomatic victory against the "extremist Western European socialist deputies who attempted to dissuade us from the Council of Europe." No doubt, the one who was most satisfied of the Council's failure was Prime Minister ozal. Considering this as a propaganda asset for his campaign prior to the local elections, he said on February 5, 1984, in Gutersen: "If they wish to expel us by resorting to some maneuvers, and if they have power to do it, they can act so. In that case, we shall never go there."

According to the German daily Frankfurter Rundschau, Ozal had been gambling and paid off. Following the "fait accompli" at the Council of Europe, the Turkish Government speeded up its efforts with a view to obtaining a renunciation in the Council of Europe. The local elections held in March 1984 and the lifting of martial law in some provinces were presented to the European opinion as the new proofs of the return to democracy in Turkey. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe which failed to keep out Turkish deputies at its January session sent a delegation to Turkey at the end of April. This mission had talks with the Turkish political leaders as well as with some victims if repression.

The North Atlantic Assembly, Parliament's organ of the North Atlantic Alliance, decided to welcome the Turkish parliamentarians to its plenary session to be held in Luxembourg on May 26-28, 1984. As for the European Parliament, it rejected on April 12, 1984, an appeal by its Socialist Group calling on the European Community to intervene on behalf of political prisoners in Turkey.
Nevertheless, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, taking into consideration the remarks made by its representative, Mr. Ludwig Felkemier who visited Turkey in April, and the argument of international non-governmental organizations set forth at a hearing, decided to present a new draft Resolution on Turkey to the General Assembly.

PUBLIC HEARING ON TURKEY AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The public hearing on the respect for Human Rights in Turkey, organized by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, took place on April 26, 1984 in Brussels with international non-governmental organizations taking part.

This hearing, initially scheduled at late March, had been deferred in view of the local elections which were to be held in Turkey. As three major parties had been allowed to contest for the election, the EP's Committee did not want to interfere in the course of this election.

Besides non-governmental organizations, the Political Affairs Committee invited the Turkish Government. But the latter had refused to participate in the hearing, making it even clearer that it did not indeed receiving the Political Affairs Committee's rapporteur, Mr. Ludwig Felkemier, who stayed in Turkey from April 16 to 19, 1984.

The Political Affairs Committee limited itself to examine four themes, basing itself on the Human Rights Convention laid down by the Council of Europe:

1. Torture
2. The conditions of arrest and the system of confinement of individuals
3. The right of persons concerned to a fair hearing and the right to defence
4. Press freedom

The hearing presided over by Mariano Rumor, chairman of the Political Affairs Committee, opened in the presence of the Committee members, the representatives of the invited organizations, journalists and a Council of Europe observer.

Hereafter we reproduce extracts from the statements of all organizations concerned followed by the answers given to the most pertinent questions.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (Mrs. Anne Burley)

"The restoration of civilian government has not so far resulted in any apparent change in the areas of interest to Amnesty International. At continue to receive allegations that prisoners are tortured or subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment in police stations and prisons in various parts of Turkey; hundreds of prisoners of conscience remain in prison; more than 300 prisoners are under sentence of death and many more death sentences have been requested by military prosecutors in trials which are still in progress. 48 executions took place in Turkey between the military coup in September 1980 and June 1983. All come to halt to executions since June 1983, but for those under sentence of death and their families the knowledge that executions may be resumed at any time creates sometimes unbearable stress. Some prisoners under sentence of death who recently participated in hunger strikes in Diyarbakir and Mamak Military Prisons, were reported to have preferred to risk death in this way, rather than wait for execution."

"Many press reports concerning political prisoners in Turkey refer to 'terrorists', as if all those now imprisoned for political offences had engaged in violent activities. This is far from being true. Although there was a high level of violence throughout Turkey during the late 1970s and 1980, among the thousands of people detained following the coup of September 1980, there were many who had never used or advocated violence, but were detained and subsequently charged solely for exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and religion (…).

"Torture in Turkey has been a concern of Amnesty International both before and after the military coup of September 1980... Reports of deaths alleged to have been caused by torture have continued up to this year. AI does not maintain that all deaths in police stations and military prisons are the results of torture. Of the more than 100 such deaths reported to AI since
September 1980 nine people were said by the authorities to be still alive, others were said to have died from natural causes or to have committed suicide. In some cases, however, the authorities admitted responsibility for deaths and prosecutions of members of the security forces. But the number of such prosecutions is very small compared to the thousands of allegations of torture made in recent years and 1981 believes that the systematic and widespread torture which takes place in Turkey could only occur with official tolerance. This point was also made by the European Commission of Human Rights in its decision on the admissibility of the inter-state complaint against Turkey in December 1983. (...

"Until the authorities, both civil and military, take positive steps to halt the ill-treatment of prisoners, such as a review of the incommunicado detention period, which is still 45 days, allowing detainees access to lawyer and relative throughout detention and independent investigation of all complaints of torture, Amnesty International fears that torture will not be eradicated.

"Q - Is there any change in the situation since the elections?
"A - We had no observation of anelocatorl Union Law continues. Prisoners are still in prison. Allegations of torture are still coming. We believe that the torture does not cease. Amnesty International has not been allowed to visit prisons. In January this year I travelled to Diyarbakir in Eastern Turkey on behalf of Amnesty International to seek further information about reported deaths in Diyarbakir Military Prison. I was able to talk to the military authorities but was not able to meet lawyers or relatives of the dead men, or other people who might have had information, because I was informed they feared contact with Amnesty International would cause problems for them."

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

(Mr. Peder De Jonge)"

"Most of developments which followed the military takeover on 12 September 1980 led to the flagrant violations of human and trade union rights, which continued to give cause for grave
Concern in the international trade union movement. While terrorism and random violence carried out by rival factions of different persuasions have been considerably reduced in Turkey over the last three and a half years, the suppression of political violence and restoration of the all-in economy have been quite unnecessarily at the expense of fundamental human and trade union rights.

"Of particular concern were the mass arrests during this period, the ban on all political activity, the barring of many former politicians from public activity, the dissolution of political parties, the large number of trials taking place before military tribunals, the persistence of torture and degrading treatment of suspects to obtain confessions under duress during the interrogation, the doubts cast on the impartiality and fairness of justice and the total inadequate access of defense lawyers to their clients."

"Among the first measures taken by the military were the suspension of DISK, the placing of this union's property in the hands of trustees ('caretakers'), (i) and the arrest of numerous trade union leaders and members. Similar measures were taken against two other trade union centers, i.e. MİSK and HAK-IS. Türk-Is and its affiliates — though some branches were suspended or disbanded by court decision — were allowed to continue with extremely severe limits. Even so, trade union activity was virtually banned after the coup, the right to strike suspended, demonstrations forbidden and collective bargaining abolished and replaced by compulsory and binding arbitration by a Government-appointed body, the Supreme Arbitration Council."

"On 7 November 1982, a new Constitution was adopted following a referendum, held under conditions of martial law and censorship. A series of restrictive clauses is inserted in the text do away with acquired rights and Offerage on the Minimum standards, thus creating an environment which strictly limits the operation of free trade unionism."

"The requirement of ten years of actual work in the industry to qualify for eligibility for trade union office."

"The ban on political activity by trade unions."

"Sector restrictions on the right to strike (banning general strikes, solidarity strikes, go-slow action, etc.)."

"Subsequent legislation, i.e. the trade union law no. 2821 and the collective bargaining, strike and lock-out law no. 2822, promulgated on 5 May 1983, also contain a number of violations of trade union rights and standards. (...) Many cases of the full extent of these rights still remain. The Supreme Arbitration Board still retains some powers in the field of collective bargaining but no longer enjoys the terms of all agreements. However, as the Board, prior to the return to collective bargaining, has been given three-year settlements, around half the country's workers cannot expect to resume collective bargaining until late 1982."

"In the main DISK trial the number of accused has risen till 85, out of whom 20 are currently under detention. If we add to the above trial the on-going trials against DISK, affiliated unions, we reach a total of approximately 2,000 accused. Early March, according to the Turkish newspaper Cumhuriyet of 9 March 1984, not less than 1,233 trade unionists stood trial in 30 cases involving DISK and DISK-affiliated unions. The main DISK trial is now in its 30th month and at the present rate of one session a week) will go on for a long time yet."

Q: Did you observe any change in the prison conditions?

A: Three high-level ICFU missions went to Turkey in April 1981, December 1982 and October 1983. During the last visit, we were informed that the conditions in Metric Prison were not changed. The prisoners were subjected to underwear inspection before going to colloidal. Food given to prisoners was simple and monotonous, and unsuitable for the older DISK prisoners. For instance, for Abdülhalı Bahatlik, the DISK President, who suffers from gastro-enteritis. They sleep in collective cells below ground level accommodating up to twenty prison."
ARREST OF GERMAN GREENS

Seven members of West Germany's Green Party, including three MPs, were arrested on March 23 in Ankara for protesting against alleged torture in Turkish prisons. They were later released. Others, including journalists covering the event, were also taken to the police station for questioning, but later released. Police refused to say how many had been detained, but sources said 24 people were arrested.

A spokesman for the West German Embassy identified the Greena members arrested as Milan Hora-
cak, Willi Hols, and Gabriela Paskova, members of the Lower House. The spokesman identified the in-
ter ferr as Lukas Beckmann, Rudolf Sahin, Bill Fisher and Karl Wilhelm.

They carried posters in Turkish saying "Empty the prisons." - "Respect for human rights in Western
and Eastern blocks," one poster said: "There can be no democracy with torture in prisons."

(Der Tag, April 1984)

WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR

[Mr. Flor Boux:]

"Apologists for the military regime and
their successor in Turkey have stressed and
will go on stressing how the military have kept to
the time-table, how elections have been held,
how there is a parliament and civilian govern-
ment now, etc. It is true that the military have
kept to the time-table; a new Constitution is inorce, general elections have been held and
there is now a civilian government in Turkey.

"What matters is not the simple mainte-
nance of a time-table but its content—a demo-
cratic constitution and democratic elections
and total respect for human rights. This is what
is crucial for democracy in Turkey. It is im-
portant to understand that the 'democracy'
as envisaged by the military is nothing more than
doing with the concepts and practices of democracy pre-
valing in the West, except having some reshap-
eness only in form.

"This new democracy, 'tailored demo-
cracy', or, using General Evren's favorite
expression, 'Democracy on strong rails', was in
the process of formation from the very next day
of the military coup of 12 September
1986. The National Security Council pro-
ceded to promulgate laws and decrees at an
astonishing rate, relating to all phases of the
state organization and activities as well as to
all fields of social life. (...)"

"The adoption of the new Constitution by
a massive majority in a referendam, led some
people to think that the Turkish people sup-
ported the military regime. However, the
results of the elections, in spite of its auth-
democratic nature, showed that the Turkish
people have a great belief in democracy and
that they will not accept 'to lead a vegetable
life'. (...)"

"A 'wait and see' policy is not useful. One
should be very firm with the Turkish Govern-
ment. The 5 countries who had such filed with
the European Commission on Human Rights
and application against Turkey under Article
24 of the European Convention on Human
Rights should go on with their application
firmly.

"Torture seems to have stopped respecting
cases within the attention of the interna-
tional trade union movement (DISK) or the
world public opinion (Peace Association
of Turkey). Actually it is continuing in other
cases all over Turkey and there is the danger that
soon it may turn into a suicide in the case of
the Kurdish prisoners in the Diyarbakir and sim-
ilar military prisons in the Southeast of Turkey.

The situation should be protected very severely.

"The unjustifiably detained DISK officers
should be released at once. The political trials
against DISK and its affiliated unions should be
stopped at once. DISK and its affiliated
unions should become operative again and
they should convene their conventions.

"The restrictive provisions respecting
labour in the Constitution and the new trade
union legislation should be changed and
should continue as long as there is Martial law.
Martial law should be terminated.

"General infantry must be declared for all
political prisoners and 'prisoner of thought'.

"Emergency international pressure should be
stepped up. Governments of democratic coun-
tries should make economic and financial aid
to Turkey conditional on the restoration of
democratic human and trade union rights.

Q - What do you think of the accusation
against DISK that it was involved in terrorist acts? Is it a terrorist organisation or a trade union? A) Trade union? B) A trade union. C) Confederation founded in accordance with the law. It carried out legal activities until 1980. All indictments about DISK are groundless.

Q: In comparison with the neighbouring countries, are the trade union rights really more violated in Turkey?
A: No doubt, the countries neighbouring Turkey are not champions of trade union rights. However, there is a grave difference between them and Turkey. At least in those countries there are not 3 thousand persons put in prison or persecuted for their trade union activities, neither risk capital punishment.

Q: Is there any change in Turkey since the elections?
A: Since the elections, we have not observed any change. Only, under the international pressure, a delegation of ILO was allowed to observe the DISK trials. But in the exercise of trade union rights there is not any amelioration.

MINORITY RIGHTS GROUP
(Mehmet Ali Dikerdem)

"I am here also as the son, the very proud son, of former ambassador, Mahmut Dikerdem, who, at the age of 68 and stricken with cancer, is at this very moment serving a sentence of 8 years hard labour to be followed by 32 months internal exile. You will agree what I am not exaggerating when I say that my father is under a de facto death sentence. And this, after 40 years of impeccable service to his country, with 28 years of this bearing the title 'ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary', that is, bearing the right to speak on behalf of the privilege to represent the Republic of Turkey.

"My father is the President of the Turkish Peace Association, the only peace organization which existed in our country. Less than 10 days after the general elections held in Turkey last November, 17 of his distinguished friends were sentenced to 8 years hard labour to be followed by 32 months internal exile, while 5 others, including the President of the Istanbul Bar Association, were given 5 years hard labour and 20 months internal exile.

"Thus, at a time when fanfares sounded Turkey's return to democracy my country also became the first and only member of the Council of Europe and NATO to suppress its peace movement and imprison its peace leaders. Each member of the TPA executive was prominent in his or her profession. They did not even share the same political beliefs and convictions. But what they did share was their profound concern for the Helsinki Final Act and their impeccable credentials as establishment figures. If people of such calibre and standing can be charged and sentenced, so can any one. Thus, pour encourager les autres, under the guise of exceptional martial law courts and in a political environment traumatized by political terror, certain circles in Turkey took the opportunity to remove from circulation some of the most distinguished critics, persons who could well form the nucleus of a movement of real democracy.

"The continued imprisonment of my father and his elderly friends is an affront to all human rights conventions signed by Turkey. Please let us try to end the shamful double-standards which relegate Turkey into the margins of the West's conscience and consciousness."

INTERNATIONAL GESELLSCHAFT FUR MENSCHENRECHT
(Mr. Harald Volke)

"It is the European Parliament's duty to contribute to dismantling General Ermis's military justice. Offences should be judged by civil courts, not by military ones."

On the other hand, I request from the Turkish Government to restore Turkish national to those of its citizens who were stripped of it.

Q: Is the decision that someone be stripped of Turkish nationality based on a judgment pronounced by a court?
A: No judgement by a court. They have been stripped of their nationality and property in pursuance of a decree by the junta which is still in force.

Q: Did you observe any change since the elections with respect to the military regime?
A: Turkey's democratic existence has entirely been destroyed. No change has been noticed.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF LAWYERS
(Mr. I. M. H. Deressi)

"The new Turkish Constitution affects the new legal framework formed by the laws and decrees of the National Security Council and is
thus a constitutional concession of the emergency legislation. In the field of human rights the Constitution recognizes a satisfactory list of rights and freedoms, but omits them of their content by a series of prohibitions, exceptions and restriction. The structure of the State is given an almost religious significance and is indeed described in the preamble as the "sacred state of Turkey." The first three articles, dealing with the republican form of the state, the basic principles of the Republic and the indivisible integrity of the State, cannot be amended, and their amendment cannot even be proposed.

The powers of amendment of the other articles are so restricted as to make it difficult to move towards a more liberal concept of democracy. This is the nature of the Constitution which the military leaders seek to impose permanently upon Turkey. Much more serious is the present situation under the transitional regime, which is far from a return even to this limited state of normalcy.

After Mr. Me Dervit, Kurdish lawyer Huysengyl Yildirim, who had been imprisoned and tortured in the Diyarbakir Military Prison, made an exposé, as a member of the International Commission of Jurists and gave details on the torture practice in Turkish military prisons.

"I want to make it clear to the representatives of European countries that," he said, "their expectations of a return of democracy established step by step in the wake of such elections, are a total illusion. What is being set up and maintained is not democracy but fascism. Furthermore the repression has only become worse since the elections. At the very moment that the representatives of the Justice were taking their seats at the Council of Europe in January, burnt corpses were coming out of Diyarbakir prison. And at Mamak prison hunger-strikes and torture were continuing. Over the last ten days, 32 detainees have been sentenced to death, hundreds of others have been condemned to life imprisonment or sentenced to up to 36 years."

"The structures set up by Jneto are still in place and martial law is still valid."

Q - Is there not any change since a civil government has come to power?

A - The parliament and government have no power of control over the martial law commanders or over the mechanisms at their disposal. The Justice Minister of a government, who claims that he is in power, has not even the right to access to the military prisons in his own country. The present Ministers of Health and of Justice were obliged to admit on their return from Diyarbakir that they had not been permitted to visit the prison and had no control over its administration.

INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE (Mr. Peter Gulliver):

"Despite all hope that before the elections the situation would improve, once again leading newspapers such as Teriman, Milliyet, Nokta, Gunaydin, Tan and Hurriyet were closed down for some time and editors had to face the martial law commanders. Then the new civil government was elected. Hope was expressed by our Turkish friends, and by most of us that the civil government would lift martial law and would grant an amnesty and be concerned with human rights and press freedom...

... But harassment and persecution continue.

Shortly before the recent regional elections, once again Mrs. Ilieck and her editor, Mr. Bilec of Teriman, and Mr. Nadi and his editor, Mr. Gümüş of Cumhuriyet, had to face investigations — and it looked that once again new trials in both these cases would take place.

"It is difficult to be over-optimistic on the return of Turkey towards greater democratic freedom at the present time. As I have mentioned, the closing down of newspapers had become commonplace. Editors are expected to use self-censorship. Any hope for the respect of human rights, the freedom of speech and freedom of expression has so far not really materialized. The pressures from the military remain extremely strong. The press laws are such that it is unlikely that there will be greater freedom of expression. We regard this Press act as an outright violation of press freedom. I't Turkey wishes to be accepted as a member of the free world, an amnesty should be granted; and the fear of harassment and persecution must cease. There cannot be a compromise on these basic principles. It is more than a year ago since President Evren state that all necessary steps would be taken expeditiously for the establishment of a democratic parliamentary regime. So far there has been little development in that direction."
Q - How are developments in Turkey being covered by the European press?

A - Unfortunately, the European mass media and most European governments are very lax with respect to Turkey. The Federal Republic of Germany was in a position — and it is still so — to exert the strongest pressure. The European mass media, except for 2-3 newspapers, have paid very little attention to the persecutions in Turkey. News coverage is quite minimal. The activities of the Council of Europe are not taken seriously.

Q - Is criticism in the Turkish press tolerated by the authorities?

A - No, it is not. Self-censorship is still quite common practice. The press is not free, since democracy has not been restored."

**TURKISH REGIME READMITTED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

Europe's climb-down before the blackmail of the Turkish Generals took a further step on May 9, 1984 with the approval of Turkish delegation's credentials by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Thus, after a 4-year interval, the representatives of militarist "democracy" was officially readmitted to the benches of the European House, despite the fact that all international non-governmental organizations had pointed out shortly before, at the hearing of the European Parliament, that systematic human rights violations were still going on in this country.

It was the same Assembly of the Council of Europe that had decided on May 14, 1981, in the aftermath of the military coup, to oust the Turkish delegation "as long as a democratic regime is not re-established in Ankara".

On January 28, 1983, it was the same Assembly that had adopted a resolution criticizing the nature of the Turkish Constitution and the conditions in which the referendum was held with General Ecevit simultaneously being elected "President of the Republic". That resolution had seriously taken into consideration the possibility of ousting Turkey even from the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee.

Again it was the same Council that, prior to the "general election", had declared on September 30, 1983 that "the parliament which will be elected in Turkey, will not be able to be considered as representing the Turkish people and could not therefore validly constitute a delegation to participate in the proceedings of the Parliamentary Assembly."

Although a democratic regime was not yet re-established and the anti-democratic Constitution was still in force and General Ecevit was still ruling the country at the head of the authoritarian state apparatus established in the wake of the Constitution, and despite the fact that it was clearly proven at the local elections that the elected "Assembly" was very far from representing the people of Turkey, Turkey was not only kept in the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee, but what is more, the representatives of this admittedly repressive regime were allowed to sit side by side with parliamentarians of twenty European democratic countries. To cap it all, at the same session, one of Turkey's representatives was elected Vice-president of the Assembly!

Out of 151 present members of the Parliamentary Assembly, 91 voted for the Turkish regime, 50 against with 10 abstentions. Those who voted against the approval of the credentials were the Communists and the majority of the Socialists. They expressed the reasons for their opposition as follows:

**BUĐTZ, Danish Socialist Whip:**

"I shall express the views of the Socialist Group in the Assembly, although I recognize that some do not entirely agree with what I shall say. I took part in the fact-finding trip to Turkey, and I have no hesitation in admitting that we were presented with evidence of some progress and some improvements in political developments there. I am sorry to say, however, that this is not enough. We should all be aware that the present national parliament of Turkey is not representative. That has been proved clearly in the local elections. Moreover, human rights are not respected. I believe that we cannot allow the Turks to take their seats in this Assembly at this stage. I believe that the situation is very dangerous. What will be the future of the Council of Europe if member countries that are not democratic and that do not respect human rights are allowed to sit
GERMAN DELEGATION REBUFFED

According to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of June 1, 1984, Turkish authorities have announced in late May that they are not prepared to welcome a West German parliamentary delegation.

On March 31, the Bundestag had approved a motion by the "Green Party," calling on Parliament to send a delegation to Turkey for an inquiry into the state of human rights there.

[Info-Text June 1984]

among us and to participate in votes when we are dealing with democratic problems? The issue concerns the future of the Council of Europe.

SILVA, Portuguese Communist Deputy: "The issue is political rather than legal. Validation would mean inclusion of representatives of a dictatorial regime in Turkey and approval of the sham elections that had put them forward. In Turkey there are still persecution, prisons with torture and censorship, while left-wing parties and trade unions were banned. That is incompatible with the principles of the Council of Europe. Validation would not allow progress towards democracy. First, the State is actually increasing its control. Secondly, many of the present rulers had been closely involved with fascist parties. Tolerating such a regime would lead only to its reinforcement, as experience in Portugal had shown. Such authoritarian regimes should be isolated and condemned. The validation of the Turkish credentials will be a precedent that will weaken the Council of Europe, while validation will strengthen democracy."

As to the right-wing parties which voted for the Turkish regime, their representatives put forward the following arguments:

BLENK, Austrian Christian Democratic Deputy: "Turkish colleagues said that withdrawal of Turkey from the Council of Europe because of non-recognition of credentials would not help to improve human rights in Turkey. What is important is not the present situation but an evaluation of the prospects for democracy in Turkey. As a member of a fact-finding mission I can report slow but steady improvement in key areas."

BENNET, British Conservative Deputy: "What had happened in Spain? It had not in our view yet achieved a completely democratic state — indeed it had been given the constitution — but my friends and I voted in favour of its admission. Exactly the same circumstances apply to Portugal. It appears that Portugal had not yet achieved a full return to pluralistic democracy without military control. Have no doubts from all the evidence before us that it is in the interests of democracy in Turkey that we should vote favourably for its credentials today."

ELMQQUIST, Danish Liberal Deputy: "The Liberal group agrees that democracy is a question not of black and white but of development. It is difficult to pin forward a 100 per cent definition of democracy. It is a development, an evolution anyway, to the reversion of the Liberal group convinced that many human rights violations are still going on in Turkey. We are confronted with the question: if a child does not behave, do you punish or correct it? I put a counter-question: in that case, do you want to kill the child so that you can be sure that it will never again behave badly? The Liberal group prefers to continue to dialogue. It is therefore for the moment in favour of accepting the credentials of the Turkish delegation."

In fact, the idea of "dialogue instead of refusal" was not limited to the right-wing members of the Council of Europe. Despite the fact that they voted against the approval of the credentials of the Socialists members of the Assembly had already toned down their criticisms at the Turkish regime after the visit of the fact-finding mission to Turkey and repeatedly stated that there was a progress towards democracy and that Europe should avoid any action that may harm the Turkish-European dialogue.

For example, the declarations of the two most prominent critics of the Turkish regime since the coup, Dutch Deputy Harry Van den Bergh and Belgian Deputy Claude Desardin, do not.

Mr vas den Bergh had declared, on his return from Turkey, that in this country human rights were again respected and that there was no more repression or torture. This is the reason why he had advocated readmission of Turkey's deputies to the Council of Europe. This reversal provoked protests by Kurdish
exiles in Holland who, on May 1, took over for a couple of hours the national headquarters of the Dutch Social Democrat Party (PvdA) in Amsterdam, in protest against Mr. Van den Bergh's statements.

As for Mr. Dejardin, he held two press conferences, one in Paris and the other in Brussels, on his return from Turkey. According to the Belgian left-wing daily La Wallonne of May 4, "throughout his long statement, Dejardin kept insisting on one crucial issue: he reported only what he has seen, stripping his conclusions of what militants may believe or feel. The reason for this is as follows: if the Ankara government, however little, wants to prove that it is 'cooperative' with the Council of Europe, it should not be given the pretext of being able to accuse the parliamentarians of the great European of dishonesty and perjury." As for the Flemish daily De Morgen which focused on "Claude Dejardin's very cautious attitude", it mentioned in particular his assertion that "in Turkey, a lot of people wish that Turkey remain associated with Europe."

In view of the fact that their Turkish Social Democrat counterparts, after they were kidnapped by the junta, maintained this view, such a cautiousness by the European Socialists was hardly surprising. What is more amazing is the fact that the European Socialists overestimated general Evren's "gesture" consisting in permitting them to visit Mamak and Divarbakir military prisons. At the press conference, Mr. Dejardin reiterated this as a willingness to co-operate with the Council of Europe. And yet, after the European mission left Turkey, the Turkish regime proved once more that nothing had changed, as far as human rights were concerned.

Moreover, the members of the mission later noticed that they had actually been fooled by the Ankara dictatorship during their visit to Turkey.

After the Turkish regime had been readmitted to the Council of Europe, Mr. Dejardin confirmed that, during their visit to Divarbakir prison on April 27, the list of prisoners which was presented to them as a list issued by Amnesty International, was actually a fake one. According to the military, the seventeen names included in this list were allegedly those of depressives A.I. had wrongly declared dead in prison, and they claimed to be able to prove that these prisoners were still alive by proposing to the Euro-MPs to meet them. Afterwards, on checking the list in London, they found that it had never been issued by A.I. Seven out of the seventeen names included in this list are completely unknown to A.I., while the rest others had been the subject of just a request for information on their fate.

But the regime's clever maneuvers were not limited to this. Later Mr. Dejardin learnt that the building he himself and his colleagues had visited in Divarbakir, was in fact reserved to administrative staff and to the prison guards, while the detainees were confined to three other blocks from which the European parliamentarians had been barred.

Even the head of the delegation, Dutch Liberal deputy Elmoquist, who later voted for the readmission of the Turkish regime was finally induced to express his doubts about his own findings he made during his visit to the prison.

According to The Guardian of May 9, "Mr. Elmoquist admitted that he had doubts about some of the findings, and knows of instances of deception. "We are not professionals, we are politicians," Mr. Elmoquist told the Assembly in explaining why none of the members of the delegation took a tape recorder to check the accuracy of the Turkish authorities' translation or cameras to photograph prisoners they met."

But particularly disappointing is the fact that the Euro-MPs did not even pay heed to warnings of Turkish democrats exiled in Europe, nor to the cautions of European experts, before taking up a new stance at the Council of Europe vis-a-vis the Ankara regime.

In West Germany, for example, prior to the session of the Assembly, three high-ranking judges had already publicly expressed manipulations by the Turkish regime. According to the German daily Hamburger Abendblat, May 7 Martin Hirsch, a former judge at the Federal Constitutional Court and Michael Stallbaum, judge at the High Administrative Court in the Hamburg region along with Jürgen Kübling, judge at the Federal Administrative Court, accused the Turkish authorities of having deceived the European delegation.

In Stallbaum's view, "the way in which the parliamentarians have conducted their investigations leaves much to be desired. The delegates 'could talk with alleged prisoners' only through an interpreter appointed to that end by
The European Trade Unions' Solidarity with DISK

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) decided unanimously on January 30, 1985, to grant affiliation to the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK).

DISK first applied for affiliation in 1939, before the coup d'état. After the military intervention in September 1980, the military junta had rejected about 2,000 applications for affiliation. In this case, the ETUC has reaffirmed its solidarity with DISK and its affiliated unions.

The ETUC and its affiliated organizations made representations on several occasions to their governments and to the European and international authorities to press for action to make the Turkish trade unions and their families.

The press release of ETUC underlined that DISK's affiliation to the ETUC is the expression of the commitment of both the Turkish workers and the ETUC's determination to continue their fight until the fundamental freedoms and rights of workers and their trade unions have been fully guaranteed in Turkey.

Pursuant to the Tiran Union Act, the ETUC, the other Tiran union confederation, Türk, is requested to examine the decisions of its forthcoming congress in 1986.
Now it insists that we lift martial law. We never act under pressure by others.

This was the present General Erovn who have as a mark of this gratitude toward the Council of Europe which yielded to the blackmail and the deceitful maneuvers of a dictatorship within the European fold.

The Resolution adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly reads:

"The Assembly,

1. Having examined the report of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 5289) and the opinion of its Legal Affairs Committee, which give an account of the facts-finding mission carried out in Turkey by its delegation from 25 to 28 April 1984;

2. Recalling its previous positions, in particular its Resolution 303 (1983);

3. Considering that the timetable drawn up by the previous military government for a return towards democracy has been formally respected;

4. Noting that the polling operations of 6 November 1983 to designate the Grand National Assembly were properly conducted, but that the restrictions placed on parties and on the right of Turkish citizens to stand as candidates limits its democratic character and raised a problem of compatibility with the principles of the Council of Europe Statute, which can only be fully resolved through future elections;

5. Welcoming the conditions under which the municipal elections of 25 March 1984 took place;

6. Noting with satisfaction the lifting of martial law in 13 provinces;

7. Considering nevertheless that the maintenance of martial law for the great majority of the population, which implies the suspension of several rights and liberties, as well as of the separation of powers still persists, an obstacle to the full restoration of democracy;

8. Concerned inter alia about the number of persons convicted and imprisoned for their opinions, about the length of some trials and about prolongation of a situation in which military courts are exercising jurisdiction over areas which should normally fall within the competence of the civil courts;

9. Particularly regretting, that numerous and serious imitations are still placed on the exercise of trade union freedoms in Turkey;

10. Expressing the wish that freedom of education and conscience by fully respected in Turkey;

11. Taking note of the decisions of the Turkish Government aimed at dispelling doubts about conditions in prisons and allegations of torture, as well as of the penal sanctions applied to officials who have been found guilty of it, while underlining that it remains concerned by the gravity of the situation, to which the death of several prisoners notably following hunger strikes bears witness;

12. Welcoming with satisfaction in this connection the proposal of some members of the Grand National Assembly to set up a parliamentary committee to investigate allegations concerning the situation in Turkish prisons;

13. Concerned at the restrictions to the rights of defence which affect both the accused and their lawyers, in particular in the ongoing mass trials;

14. Concerned by the prosecution brought against an unauthorized political party which might create a situation where political rights and liberties would not be guaranteed in accordance with the requirements of a democratic society;

15. Reaffirming its interest in the investigation currently in progress before the European Commission of Human Rights;

16. Considering that it falls on the Council of Europe to encourage the present progress of democratization, in accordance with the will of the Turkish people and so as to ensure full compatibility with the principles of the Statute of the Council of Europe;

17. Urges the Turkish authorities:

- to continue the democratic normalisation of the country, bearing in mind the requirements of the Council of Europe's Statute and the European Convention of Human Rights through the following measures, inter alia:

1. The abolition of martial law throughout the country, implying the progressive restoration of the full jurisdiction of the civil courts and the abolition of the rule authorising the police authorities to remand an individual in custody for 45 days without contacts with his family or his lawyer;

2. The abolition at the earliest possible moment of measures derogating from the European Convention of Human Rights taken under Article 15, such measures being adminis-
Contradictory Stands of the European Parliament

As for the European Parliament, despite the willingness of international human rights organizations as the public hearing, it adopted, on May 24, 1984, a Resolution, tabled by a notorious defender of the Turkish regime. The Resolution, which talks of the eventual resumption of the EEC-Turkey Association's works, reads:

"The European Parliament, - having regard to the joint declaration on fundamental rights signed by Parliament, the Council and the Commission on 24.4.1977, - having regard to the preamble to the EEC-Turkey Association agreement of 23.12.1963, which stresses the determination to uphold and reinforce peace and freedom by their joint efforts to achieve the highest aims of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, - having regard to the public hearing on respect for human rights in Turkey held by its Political Affairs Committee in Brussels on 26.4.1984, - having regard to the motions for resolution tabled by Mrs. Charatz and others on the conditions of detention and the hunger strike in Turkish prisons and by Mr. Kyökos on the death of 12 political prisoners in Turkey, - having regard to the constitution of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the recently held local elections, Turkey has taken its first steps towards the re-establishment of pluralistic democracy, although in view of the de facto martial law at present prevailing in Turkey, these elections are of only limited significance, - recalls that by signing the European Convention on Human Rights, Turkey undertook to respect human rights, - protests, in the light of the results of the aforementioned hearing held by the Political Affairs Committee, - against: - the use of torture and intimidation and the protracted nature of criminal trials before military courts, - the imposition of the death penalty in numerous cases and the demand for this penalty by the military prosecuting authorities, - and the restriction of the freedom of the press; - urges the government and Parliament of Turkey (as well as the military authorities in the provinces under martial law) to put an end to this deplorable state of affairs and to guarantee full respect for human rights, - welcomes the steps taken by the Turkish authorities to set up committees to investigate allegations of torture and ill-treatment in prisons, - demands that those responsible for the violation of human rights be called to account and that the innocent victims of arbitrary measures be compensated as far as is possible, - urges the Turkish Grand National Assembly to halt the programme to extend the 1980 constitution to the zone under joint military control, - and invites the Council and the Commission to take appropriate steps to ensure respect for fundamental freedoms in Turkey, - asks the Commission to keep the Assembly informed of the evolution of the situation in Turkey and to take every possible step to ensure that respect for the rule of law and human rights in Turkey remains a priority in the Council's Agenda."
Assembly, on the basis of the traditionally friendly relations between the peoples of the European Community and the relations between Turkey and the European Community, to press for an end to martial law all over the country and to take practical steps towards granting an amnesty to political prisoners; "S. Is convinced that only measures leading to the restoration of democracy and respect for human rights can bring about a normalization of relations between Turkey and the European Community and guarantee the success, in the near future, of the work of the EEC-Turkey Association institutions; "S. Instructs his President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council of the European Communities, the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States, the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Turkish government."

In view of continued human rights violations in Turkey, The European Parliament, at its 11 October, 1984, sitting, had to take a new "reserved" position as regards the reconstitution of the EEC-Turkey Parliamentary Committee.

The chairman of the parliamentary groups, who had been convened separately before the opening of the debate on the "inter-parliamentary delegations for relations with third countries", signed an agreement stipulating that the motion for resolution relating to the future EEC-Turkey joint delegation was to be accompanied with a restriction clause: "The European Parliament decides that the delegation of the European Parliament / Grand National Assembly of Turkey Joint Committee will not be set up until the Association Treaty is implemented once again and until the European Parliament has reconsidered the situation in Turkey."

Despite the previous agreement signed by all political group chairmen, this restrictive clause was endorsed - and in the end adopted - by only 140 Euro-MPs, while 66 voted against and 21 abstained. When the result of the vote was announced, amid the shouts of indignation bursting forth from the left benches, Socialist Group Chairman Arndt accused EPP Group Head Klepsch of breaking his word - and disowning his signature - by blocking the rest of the Assembly to oppose the restrictive clause's adoption. The spokesperson of the Rainbow Group, Graefe zu Baringdorf got angry and rushed amid the hubbub at Klepsch's bench, then at the Speaker's desk. To the boos of the Right shouting "Out... Out...", Speaker Pflimlin then announced an adjournment. On the other hand, the EP adopted two motions for a resolution, the points against the death sentences passed on political prisoners in Turkey; the other denouncing the imprisonment of Mahmut Dikerdem, chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee.

TURKISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE

Although in the wake of the general and local elections in Turkey, European governments had given their representatives the go-ahead for normalizing Turkish-European relations, the continuation of human rights violations put them in a predicament. In May 1981, Turkey had voluntarily renounced her turn to take up the presidency. Every six months, the presidency falls to one of the 21 member countries in alphabetical order. At that time, the Ministerial Committee had decided that Turkey could take up the presidency as soon as democracy would be restored.

On November 22, 1984, in Strasbourg, the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee decided to postpone until its next session, in May 1985, the decision on the Council's presidency which fell due to Turkey. At the November 22 meeting, only Great Britain and West Germany had no objections to Turkey presiding over the Council of Europe.

In retaliation, Turkish Premier Oral declared that henceforth Turkey would no longer be represented in the Council of Europe at ministerial level. Asked by journalists he said: "The Council of Europe is no longer important to Turkey. It is only concerned with social problems and human rights issues!" And he went on: "In the future, no matter whether we get the Council's presidency or not, we will no longer be represented there at ministerial level."

Thereupon, the Turkish Minister of For-
eign Affairs, Mr. Vahit Halidoglu, left the meeting of the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee. Insiders said that the informal meeting of the 21 Foreign Affairs Ministers had given rise to heated discussions. The Netherlands, which over the past months had been lending a sympathetic ear to Ankara’s positions, did an about-turn on account of the recent imprisonments and hangings in Turkey.

TURKISH REGIME’S FRIENDS AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In the parliamentary field, “friends” of the Turkish regime at the European Parliament took new steps at the beginning of 1985, in order to set up a lobby inside this institution in support of Ankara regime. German Christian-Democrat MEP Gerd Ludwig Lemmer announced to Turkish press correspondents that about fifty Members of the European Parliament were to meet on February 13, 1985 in Strasbourg in order to establish work rules for this lobby whose aim is to counter the Turkish regime’s critics at the European Parliament and to constitute a majority backing the Ankara regime. He further said that as a result of the Turkish regime’s sympathizers’ indiscipline some left-wing MEPs had succeeded several times in having adopted proposals of resolutions hostile to Turkey’s rulers.

The initiators of this “lobby” included Christian-Democrat, Conservative, Liberal and ultra-right MEPs such as Vedekind, Halbsourg, Taylor, Scott-Hopkins, D’Oremonson, De La Madelaine, Lue Boyer De Ryke, Lalor. On the other hand, at the January meeting of the European Parliament, Mr Giulio Andreotti, the new President in office of the Council of Ministers during the six-month period of Italian presidency, was asked a number of questions during questions hour about the Community’s financial aid to Turkey.

In his verbal question Socialist MEP Tongue asked: “It is rumored that the Council allegedly intends to grant Turkey a new financial aid package as part of the special aid fund. Can the Council assure Parliament that it will take no measure with a view to granting a new aid as long as the Assembly does not take up a stand on the political situation in Turkey?”

On the other hand, his Socialist MEP also asked the following question: “Is it right that most delegations (at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs ministers on the 11th September 1984 in Dublin) now have the view that the situation in Turkey has somewhat improved and that, as a first step towards normalizing relations with Turkey, the Commission should be charged with the task of updating the technical file of the financing project (TEK)."
Mr Andretti's answer was as follows: "The Council pays heed to the situation in Turkey. It is right that the Ministers of the Ten have discussed in Dublin the situation in Turkey. An exchange of views has taken place at the Council on relaunching the financial cooperation program as part of the special aid which was decided in 1980 (which includes the TEK project). But the discussion is going on and so far the Council has taken no decision. "We should not say that we should not have made steps forward by the 30th of June in a situation of dictatorship... or semi-dictatorship... or of dictatorship at its sunset. "The situation in Turkey has changed a little, the present situation is slightly more favorable."

Thereupon, Communist MEP Chambelli-ron promptly observed: 
"Are current developments really 'favorable'? Five Turkish Democrats have just been sentenced to death by a military court. "Does the Council intend to comply with the European Parliament's decision, as far as the budgetary procedure is concerned? Does it intend to cancel the credits, after they were rejected by the EP, while the new budget is being worked out?"

Mr Andretti has failed to answer this precise question, taking advantage of the interventions made by two right-wing MEPS who tried to draw a parallel with some ACP countries which do not respect human rights.

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HARDENING ITS STAND AGAIN

Despite the lobbying of the Turkish regime's friends, the European Parliament, on April 18, 1985, adopted the following Resolution accusing the Ankara regime of pursuing the violation of human rights and a bloody State terror: "The European Parliament, "A, whereas the present regime in Turkey has launched a systematic campaign of genocide against the Kurdish minority, "B, having regard to the recent death sentence given to 30 Kurdish soldiers by the military court of Diyarbakir, "C, having regard to the new trial of 84 Kurdish fighters in the special military court of Diyarbakir for 13 of whom the prosecuting officer requested the death penalty (including two who were youths under the age of 16), while other persons were unable to appear in court since they had died in the meantime from the torture inflicted upon them during their imprisonment, "D, aware that the Turkish authorities carry out death sentences, as happened in the case of Hidir Aslan who was hanged in the Bur- dur prison, "E, having regard to the recent condemnation by two famous playwrights, namely the American, Arthur Miller and the Briton, Harold Pinter who, on a visit to Turkey, said that human rights were being violated there and intellectual freedom suppressed by torture, "I, calls for an end to the death sentences issued by the Turkish military courts which provoke the justified abhorrence of international public opinion; "2, Demands that the death sentences that have been issued are not carried out; "3, Calls on the Turkish authorities to bring an end to the inhuman conditions surrounding the treatment, detention and interroga- tion of political detainees since this constitutes a ruthless violation of human rights; "4, Calls on the governments of the Member States and, in particular, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to exert as much pressure as possible to ensure that a halt is called to the death sentences and executions, and the human rights and freedoms of the Turkish people upheld; "5, Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Governments of the Member States and the Turkish authorities."

Prior to this session of the European Parliament, its former speaker Piet Daskert had made a one-week visit to Turkey to find out about the state of human rights in this country. After meeting some prominent journalists, trade union officials, academics and public figures in Istanbul on March 22-24, Mr Daskert proceeded to Ankara and afterwards to Diyar- bakir. In Ankara, he met with the Speaker of the Turkish National Assembly, Necmettin Karada- duman, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, Justice Minister Nevzat Eledem, the leaders of the pres-
ont political parties as well as with former Prime Ministers Ecevit and Demirel, who have been banned from taking part in political activities for ten years.

During his Ankara talks, Mr. Danke's punto accentuated elements exist to revive: the relations between Turkey and the EEC and insisted that the Turkish regime should make further efforts on some burning questions such as granting a general amnesty, abolishing the death penalty, full respect for human rights. "As a member of the Council of Europe, Turkey should act in conformity with the human rights standards adopted by Europe. Of all Western European countries, Turkey is the only one which keeps capital punishment in force. Trade union rights should be entirely respected. Since Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, no one can accept the establishment of an 'oriental democracy' in this country. Turkey should abide by the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights as one of its signatories," he said.

With regard to the practice of torture, he reminded the "If a Turkish migrant worker is beaten in a police station in Holland, notably the staff of this center, but the Dutch Government as well bears responsibility for this act. Therefore, it is not convincing to claim that the beating in some police stations in Turkey is out of the sphere of responsibility of the Turkish Government."

After his talks with city administrators and his visit to the military prison in Diyarbakir, Mr. Danke told the press that he had been able to obtain all information required concerning the conditions of political detainees and that he contemplated elaborating on them afterwards.

Speaking about his contacts with the Turkish social-democratic leaders who are divided in three political parties, Mr. Danke expressed his hope that the Social democrats will win in the next general election, but he refused to favor any of the three parties.

Before leaving Turkey on March 30, Mr. Danke held a press conference in Istanbul and revealed that prisoners in Diyarbakir Military Prison told him they had been tortured.

"Allegations on torture, proceeding according to the Turkish authorities from western sources, are more or less the same as those prisoners made in my presence," he said.

He urged the Turkish parliament to be more active on human rights issues so as to remove all obstacles preventing the stalled relations between the European Community and Turkey from taking a fresh start.

MORE CONCESSIONS FROM THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Contrary to the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe carried on its conciliation with the Turkish regime and adopted, in April 1985, two decisions that amount to endorsing the regime's repressive practices.

In accordance with the instruction given by the Assembly on May 10, 1984, to the Political and Legal Affairs Committee to go on watching developments in Turkey, both rapporteurs of these committees, respectively Austrian Christian-Democrat Ludwig Steinert and Dutch Socialist Pieter St布鲁登 tabled their reports - written at the beginning of the debate on the situation in Turkey and, in particular, on their visit to Turkey from March 5 to March 9. These approach to certain questions and the weight they gave to each of them was different, but they agreed to criticize the upholding of martial law in many regions, the permanence of certain restrictions imposed on radio and television news as well as on the rights of the defence before the courts, the upholding of the existing laws in the field, even though they were meanwhile mitigated; in addition the fact that the political parties, trade unions and other democratic associations were still being prevented from exercising their rights. They also criticized the application of the death penalty in time of peace.

At the first session on April 22, while the Permanent Committee's activity report was being presented, it was announced that the latter had accepted the Turkish parliamentarians' invitation to hold a mini-session of the Parliamentary Assembly in Turkey in March 1986. This decision aroused strong reactions from progressive NPs.

British MP Harry pointed out that, for its part, the Socialist Group had opposed this decision. He went on to say: "If the Assembly
proceeds now to make arrangements to hold a mini-session in Turkey in 1986, it will be acting unwise and incautiously. Such an acceptance will be seen outside Turkey as an endorsement of conditions as they are: within that country now. Such an acceptance will be regarded within Turkey as a seal of approval from this body. Members of my party and of the Socialist Group are not prepared to sacrifice our commitment to human rights."

Danish MP Elmqist asked the Committee if it had obtained guarantees as to the complete lifting of martial-law by the time of the mini-session. In reply, the chairman of the session pointed out that Mr Inan, the head of the Turkish delegation, had not been able to guarantee absolutely that martial law would not be in force in Istanbul next year.

Despite this statement, the holding of the mini-session in Turkey was approved by 59 votes, against 49 "no’s" and three abstentions.

In this respect, it should be reminded that prior to the Assembly’s plenary session in Strasbourg, another Committee, the Budget and Programme Committee, had met in Istanbul on April 12, 1985. As regards the presence of the representatives of the Turkish regime within the Assembly, French MP Pignion pointed out that the Socialist Group questioned the Turkish delegation’s credentials, "considering that concrete progress has not been accomplished by the Turkish government for a return to a real democratic life and for a full respect of human rights.

Thereupon, at a meeting of the Rules Committee, the validation of the Turkish delegation’s credentials was approved by 9 votes against 6.

This decision of the Committee was opposed by the Communist and Socialist Groups, whereas the Liberal Group gave it its backing.

Communist Groups spokesperson Gianotti: "The stance of the Council of Europe has laid down very strict conditions for affiliation to this body. It is not possible to respect the human rights of even days and not respect on odd days. Although the Council wanted to continue in dialogue with Turkey, dialogue did not imply recognition or admission to full membership."

Socialist Group spokesperson Pignion: "Had Spain and Portugal returned to democratic life only in homoeopathic doses just as Turkey does today, they would never be members of the Council of Europe."

In order to consolidate the backing given by the Conservatives and Liberals, the spokesperson of the Turkish delegation, Kamran Inan, resorted to the Turkish regime’s usual denigration and blackmailing. "Today, the Western World supports each year about 400 billions dollars for the defence of its freedoms, its way of life, its civilisation and its institutions against a certain imperialism. It is pity to destroy by internal conflicts the values which we defend. We are sure that our partners will never leave us alone in the way of democracy."

Following these interventions, the Turkish delegation’s credentials, after a roll-call vote, were declared valid.

In addition, the head of the Turkish delegation, Mr Inan was re-elected deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly.

After these two fair accomplishments, the European MPs started discussing the reports of both the Political and Legal Affairs Committees.

The rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee, Mr Steiner, pointed out that since May 1984, a great many events have occurred and that several political realities coexist: the Government, the Turkish Grand National Assembly which resulted from a restored election, the Army and the political parties. He reminded that martial law has been lifted in 44 out of 67 provinces, but that it remains in force in the most populated areas. He pointed out that although the parties which are represented at the Grand National Assembly are allowed to develop their activities, some subjects remain taboo. Mr Steiner, found out that, even though some progress has been made with regard to human rights, lots of shortcomings still exist. For example, a great many university professors have been ousted; estimate range from 500 to 1,600 if those who repeatedly quit on their own decision, - out of discouragement - are taken into account. He added that all legal political parties of Turkey deny the very existence of any problem with regard to ethnic minorities.

As for the Legal Affairs Committee’s rapporteur, Mr Stoffelen, he noticed no change in the Turkish Constitution nor in Turkish laws.
He emphasized the interferences of the National Security Council in the general election and the restrictions laid on the powers of the Grand National Assembly. Stoffelen could not understand how it was possible that martial law was still in force in Ankara and Istanbul. He expressed concern about the fate of the prisoners of opinion: “How could a trade-unionist understand that membership of a trade union is a serious crime? I’ve got an interview at the news of the opening of a new investigation against the members of the Peace Movement. If some members of this Assembly (of the Council of Europe) were Turkish citizens, they could be jailed!” The rapporteur expressed his concern about the number of death sentences and went on to say: “All those who visited Turkey last year will remember well the shocking description of the serious restrictions on the rights of defence. The present situation is at least as bad. There is no free contact between the detainees and his or her lawyer. The penal legislation, especially Articles 142 and 146, follow the example of Italian penal law during the Fascist regime.”

Mr. Stoffelen, after having repeated his preoccupations concerning human rights, concluded his view as follows: “It is clear that we can detect real progress towards the full restoration of a normal parliamentary democracy and full respect for human rights... Yet, there is a long way to go to the restoration of normal parliamentary democracy and full respect for human rights.” Nevertheless, he advised the Parliamentary Assembly to maintain dialogue with the Turkish regime.

After the presentation of the report of the committees, European deputies were called to express their views on the situation in Turkey. Having obtained the validity of their credentials, Turkish deputies also stood up to speak and even interrupted the European deputies criticizing the Turkish regime.

While French MP Dreyfus-Schmidt was speaking of the rights of the minorities in Turkey, the former foreign minister, Bülenteli, interfered by shouting: “The minority question is not the subject. It was answered by the writer: “This is the freedom of expressing.”

The Turkish spokesperson, Eski acused French socialists: “Instead of insisting upon European spirit, they try to win agreement for socialist ideology. They create a gap between us. Your country (France) is the place of refuge for Italian terrorists, the center of terrorism... You are member of a Parliament of Louis-Philippe style, Mixter Dreyfus-Schmidt!”

Another Turkish deputy, Orhan, accused European countries by claiming that thousands of terrorists who had been obliged to flee from Turkey have found refuge in European countries. The aim of these persons is to do everything in order to provoke a rupture in Turkey-European relations.”

His colleague Celikbas made himself ridiculous by asking a question: “I would like to know if the existence of communist party is a sine qua non condition of a parliamentary democracy?”

While the right-wing deputies, Lord Rous, Geoffrey Finnberg and Corrie (United Kingdom), Cavallieri and Bianchi (Italy), Spies von Bullesheim and Schwartz (FRG) and Breden (Austria) were defending the Turkish regime, the progressive deputies criticized it as follows: Mr. Rausen (Switzerland): “Turkey showed a new open-mindedness towards the Council’s criticism, but that had to be followed by action. The Turkish delegation had to justify Turkey’s policies in relation to the Council’s resolutions. Turkey had scored Recommendation 974, which demanded the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus. Although immediate withdrawal of their troops could not be expected, they should reduce the number of their troops in Cyprus.”

Mr. Dreyfus-Schmidt (France) said that the report showed too much optimism about Turkish democracy. The only question at issue was whether democracy currently existed in Turkey. “The rapporteurs should have added to their reports the fate of minorities in Turkey. Everybody knows that, according to the Turkish authorities, there is no Kurds in Turkey. They are banned to say that they are Kurds and to have an education in their mother tongue... Somewhere hope a spring of Ankara... Our rapporteurs believe in seeing one swallow. But one swallow does not make a summer.”

Mr. Heusde (Austria) took note of the comment in Mr. Stoffelen’s report that the situation in Turkey did not comply with the statutes of the Council of Europe. It was important to remedy that. He regretted that there had been no amnesty. He regretted the continuation of torture and the death penalty. Finally, he said that too little had been said of the situation of the Kurds.
Mrs Assen (Norway): "A political refugee from Turkey came to Norway in 1975. He belonged to the Kurdish minority in Turkey. He was a journalist and had earlier been imprisoned in Turkey because he protested against the way in which the Kurds were treated. In 1982 he was granted Norwegian citizenship. Last year he returned to Turkey to see his aged mother. Although he has been Norwegian since 1982, Turkey has not taken the conse-
quences of this change of citizenship. It still insists on his being a Turkish citizen. He has been imprisoned. Mrs Reba Iivis, a peace worker and the wife of the former mayor of Istanbul, has been in a military prison for 18 months. I agree with Arthur Miller that there is either democracy or none of it. The Turkish people do not deserve a second-class demo-
cracy.

Mr Anastasakis (Greece) said that Amnesty International had reported last month that the Turkish Government continued to tor-
ture and execute political prisoners. The draft resolution was over-optimistic about the slight liberalisation that had occurred. Freedom could not be achieved through a dictatorship, which would create fresh social problems. Greece had experienced that. The Turkish delegates should tell their government that public opinion in Europe was shocked by the violation of human rights.

Mr Bødtker (Denmark): "In its draft resolution we say that we shall once more instruct our Political Affairs Committee and Legal Affairs Committee to continue to follow the evolution of the position of Turkey and report back. Nothing more. What it means in practice is this: we shall do nothing, because it has been proved that the Turkish authorities, which are strictly controlled by the Turkish forces and the gener-

al government, could not care in the slightest about what we say. Two reports also prove that the so-called Turkish parliament is not representative, yet representatives from the so-called parliament are sitting in this Assembly and participating in the democratic vote. It is absurd, and it harms the reputation of us all respect of the Council of Europe."

Mr Martinez (Spain): "Progress in Turkey towards democracy and human rights has been unsatisfactory. Turkey has to be judged by the standards members set for their own coun-
tries. There cannot be first-class and second-
class democracies. Turkey was only a semi-
democracy in a forum of full democracies."

Mr Altmann (Sweden): "Even if some pro-
gress can be noted in the restoration of demo-
cracy in Turkey, this Assembly of the Council of Europe must ask for more, because we must be guided by the values of our organisation and the principles laid down in the European Convention on Human Rights. The fact remains that Turkey cannot be regarded as democracy. The reports provide evidence that things are a little better in Turkey than they were a year ago, but that they are not good enough for a member state of the Council of Europe."

Mr Alegre (Portugal) said that fact and fiction about Turkey was not in accord with the statutes of the Council of Europe. The fiction was that the Council could influence Turkey. The reports simply put forward regrets and hope for a situation that was not democratic at all. The so-called progress was simply the institutionalisation of a regime comprising ele-
ments of both democracy and dictatorship. Either a country was a democracy or it was not. The Council of Europe should be aware of the more vigorous attitude of the EEC to human rights and should not confine itself to tactical consideration of these matters — unless it was prepared to reduce its credibility. He did not have double standards: he was against all dicta-
torships.

Mr Vlad-Mihai (France) regretted that, despite the evidence in the two reports, the Assembly had ratified the credentials of Tur-
key. One year later there was no decisi-

c change but the draft resolution noted with satisfaction that progress had been made. The Assembly should remember the experience of some of its own members in those situations where the imprisonment of communists was followed by the improvement of democrats and the rise of fascism.

Mr Gianotti (Italy) emphasised that, unlike the Atlantic Assembly, WEU or the European Parliament, the Council of Europe had a specific responsibility to defend the ethics and the culture not only of Europe but of other countries. At the further risk of displeasing the rapporteur of the Rules Committee, he would reassert the indivisible principle of freedom. Did the Council of Europe want to support democracy or frustrate it? The behaviour of the majority of the Assembly in 1984 had not
encouraged but prevented democracy in Turkey. He was not satisfied with all aspects of the draft resolution.

Mr Neumann (FRG) observed that Mr Unlu had said that Turkey had been criticised by socialists for several years. It was not true. Socialists had criticised only those in Turkey who were denying their fellow Turks basic human rights. Socialists and Conservatives could agree on the defence of these rights. Turkey had many more prisoners than any other country belonging to the Council of Europe. People there were imprisoned for reasons not considered criminal elsewhere.

Mr Hardy (United Kingdom): "The absence of proper democratic structures and inadequate concern and provision for human rights would disqualify Turkey from membership of the Assembly were it to be merely an applicant country. I am told that a teachers' organisation has suddenly been declared illegal. Its members are banned from public employment because of their membership of an illegal organisation. I am told that members of another organisation have been imprisoned because they seek to change the social order. What a precedent for members of the British Labour party, who make no secret of their belief that the social order should be changed. I suppose that some Conservative members of the Assembly would rather like to see some of them behind bars."

Lady Fleming (Greece) said that in five years little had changed in Turkey. The Council of Europe consisted of twenty democracies and one dictatorship. There was no such thing as a part-democracy. Turkey did not accept the basic principles of the Council of Europe. It continued to deny freedoms: people were in prison for reasons of conscience. The Greeks had experienced dictatorship and wished to help the Turkish people gain their freedom. The Assembly knew that Turkey was a bloody dictatorship; she wondered what the Council was waiting for.

Mr Gadelas (Portugal): "The changes sought in Turkey have not happened. There has been talk about with some results, but I doubt whether dialogue prevails when the Assembly is discussing Turkey. The overweening arrogance and vehemence of many speakers is alarming and I wonder whether on certain major issues the Assembly is becoming a forum for realpolitik. The future is uncertain and one day the Turkish concept of democracy may be considered applicable to other member states. The Assembly's remit was to defend Turkey but greater friends of democracy."

Mr Cox (United Kingdom): "If the proposal is put to the Assembly, it is not to maintain a member of the Council of Europe, they must decide in doubt about what the rules of the Assembly are. Where is the real power in Turkey now? Is it with parliament or with the army? They both cannot have it. There have been comments about visits to prisons. It is no good just walking around a prison; one has to know what is going on within it."

In spite of all these criticisms, the two rapporteurs deferred their position at the end of the debate and instead that the proposition of Resolution should be adopted without any change. Nevertheless, Mr Steiner admitted that there was a great problem with minorities in Turkey, but rapid progress could not be expected and such a problem could be resolved only if there were movement towards genuine democracy.

Finally, after having made a few changes, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the following text of Resolution:

"The Assembly,

1. Having examined the reports of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. 5178) and its Legal Affairs Committee (Doc. 5931), which take account of the fact-finding mission carried out in Turkey by the respective rapporteurs from 5 to 9 March 1985,

2. Recalling its previous positions, in particular its Resolution 822 (1984), detailing a number of measures which would be conducive to furthering the restoration of democratic normality and respect for human rights, in accordance with the statutory obligations of Council of Europe membership;

3. Noting with satisfaction the progress achieved over the past year towards the normalisation of political and parliamentary life, although it is still restricted, notably due to martial law which implies the suspension of several rights and liberties as well as of the separation of powers;

4. Noting with satisfaction the progressive lifting of martial law, this measure having been implemented in a further 11 provinces on
19 March 1985, but regretting that these emer-
gency provisions still remain in force in 23 of
Turkey's 67 provinces;
5. Noting that the press today is more
free in discussing and criticising the govern-
ment, the Grand National Assembly and politi-
cal life in general, while still being subject to
some restrictions especially where radio/tele-
vision is concerned;
6. Welcoming the spirit in which the
seven-member committee of the Grand Nation-
al Assembly on prison conditions is appro-
aching its work, which it has chosen to interpret as
a long-term mandate;
7. Concerned at the restrictions imposed
in the life of the universities;
8. Concerned also by the fact that mass
trials, like those of members of DISK and the
Turkish Peace Association (TPA), are still con-
tinuing, and that new trials are being prepared
against TPA, several of whose members are
still in prison;
9. Reiterating its serious concern at the
restrictions on the right of defence which affect
both the accused and their lawyers in the ongo-
ing mass trials, none of which have entered
their final stages;
10. Recalling in Resolution 727 (1980),
appealing to parliaments of those member
states of the Council of Europe which have
retained capital punishment for crimes com-
mitted under the guise of maintaining peace, to
abolish it from their penal systems, and deploring
that the death sentence is so often asked for and
pronounced in Turkey, while still being subject to
ratifica-
tion by the Grand National Assembly, in
accordance with the Constitution;
11. Expressing its indignation at the con-
tinued terrorist attacks on Turkish citizens, and
diplomats in particular, and stressing that this
sort of action in no way serves the cause of
democracy, but on the contrary tends to streng-
then the enemies of democracy in Turkey;
12. Reaffirming its interest in the result
of the proceedings currently pending before the
European Commission of Human Rights which
recently carried out its decision, follow-
ing an invitation by the Turkish Government,
to send a delegation to Turkey to gather first-
hand information on the current situation as it
relates to Turkey's obligations under the Euro-
pean Convention on Human Rights;
13. Noting the express assurance of the
Turkish Prime Minister that the period of
remand in custody without contact with fami-
ly or lawyer, still legally set at 45 days, is now
in practice restricted to ten days, subject to two
extensions each for a further ten days, and noting
also that this practice is likely soon to be
given legal force, but expressing its concern
that any period of such detention is a grave
infringement of human rights and its anxiety
that such detention should be reduced to an
absolute minimum as soon as possible;
14. Recalling its constant concern for the
removal of the restrictions which continue to
affect the exercise of the rights of trade unions,
of political parties and of minorities;
15. Urges the Turkish Government and
the Grand National Assembly that they should
continue to give attention to all the measures
listed in Resolution 872 (1984), and in particu-
lar:
li. to make full use of their constitutional
powers to secure the continued abolition of
martial law and of the state of emergency which
has often replaced it in most of the provinces,
until normal civilian courts have full jurisdi-
cion over the whole country;
16. to take immediate steps toward grant-
ing amnesty to those prosecuted or convicted
for their opinions, exploiting to the full those
possibilities which exist short of amending the
Constitution, such as specifying the notion of
"crime against the state" in such a way that
those who are not condemned or accused of
crimes of violence can be freed, at least condi-
tionally;
17. to accelerate progress towards the
necessary full affirmation of political pluralism
and human rights, encompassing freedom of
association including within trade unions, free-
dom for political personalities including those
temporarily excluded from parliament, all
rights of minorities, of the press, and especially
broadcasting, and of education;
18. Express the hope that the Grand
National Assembly will not ratify the death
sentences at present referred to it;
19. Instructs its Political and Legal Affairs
Commission in concert to follow the evolution of
the situation in Turkey, and to report back to
it at the latest at the beginning of the 38th
session of the Parliamentary Assembly, in the
light of the response and concrete action taken
by the government and Grand National
Assembly.
EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS' OUVERTURES TO TURKEY

While the Council of Europe's Parliamen
tary Assembly was reiterating the represen
tatives of the Turkish regime, German Chan
celler Helmut Kohl and Belgian Minister of
Foreign Affairs Tindemans carried out first
openings in the governmental field with a view
to developing relations between Europe and
Ankara.

During his visit to Turkey, Mr. Tindemans
declared that the "main stages in the process of
returning to democracy have been the (1983)
Thus Turkey has demonstrated that she
intends to observe her democratic tradition."

On the other hand, he reminded that "Turkey's
solidarity within NATO is an exemplary one."

The Belgian newspaper Le Dropeu Rouge of
July 16, 1985, made the following comments on
Mr. Tindemans' visit:

"Even if from time to time he likes to rest
in big words on respect for human rights, our
Foreign Affairs Minister never abandons his
role of product promoter for his native region
and, in particular, for the interest of the
Antwerp-based Bel-ltte Company, nor his
unfailing zeal as staunch NATO supporter.
The screams of the detainees who are being
tortured in Turkey's military prisons, the ex-
cutions of political prisoners, the blowedead at
political, trade-union and cultural democracy...
do not prevent Mr. Tindemans from confering
guarantees of respectability on the Turkish mil-
itary regime which, for form's sake, rigged itself
out with a... civilian uniform, nor does it stop
him from pleading with the EEC authorities on
its behalf.

Indeed Turkey intends to become a
member, when the time comes, of the Euro-
pean Community. Belgium may contribute
towards making things smooth for Ankara and
thus help it to achieve its end, in both parties'
interest. This is, in substance, according to
Belgium new agency, the message Turkish Prime
Minister Ozal and Foreign Affairs Minister
Vahit Hafoglu tried to pass on Foreign
Affairs Minister Tindemans.

"Belgium, which has been for many years a
traditional partner of Turkey, may well play
this role along with other member countries
such as the Federal Republic of Germany,
according to diplomatic circles in Ankara.
Since Turkey is already a member of the Atlan-
tic Alliance, it would consequently be 'normal'
that she could benefit from the 'advantages'
resulting from the fact of belonging to the 'big
European family,' especially on the economic
level, the same circle adds.

'Observers consider that Belgian diplo-
macy which has always advocated concour-

tive engagement vis-à-vis Ankara, is going to pay this mediation role.

"In order to illustrate this way of seeing things, Messrs. Tindemanns and Hadekoglu signed on July 15 an accord on a state-to-state loan of BF 250 million to Ankara. This amount which has been lent for a 3½-year period at a 2½ percent interest rate is meant to enable pur-

chase of Belgian equipment. Several Belgian firms have projects in view in Turkey and one of them, Bell Telephone, has already landed a contract of over BF 5 billion for delivering telephone exchange equipments. Consequently, this company is to be the first to benefit from the results of this project."

As for the Belgian daily *La Libre Belgique*, it interpreted in this way the consequences of this visit: "Ankara is confident that Belgium, which has always considered dialogue preferable to anathemas, will plead on its behalf in the coming weeks. The statements made by Mr. Tindemanns seem to indicate that its confidence is well-founded. The Belgian Minister's pres-

ence in Ankara points to the fact that the Bel-

gian government greatly appreciates the devel-


gments which have occurred in Turkey.

"Therefore there is no doubt that Belgium will try to throw a bridge between the Ten and Ankara, given that the problem of raltraking the Community has presently been settled. And so much the better if normalization is followed sometime or another - 'when the time comes for both parties', it is discreetly said in Ankara, by an application for membership."

On the other hand, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl asserted on July 10, 1985, during his stay in Ankara, his Government's determi-

nation to "open the way towards normalization of relations between Turkey and the other European democracies".

Mr. Kohl, who is the first government head of a Western country to visit Turkey ever since the coup d'état, pledged at a press conference to "devote himself to persuading his European colleagues that Turkey is an important partner".

As regards the thorny problem of "mi-

grants", that was dominant during this visit, Mr. Kohl made it clear that it proved impossible to reach an agreement on that point.

A text distributed by the spokesperson of the German Government, from which it appeared that an agreement on immigration had failed to materialize, even though official talks on this particular issue had not yet started, "strongly shocked" the Turkish officials. In this text, Bonn utterly rejects Ankara's argument which insists that the association treaty should provide for the "totally free movement" of Turkish labor within the EEC as of December 1st.

SOCIALISTS AGAINST

THE POLICE LAW IN TURKEY

The fifth Turkey Conference of Socialists held in Brussels on 4th June, 1985, under the Chairmanship of Ludwig Feithmaier on the initiative of the European Parliament Socialist Group, came to the following conclusions:

"1. We recognize that political life in Tur-

key is growing closer to democratic conditions, above all because of the Parties which were prevented from contesting the general election. There is movement in the party political landscape. This is proved by SODEP and the Cor-

rect Way Party and the announcement of the foundation of the Democratic Left Party in August.

"2. The press has become freer. But as long as martial law still continues in some of the Turkish provinces, press freedom is not fully assured.

"3. We are deeply shocked that at the moment when the Turkish Government an-

nounces the lifting of martial law in further provinces, just then the Government introdu-

ces in the Turkish National Assembly an amendment to the Police Law which is a basic violation of fundamental civil rights. This draft, which will soon be adopted, is in funda-

mental contradiction of the European Con-

vention on Human Rights.

"4. The participants make the following chief demands of the Turkish National Assem-

by as a pre-requisite for reactivating relations between Europe and the Turkish Republic:

- the amendment to the police law must not be adopted as it stands;
- martial law must be lifted, since parlia-

mentary democracy cannot develop under martial law;
- mass trials before military courts must be ended;
- no further death sentences must be car-

ried out;"
torture in prisons and particularly in police stations must finally be completely stopped;
- Trade Union rights must be fully restored;
- free collective bargaining must not be continuously limited; free trade unions need a free right to strike. The already limited rights retained by the still legal Trade Union Confed-eration are being undermined, and the second major Confederation DISK remains banned;
- an amnesty for political prisoners must be introduced this year;
- freedom of science, research and teaching must be assured;
- minorities must be protected - whether in Turkey or in Bulgaria."

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S 5 CONDITIONS TO TURKEY

The European Parliament's stand concerning Turkey-EU relations was confirmed once more at the meeting of October 23, 1985, in Strasbourg. The situation of human rights in Turkey is not yet sufficiently satisfactory to justify reopening the relations between the European Parliament and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

Adopting a resolution very critical regarding the situation of human rights in Turkey, the European Parliament has laid down the following five prerequisites for reopening its relations with the Turkish parliament:
- Abolition of the capital punishment for political crimes committed without violence and an amnesty for the prisoners detained for opinion offenses;
- Stop to torture of prisoners and prosecution of all torturers;
- Possibility for each Turkish citizen to apply to the European Commission of Human Rights of the Council of Europe;
- Lifting of all restrictions on political, social and opinion freedoms.

This position of the European parliamentarians constitutes a new democratic blow to the militarist "democracy" set up by the army generals in Turkey.

Angry at this decision, the Turkish Government as well as the pro-governmental Turkish press have launched a new campaign of slander against the European democratic forces by accusing them of being "fascist," "traitors," "arrogant people," "enemies of the Turkish nation," "acolytes of the Green-communist plot."

However, this resolution which also constitutes a great act of solidarity with the democratic effort of the people of Turkey has been welcomed with great satisfaction by the country's democratic forces, who are always for a complete restoration of the contribution of Turkey-EU relations, on the basis of full respect to the human rights defined by the European Convention on Human Rights of which Turkey is one of the first signatories.

Before putting this matter on its agenda, the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament charged the British Labour Deputy, Mr. Richard Balfe, with carrying out a fact-finding mission to Turkey. During his visit to Turkey from May 12 to 17, Mr. Balfe was not authorized to visit prisons and to have talks with the officials of the regime. (Richard Balfe, deputy of the Labour Party since 1979, fights for the defence of human rights throughout the world. But he has a special concern for Turkey because of his daily relations with the Turkish living in his constituency, South London. He is a member of Amnesty International and, since 1981, of the Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey).

In his report drawn up in the name of the Political Affairs Committee the rapporteur Richard Balfe exposed the summary of the facts he had found as follows:

"A considerable volume of evidence, written and oral, was received by your rapporteur during the enquiry. In particular, it was clear from the outset that it would be impossible to complete the report without making a visit to Turkey in order to obtain an up-to-date properly informed picture of the human rights situation. This decision was authorized by the Bureau of the Parliament on 12th March 1985. This decision specified that there should be no impediment to your rapporteur making whatever contacts he wished. No difficulty was experienced in this respect, as a communica- tion from the Turkish Ambassador to the Communities dated 10 May 1985 makes clear. However, your rapporteur has to record that,
equally, no facilities were given by the Turkish government comparable to those accorded to previous rapporteurs and even to individual Members of the Parliament visiting Turkey under their own auspices. These facilities were requested well in advance of the visit by your rapporteur who was given to understand, par- ticularly at a meeting with a visiting Delegation of Turkish Parliamentarians to Strasbourg in April, that such facilities would be accorded. It was only at the very last moment, on the eve of the visit, that a Telex message was received from the Turkish Ambassador to the Com- munities saying that it would not be feasible for these facilities, such as meetings with Ministers and Civil Servants, to be granted.

"However, despite these difficulties a full programme for the visit was carried out between 13th and 17th May by your rapporteur who was accompanied by Mr John Taylor, Director General of the Human Rights Service of the Parliament. For the successful arrangement of this programme, such credit must go to Mr Gwyn Morgan, who spared no effort to make high-level appointments covering the whole of this complicated subject at very short notice. Your rapporteur would like to convey his gratitude both to Mr Morgan and to the Commission who made his services available. As a result, your rapporteur was able to hold talks with the leaders of all five major political parties in Turkey including the ruling Motherland Party. A most important excep- tion to the political contacts, however, was any representative from the Turkish Communist Party. This party is banned; most of its leaders are in prison and trial of its members are still continuing. For similar reasons, other political parties, particularly, the Turkish Workers Party (TIP), were unable to have the opportunity of making representations to your rapporteur when he was in Turkey. However, repre- sentations from these parties have since been received on their behalf from Holland and Belgium respectively. Meetings were also arranged with trade union leaders, again both recognised and not recognised and in some cases banned by the regime; together with lawyers, journalist, international and national civil servants, members of diplomatic missions, ex-prisoners and relatives of prisoners, and with numerous other witnesses. Altogether, a total of over 100 separate groups and individuals in Turkey were interviewed. It should be recorded that many of the witnesses inside Turkey expressed serious concern to your rapporteur about the conse- quences to themselves and their families should this material become known to the Turkish authorities and should their identities be revealed. For this reason references to these sources have been omitted from the report."

During the plenary session of the Euro- pean Parliament in Strasbourg, the facts exposed by Mr. Ball (even the fact that Tur- key, with an average of 171 political detainees for 100,000 inhabitants, holds a European record on the matter of repression) did not prevent the representatives of the European Right from demanding the restoration of rela- tions with Turkey, under the pretext that "some sensible development was accomplished in that country". "Do not we maintain relations with the COMERON countries or with Uganda, where the violation of human rights has sur- passed the imagination," said a British conser- vative Mr. Prag. If his arguments were taken into consideration, the Resolution would be transformed into a text of passionate congratula- tions to the Turkish regime.

In fact, the Liberals, the Christian-Democrats and the Conservatives, during the voting, tabled many amendments with the purpose of reopening relations with the Turkish regime, in one way or another. All these efforts of the European Right corresponded to the will of some European governments, especially to that of the FRG and the Great Britain.

However, in spite of these provisions of amendments and the lobbying of the representa- tives of the Turkish regime, the European Parliament adopted the Resolution on the situation of human rights in Turkey, without any important change. Out of 287 present members of Parliament, 199 voted for the Resolution, 119 against and 10 abstained. The result of the voting has been a rout for the Turkish regime as well as for the European Right.

THE RESOLUTION READS:

"The European Parliament, having regard to the following motions for resolutions:

- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Van Henendael on the imprisonment of Sulayman Yasar (Doc. 2-356/84)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kuijpers and Mr Vandemeulebroecke on the
GENERAL EVREN'S ANGER

It is very well known that General Evren and his prime minister Ozal have no intention to talk head of what European democracies say. Just after the validation of the Turkish delegation's credentials by the Council of Europe, General Evren, in his speech delivered on April 29 in Antalya, defied the Council of Europe Resolution on Human Rights.

'We have enemies as well as friends in the world. These enemies have organized bands abroad in order to destroy the current atmosphere of security in our country. In 1982 Turkey adopted a new constitution which is a guarantee of peace and prosperity for the Nation. They know it very well... And they do their utmost to undermine this constitution. They tell us to modify it so that we wish to take part in the community of civilized nations. They urge us to lift martial law. This choice is as our hands, not in theirs.

'They talk very often of torture in Turkey. They claim that and speak with terrorists who are in jail, not with people in the street. Obviously, a terrorist who is to be condemned to capital punishment claims that he was tortured. A person of goodwill should not rely on their allegations.

'They are against the death penalty, they find it contrary to human rights. Are we obliged to heed in prison those who have assassinated ten, twenty, thirty personal? Moreover, the European Convention on Human Rights has never abolished the death penalty.

'They claim that there are prisoners of opinion in Turkey. The Turkish Penal Code does not include any article concerning opinion crime. Those make situation to articles 141 and 142 of the Code. Those articles had already been enacted in 1930, at the period of Ataturk. Some members of associations are in prison in accordance with articles but they are not prisoners of opinion...

As for Prime Minister Ozal, he had already declared during his visit to the United States that there were no political prisoners in Turkey, except the leader of the MHP neo-fascist party, Alparslan Turan, and that all other prisoners are anarchists or criminals. In Ozal's view, since the recent release of Turks, there are no more political prisoners in Turkey.

(Until July, May 1985)

trial of 56 intellectuals in Turkey (Doc. 2-568/84)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Staes on the fourth anniversary of the coming to power of the military regime in Turkey and events there condemned or instigated by the Turkish Government (Doc. 2-595/84)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Singh on the massacre and death sentences in Turkey (Doc. 2-1492/84)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Lison on the imprisonment in Turkey of Mr Tamer Kayas (Doc. 2-1521/84)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Vandenbroecke and Mr Kuipers on the fate of the Kurdish minorities in Turkey (Doc. B 2-43/85)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Ulborn on the alarming situation of Kurdish prisoners in Turkey (Doc. B 2-389/85)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mr De Gucht on the abolition of the death penalty in Turkey (Doc. B 2-413/85)
- motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Hoff and Mr Fellermeier on the death of Fikri Simenzer, Mayor of Fatsa, Turkey (Doc. B 2-530/85)
- having regard to the report of its Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-117/85)

"A. recalling that no fewer than 11 resolutions expressing concern about the human rights situation in Turkey have been passed by the Parliament since the 'goup d'etat' in September 1980, and that more than 20 motions for resolutions to this effect have been tabled during the same period by Members from many different political groups,

"B. recalling also the decision of the Parliament of 11 October 1984, sponsored by all the political groups, that the Delegation of the European Parliament/Grand National Assembly of Turkey Joint Committee will not be set up until the Association Agreement is implemented once again and until the European Parliament has reconsidered the situation in Turkey" (See OJ No. C300, 12..13.11.1984, p. 49-50)

"C. noting also that allegations of breaches of the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights by Turkey have been formally tabled, under Article 34 of the Convention, by five countries (Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden), of which three are members of the European Communities; and that these allegations have been referred to the European Commission on Human Rights, which has not yet reached a decision on this matter, but in an interim ruling
on 6 December 1983, without in any way pre-
judging the merits of the case, declared the
applications admissible.
D. recalling that a rapporteur appointed by
the Political Affairs Committee visited
Turkey, under the authority of the Bureau of
the Parliament, to prepare a report on the
human rights situation, and had full dis-
cussions there with leaders of political parties
and members of the Grand National Assembly
as well as with other leading politicians, and
with trade union leaders, lawyers, journalists, inter-
national and national civil servants, members of
diplomatic missions ex-prisoners and rela-
tives of prisoners and with numerous other
witnesses,
E. welcoming the rapporteur’s finding that
some progress has been made towards the
restoration of human rights in Turkey and that
there appeared to be a widespread recognition
of the need for further such reforms,
F. regretting, however, that these improve-
ments did not appear to amount to the return
to democracy and respect for human rights
called for in the aforementioned resolutions
passed by Parliament, and furthermore that
independents have not even been restored for
those human rights consistently regarded by
the European Parliament as the most basic
and elementary (See Annual Reports of the Parlia-
ment on Human Rights for 1983 and 1984
and the resolution adopted following the report
by Mr van Havel on behalf of the Political
Affairs Committee in July 1982 - OJ No.C238,
by Parliament under urgent procedure on 24
May 1984 - OJ No. C172, 21.7.1984, p. 128-
129, namely the right to live, the right to integ-
ity of the person and the right to a fair trial on
charges brought,
G. noting, in particular, that as regards the
right to life, while a most welcome reduc-
tion in the number of executions has taken
place in the past eighteen months, the death
penalty is still being imposed and occasionally
continued, not instead, that the incidence did not seem to be
diminishing significantly, and that furthermore
the Prisons Committee of the Turkish Grand
National Assembly, while its establishment
is clearly a laudable development, did not seem to be
having a significant impact in controlling
this grave abuse of human rights,
H. noting, further, that as regards the right
to a fair trial in charges brought, the unsatis-
factory procedures and practices noted in the
Parliament’s previous resolutions referred to
which were continuing, notably infringements
of the right of prisoners to an adequate legal
defense and to fair legal procedures,
I. deploiring, in this connection, the con-
tinuance and the protracted procedures of the
mass trials of various bodies such as the Turk-
ish Peace Association and the trade union con-
 federation DISK and its affiliated unions, and of
various groups of academics and intellectu-
als, for offenses which seem to amount to no
more than the peaceful and non-violent expres-
sion of political opinions,
K. recalling, in particular, its resolution of
13 June 1985 (OJ No. C 175: 15.07.1985,
p. 222) on the trial of members of the Turkish
Peace Association which called on the Foreign
Ministers of the European Communities meet-
 ing in political cooperation to request the Turk-
 ish authorities to bring this trial to an end
immediately to abandon future such trials and
to free immediately the accused,
L. welcoming signs of relaxation in the
strict and repressive censorship of writing and
publishing, but concerned that a number of
authors and publishers are still being prose-
cuted for expressions of non-violent opinions
and that new legislation gives the police wide
powers to seize films and video cassettes of a
non-violent and non-pornographic character,
and that there is no real indication of the
behaviour of persons whose behaviour they believe does not
conform to the moral standards of society,
M. regretting also that widespread viola-
tion of the human rights of the Kurdish minor-
ity is still occurring in Turkey and, even more so,
of these who are politically active as Kurds,
N. welcoming, in the field of freedom of
association and the right to engage in demo-
cratic politics, the holding of local elections in
1984 for the first time since the “coup d’état”,
with a wider representation of political parties
which had been permitted in the general election
of 1983,
O. recognising, nevertheless, that political
democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties, particu-
larly the Social Democratic Party on the left and the Correct Way Party on the right,
remain unrepresented in the country's parlia-
ment, while leading political figures such as Mr
Demirel and Mr Kavera remain excluded from
active political life, while the Turkish Commu-
nist Party remains under a total ban with
many of its members in prison, and while other politi-
cal parties have been harassed and their
members prosecuted and imprisoned.

"P. recalling, in this connection, Parlia-
ment's decisions of 22 January and 8 July 1982
not to renew the mandate of its Members on
the Joint Parliament Committee of the EEC
Turkey Association until such time as the Turk-
ish Grand National Assembly has been freely
elected, as well as the decision referred to above
of 11 October 1984.

"Q. regretting that trade union rights con-
tinue to be severely restricted with one major
trade union confederation, DISK, a body affili-
ated to the European Trade Union Confeder-
a tion and one of these recognized by the Euro-
pean Communities, forbidden to function in
Turkey, and with its funds and assets seizes-
ted;

"R. noting that martial law still remains in
force in some areas of the country, including
the largest city, Istanbul, and covers a large
section of the population, that this involves
severe restrictions on human rights, and that
even where martial law has been lifted, it has
been replaced by states of emergency in many
areas with similar severe controls;

"S. noting, further, with concern that there
are some developments, notably in the recently
acquired power of the police to remove, with-
out the legal authority previously required, pri-
soners from prison to police stations for
further interrogation, and in new legislation
giving the police substantially more extensive
powers in the field particularly of censorship,
powers of arrest and search without prior
authority, uncommunicated detention and the
use of firearms by the police, the use of which
may result in a worsening rather than an
improvement in the human rights situation.

"T. noting that the Turkish authorities vio-
late the rights of ethnic minorities, particularly
when they are protected by international treaties,
"U. Expresses deep concern at the continu-
ing seriousness of the situation with regard to
human rights observance in Turkey and strongly
condemns all forms of violence against
the person practised in that country;

"V. Calls on the Turkish Government to
move rapidly towards a restoration of human
rights in the country particularly as regards:

"(a) the right to life, including the abolition
of the death penalty and an amnesty for prison-
ers of conscience;

"(b) the right to integrity of the person,
including the prosecution of those responsible
for torture, the compensation of victims of tor-
ture and an end to all forms of inhuman and
degrading treatment of prisoners;

"(c) the right to a fair trial, including the
removal of restrictions on the conduct of the
defence of prisoners and court practices
which are in conformity with accepted practi-
ces of fairness to the accused;

"(d) the discontinuance of the mass trials of
the Turkish Peace Association, of the trade
union confederation DISK and its affiliated
unions, and of various groups of academics
and intellectuals, and the immediate release of
those still detained in connection with these
trials;

"(e) the granting of the right of individual
appeal to the European Commission of
Human Rights under Article 25 of the Euro-
pean Human Rights Convention (now accord-
ed by 17 out of the 21 signatories of the
Conventions);

"(f) the removal of the restrictions on free-
dom of political activity, trade union rights and
expression of opinion;

"(g) the rights of minorities, notably as
regards religion, language and history and their
right to take part in cultural and social activities;

"(h) While fully recognizing the difficult pol-
itical and economic circumstances faced by
Turkey, is of the opinion that the human rights
situation does not justify a reversal of the pre-
vious decision referred to in recital B of this
resolution, and that the appointment of the
European Parliament delegation to the EEC
Turkey Joint Committee should remain
in abeyance.

"I. Instructs its President to forward this
resolution to the Commission and the Council,
the Foreign Ministers meeting in political
cooperation, the governments of the Members
States, the Council of Europe, the Turkish
Government and the Turkish Grand Na-
tional Assembly."
ANKARA'S INSULTING REACTION TO THE E.P. RESOLUTION

Ankara has called the Resolution of the European Parliament new例 of the "European hostility against Turkey" and even the most optimistic Turkish commentators have declared that this European position means that the relations between the EEC and its associated member in the East will not be reopened at least until 1988, the date of the next legislative elections in Turkey.

We are retracing below the different reactions which appeared in the Turkish press:

Tercüman, 24.10: GRECO-COMMUNIST PLOT. During the debates on Turkey at the European Parliament, all evil forces took a common position. The Turkish parliamentarians who went to Strasbourg for lobbying have declared in a press release that Europe had been manipulated by the separatists taking refuge in foreign countries.

Tercüman, 25.10: NEW PREMIUM TO THE ENEMIES OF TURKEY, WE HAVE RECEIVED A NEW BLOW. The German socialist Ludwig Fellermaier said: "We do not wish that Turkey be the 13th member of the European Communities. It is for this reason that we adopted the Resolution proposed by Mr. Balle." The Christian Kapch: "This is a scandal. Turkey has been punished for the first time for having manifested her respect for human rights." The liberal Simone Voil: "We have parliamentary relations even with communist countries. Why does Turkey become the only country with whom we have cut all our relations?" The British deputy Pierce: "It is the Greeks who deceived us. We have been duped by them. Now they are laughing at us in their corner." The German deputy Wedelind: "Those who voted for this Resolution are the enemies of Turkey." The Belgian Libor: "Bayer: 'What a hypocrisy! Are you masochists?'

Mebrey, 25.10: TURKEY SNUBS EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. In a written statement the Turkish Foreign Ministry called the resolution and Balle's report "one-sided, ill-affected and based on preconceived ideas". It said: "A study of the report and the resolution shows that its primary aim is to prevent the improvement of relations between Turkey and the rest of Western Europe. With this objective in mind, basic facts concerning Turkey are distorted, groundless accusations are made and, moreover, all positive developments in Turkey are deliberately ignored... The resolution is a vivid example of the erroneous approach of relying on the report of prejudiced third persons in assessing the situation in Turkey, rather than seeking direct information from the Turkish parliamentarians. The adoption of this report and resolution is a blow to the prestige and credibility of the European Parliament..."

On the other hand, British Conservative Leslie Marshall said: "When we allocate Turkey we help the Russians." However, the former President of the EC legislature Piet Dankert said his own news conference in Ankara last spring was "monitored" and charged that police station "were equipped for torture". He said Balle's report to be "a pure statement of fact."

Hürriyet, 26.10: INSOLIDITY DISGUISED BEHIND THE MASK OF DEMOCRACY.

Tercüman, 26.10: RELATIONS WITH THE EEC CUT OFF. The spokesman of the Socialist Group, Mr. Piet Dankert, Mr Richard Balle and Mr. David Blackman said: "This is a victory. Even the right-wing deputies supported us, why do the Turkish parliamentarians come here though their presence is not desired?"

Hürriyet, 27.10: BALFE IS A LIAR! The spokesman of the Turkish Foreign Ministry vented Balle's claims that the Turkish Ambassador with the CEE, Ml. Bulat Tacer, had refused to give him information: "If the Turkish authorities had not received him, no doubt, there is a reason. We knew very well that he had prejudices against us," he said.

Tercüman, 27.10: The spokesman of the Turkish delegation at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Mr. Kamarin Inan: "Turkey was judged by a Parliament of which she is not a member. The Greeks played the role of prosecutors and the Communists and the Socialists acting as judges, adopted such a partial resolution. While Turkey is estimated in Brussels as the most valuable ally of NATO and considered as the guard of the economic welfare of the West, such a condemnation in Strasbourg is not comprehensible. These two attitudes are not compatible."
Hürriyet, 28:10: "BALFE IT A CROOK!" The Prime Minister Turgut Özal, during his talks with Turkish journalists in New York, said: "It is a crook named Balfe who prepared that report. The relations have never been re-opened, then it is nonsense to say that the relations were suspended. We do not have root of 600 million dollars from the EEC. This resolution does not have any political or economic importance for us."

Hürriyet, 28:10: UGLY MORGAN. It is reported that a certain part of Balfe’s report had been drawn up by Gwyn Morgan, the EEC representative in Ankara. Following the adoption of the Resolution by the European Parliament, Morgan was seen embracing with his friends joyfully.

Hürriyet, 28:10: EUROPEAN TREA- SONY. Angry at the fact that Turkey had given the business of constructing the second suspension bridge on the Bosphorus to a Japanese firm by refusing the British offer, the British conservatives did not defend us at the European Parliament. Some Christians as well as some British Conservatives such as Lord Bethell acted against Turkey as the Crusaders had done.

SOLIDARITY APPEAL OF 200 PARLIAMENTARIANS

While the European Parliament was con- demning the Ankara regime in Strasbourg, another parliamentary initiative with a view to defending human rights in Turkey appeared in the European press.
On the initiative of Mr. Jean-Pierre Fourte, Vice-Speaker of the French National Assembly, many representatives of European countries have launched a campaign in favor of the detained members of the Peace Committee of Turkey.
200 parliamentarians of 21 European countries have already signed the following appeal:

"The trial opened against the officials of the Turkish Peace Committee ended.
"Six out of 18 leaders of this committee, of whom the Chairman, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, and the Vice-Chairman, former president of the Bar of Istanbul, Orhan Apaydın, have been condemned to prison terms of 5 and 8 years.
"However, thanks to the solidarity of all peace partisans and of the defenders of human rights, Mr. Dikerdem and Mr. Apaydın have recently been released temporarily, after many months of detention. While the defense was appealing to the Military Court of Casablanca, a second trial has been opened against 48 former members of the Peace Committee of Turkey.
According to the formal charge from the mil- itary prosecutor, this second trial will be enlarged and will concern 501 persons.
"These men have been placed in the dock merely for an offense of opinion: defending a just and everlasting peace, disarmament and the respect to the Final Act of Helsinki. They have never participated in any terrorist action, they have never committed any crime.
"In solidarity with their action, we, undersigned parliamentarians, ask the Turkish authorities to take every measure for putting an end to the trials and for assuring the liberation of the members of the Turkish Peace Commit- tee."

5 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITHDRAW COMPLAINTS

The process of Euro-European concilia- tion the withdrawal of five European countries’ complaints against the Turkish regime from the European Human Rights Commission has been the most surprising and subsequently the most determining move.
After Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden signed five petitions against Turkey in 1982, the European Human Rights Commission decided first on the receiv- ability of the petitions and later on, at the beginning of 1987, sent a mission to Turkey.
The mission held an inquiry in Turkey from January 27 to February 2nd, 1985, by meeting government members, trade union officials, journalists, university professors and high functionaries. It also visited five military prisons.
The conclusion of the visit: Too many vio- lations of human rights do not allow Turkey to take place among real democracies.
The delegation's confidential report was leaked out on March 13, 1985, by the Associated Press.

According to the delegation's confidential report, most of the interviewed prisoners had complained about being tortured under arrest or having witnessed torture scenes.

Nevertheless, the delegation has noticed a decline in the numbers of torture allegations, because the number of clandestine organisations is now smaller than during the first years of military rule and because the military authorities have been compelled to be careful of their methods due to pressure from world opinion.

Yet, ill-treatment of prisoners is still widespread at police stations during interrogations, the report said.

Of the five military prisons the legal experts visited, they found the harshest conditions at Mamak in Ankara. The prison houses over 1,270 inmates, most of whom are suspected of belonging to left-wing political groups.

The average detention period of the prisoners interviewed by the commissioners was four to five years. Most have not yet been tried or are awaiting appeal court reviews of their convictions.

Prison officials dismissed the allegations of torture as "communist propaganda" designed to mislead the public and gain their sympathy.

Turkey's Minister of Justice, Necat Eidek, told the delegates that Martial Law Officials suspected of torture are prosecuted and frequently dismissed or jailed. He said 584 officials have lost their jobs and 162 prison officers have been given prison sentences.

If a detainee laughs, speaks loudly or looks an officer straight in the face, he may be isolated in the "death cell". Situated in the under-ground of the prison, these "cells" are known to be very cold. The prisoners are freezing here because they have been stripped naked. The prison director claimed that he ignored the existence of these cells, therefore the delegation was unable to take a glance at them. Most prisoners complain that they are not allowed to benefit from an appropriate defense.

But torture and other degrading inhuman treatments are maybe not the main reason for concern in Turkey. What is even more worrying is the restriction of fundamental rights every member of the Council of Europe is expected to respect. The delegation has been told that the Constitution does not correspond to the standards of democracy. It also contains many restrictions regarding human rights and freedoms. No, human rights violations have been "legalised" by the Turkish Constitution.

Trade Union rights are limited. "There is no more trade union activity corresponding to European standards. Wherever martial law is in force, the right to strike is suspended. Journalists are forced to practice a very strict self-censorship under the threat of a ban on the publication of their newspaper. "There is no liberalisation of the regime. One may criticise the Prime Minister, but not the military regime. They risk jail terms and reprimands for criticising the military", a journalist said.

Another pressman explained that any reporter who wants to attend a session of a mass trial, has to sign a document first, implying that he accepts any press restriction, which means that it is forbidden to report any allegation.

"Prime Minister Turgut Ozal has most of the constitutional powers, but the country is run by the military", another journalist said.

Considering all these facts, it appears that, even if there has been progress since the military coup, "there is not yet in Turkey, a complete respect for the European Convention on Human Rights."

In spite of these findings of its own mission to Turkey, a few months later, the European Human Rights Commission announced that the Turkish Government and the petitioning five governments adopted a "friendly" settlement on December 7, 1985, and subsequently the Commission decided to discontinue the contentious proceedings dealing with the allegations concerning human rights violations in Turkey.

To reach this compromise, the Commission first met the Turkish Government's representatives in Paris. From there, the Commission asked the government of the five countries to react upon the proposition for compromise.

After the discussions between the two parties, representatives of six governments presented the Commission's delegation with a common plan for regulations. In its definitive form, the content of the plan is drawn up as follows:

"A. As to matters relating to Article 3 of the Convention

"I. The State Supervisory Council set up
under Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution will be instructed to have special regard to the strict observance by all public authorities, including the military and civilian detention houses and prisons and police headquarters, of obligations assumed by Turkey under Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights.

2. The Government of Turkey prevailing itself from Article 57 of the Convention, will report on 1 February 1986, 1 July 1986 and 1 October 1986, to the European Commission of Human Rights, via the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, of the measures by which the internal law and practice of Turkey ensures the effective implementation of Article 3 of the Convention (including conditions and procedures of detention). Each report is for the information of the Commission of Human Rights only and should not be used for other purposes.

3. During a period not exceeding three months following the submission of each report, a dialogue will be held on the basis of the information envisaged in paragraph 2 above by delegates of the European Commission and representatives of the Government of Turkey. The dialogue will be carried out by correspondence and, if so requested by one side, by a meeting the duration of which should not exceed one week, or by any other appropriate means agreed upon by both the delegates of the Commission and the representatives of the Government of Turkey.

4. In the course of the dialogue, the delegates of the European Commission of Human Rights, may comment on the information received. Such comments are of a confidential nature and should be made to the representatives of the Turkish Government only.

5. The dialogue being carried out under the joint responsibility of the Commission and the representatives of the Government of Turkey, a short final report on the implementation of the present arrangement shall be prepared no later than 1 February 1987, by the participants at the dialogue and be made available to the Secretary General of the Commission, to representatives of the Contracting Parties to the Convention.

6. As to derogations under Article 15 of the Convention.

1. While noting with satisfaction that the Government of Turkey has progressively reduced the geographical scope of martial law, and whereas the martial law administration is making use of its powers with the greatest restraint, special regards given to the following violation made by the Prime Minister of Turkey on 4 April 1985 in Washington D.C.

"I hope that we will be able to lift martial law from the remaining provinces within 18 months."

2. As a number of restrictions of personal rights and freedoms have been implemented during the emergency situation covered by Article 15 of the Convention, it was noted that a number of decrees or other legal enactments, mentioned by the applicant Governments in their applications, have been changed or amended in the meantime taking into account the obligations assumed by Turkey under the European Convention on Human Rights. A table indicating those changes is attached hereto as Annex I. The Government of Turkey will keep the Commission informed of further changes to be enacted in the same spirit.

3. As to the issue of Amnesty

"The questions of amnesty is of concern to the Turkish Grand National Assembly and to the Government of Turkey. Work on amnesty has been started by the Turkish Government with a view to facilitate, within the framework of the Turkish Constitution, the granting of amnesty, pardons or similar measures of leniency. Deliberations are expected to take place in Parliament in the forthcoming months on the basis of initiatives under Article 86 of the Turkish Constitution. The Turkish Government will inform the Commission of developments on this matter."

After receiving the plan for settlement presented by the two parties, the Commission, "noting the willingness of the two applicant governments, in the light of the developments in Turkey, including the measures taken by Turkey with a view to re-establishing an effective democracy and securing compliance with the rights and freedoms defined in the Convention, to continue the contentious proceedings dealing with allegations for the period 12 September 1980 to 1 July 1982, has adopted by majority vote the report, in conformity with Article 30 of the Convention. Although the Commission has expressed great reaction in human rights circles in Europe, the European press favorable to the Turkish regime expressed its satisfaction with..."
the European retreat. "Taking into account the promises that the Turkish government has made, it is intelligent and right that the five countries have withdrawn their official complaint. Turkey is not a democracy according to western norms and it is certain that the country will not be one a year and a half down the road. All the same, there are sufficient reasons to continue to help the Turks and to have confidence in them. This country is surrounded by real and potential enemies: Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Greece. Relations with the rest of Europe and with the United States are the only means to come out of this isolation." (VCR Handschrift, 11.12.85, Rotterdam).

As for Turkey, government circles announced the Commission's decision with a triumphant air, all expressing their hope of reestablishing Turkish-European relations, despite the European Parliament resolution setting five concord conditions for resuming these relations.

**ETUC reacted against the surprise compromise**

Whatever may be the true reasons for the five European countries' new position, the trade union movement in Europe reacted immediately against this conciliation.

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) expressed, during its meeting in Brussels on December 12-13, 1985, its extreme dissatisfaction and rejected the "friendly" settlement between Turkey and the five complaining countries in the following terms:

"The situation in Turkey with regard to trade union rights, human rights and democracy does not improve; this in spite of considerable pressure internationally in particular, by way of trade union activities through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour and the European Trade Union Confederation and in spite of government's activities through the Council of Europe, the European Economic Community, the International Labour Organization and the United Nations.

"The Turkish government seems unwilling to listen and take heed of international opinion; they continue with their undemocratic policies and methods, denying their people democracy, human and trade union rights.

- The trials against DISK, its affiliated trade unions and leaders continue in its fifth year.
- No amnesty has been given to political prisoners.
- Human rights are not accorded to the people of Turkey.
- Trade union rights are limited and do not conform with institutional labour standards.
- Freedom of the press and expression is limited and does not live up to the Council of Europe's statutes.
- No major steps towards democracy, as pointed out in the Council of Europe's statutes are taken by the Turkish government.
- DISK's elected leadership and its affiliates are invited and would like to have the opportunity to travel out of Turkey to participate at the ETUC Executive Committee meetings and other European trade union meetings and are denied the permission to travel.

1. Therefore, the European Trade Union Confederation has to reinforce its activities and pressure on the Turkish government.
2. Therefore, the ETUC urges the Council of Europe and its parliamentary Assembly to put real and concrete pressure on the Turkish government, to union rights in Turkey. By not doing so, the Council of Europe accepts double standards where it concerns its member states' convictions towards democracy and human rights in Europe.
3. The ETUC urges the Council of Europe, the European Community, the European Parliament and EFTA, to do their utmost to put political and economic pressure on the Turkish government until democracy, human and trade union rights are reinstated in Turkey.
4. The ETUC also urges all the European institutions and all the governments of Western Europe to request the Turkish government to stop the trials against DISK, its affiliated trade unions and its leaders, with immediate effect, and to restore to DISK and its affiliated organisations, the funds and assets that have been confiscated.
5. To achieve a stop of the trials against DISK and its affiliated trade unions, the ETUC plans to make a representation to the Council of Europe, the European Community, the European Parliament and EFTA.
6. ETUC's national affiliated trade union
EUROPEAN STANDARDS AND GENERAL, EVREN

While the regime that he has set up in Turkey is still being criticized by the European circles, Gen. and President Kemal Evren, taking no heed of what they say, continues to strong his opponents as "communists" and "traitors". Below, we are reprinting some opinions from his recent speeches:

"The truth would not allow the fact that the illegal organizations have stirred their subversive activities" (19.10.1985)

"Communists can prove here by hiding up face behind different kinds of masks, perhaps one day in the future, we then be able to attain the level of GNP per head of 15,000 dollars (Turkey is about 1,000 dollars - Editor's note), then we can overcome the existence of a communist party". (15.10.1985)

"Communists always dream of dividing the country. They collaborate with Armenians, then with Turks in Cyprus. They demand the withdrawal of the Turkish troops from the island". (19.10.1985)

"We have not been able to make the Europeans accept the fact that there is not any communist called Kurdish in Turkey. There are many Turkish communists in the world... As for the Kurds, they have often crowded between us and the Arabs... In their language, there are many Turkish words. They are not a minority, but pure Turks." (26.10.1985)

(Info, Ankara, October 1985)

confidentialities are asked to make representa-
tion to their national governments urging them to demand an end to the trial against DISK and its affiliated trade union organisations and its leaders.

7. The ETUC urges all concerned to observe the facts that DISK as affiliated trade unions and its leaders in Turkey were only carrying out normal trade union work and activities. The Turkish government has been unable (after five years of continuing trials) to produce any conclusive evidence that DISK has been involved in any illegal or undemocratic activities. Despite this, 78 of DISK's leaders are still under the threat of a death sentence, and 1,477 others are menaced by long prison terms. Information received at the ETUC Secretariat indicates probably that the death sentence may be converted to 10-20 years of imprisonment and for the others, the prison sentence of between 10-20 years.

8. The ETUC finds this totally unaccept-
able as a development and considers it a crime against justice, democracy and human rights in Europe.

9. ETUC expresses extreme dissatisfaction and rejects the friendly settlements which the five complaining states (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and France) have entered into with Turkey, as a result of the case placed with the Council of Europe's Human Rights Commission. The compromise promises vaguely "discontinuation of torture, but it contains nothing on the reintroduction of trade union rights". A huge number of trade union leaders are still on trial, under the threat of capital punishment or extreme prison sentences. The financial means of the trade unions are still confiscated, or stolen, their prestige occupied. The acceptance of the compromise signifies that the five complaining states have legitimized a dictatorship's illegalization of trade union rights in Turkey and failed human rights.

10. The ETUC urges all democratic bodies and powers to show on whose side they are.

"11. Do they support the Turkish government as it shows no signs to move towards democracy, human and trade union rights in Turkey.

12. Or are they ready to stand up for democracy and human rights and take real measures so that the Turkish government will finally give up to the Council of Europe's constitu-
tions and its regard for human rights issues, democracy and freedom?"

European capitulation in every field

After the five countries' complaint was withdrawn from the European Human Rights Commission, other European institutions, namely the European Communities, European governments and the Council of Europe all crediting the Turkish Government's misleading arguments - have turned a deaf ear to complaints from the victims of the dictatorship and have decided one by one to develop good relations with Ankara.
For justifying their ouverture towards the Turkish regime, the European governments made their second gesture at the United Nations Human Rights Commission, held at the end of February in Geneva.

Since the military coup, human rights violations in Turkey had always been the order of the day for this commission.

At the Geneva meeting, the Turkish delegation—referring to the withdrawal of the five European countries' complaints from the European Commission on Human Rights—proposed to do the same thing at the U.N. Commission and to discontinue the proceedings against Turkey. This proposal was brought to the Commission by the Jordanian delegate and accepted there by the votes of 30 countries. To observers' great surprise, all the European countries voted in favour of the file. Only Cyprus and Costa Rica voted against the Turkish regime. The Soviet Union, the Democratic Germany, Bulgaria and the Ukraine did not take part in the voting, though they had criticized the violations of human rights in Turkey during debates preceding the vote.

Encouraged by the decisions of the two international human rights commissions, the Turkish Government increased its contacts with the members of the European Community for convincing them to consent to the normalizing of the Turkish-European relations in every respect.

On the Turkish demand, the Twelve were confronted first with a difficult political choice. All European countries were still under pressure from their public opinions and international trade union and human rights organizations.

However, most of the "Europeans": Belgium, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany in the lead—pointed out that an improvement in Human Rights could already be noticed in Turkey and that, consequently, one should not risk keeping this country isolated. They added that such isolation might lead to a rise of destabilizing Islamic fundamentalism at the continent's borders... and at the doors of the Soviet Union.

But this was not the only reason for normalizing relations with Turkey. This suffering, on the Europeans' part was also the result of economic concerns about their investments and business. According to the Möller of December 17, 1985, since the lodging of their complaint against Turkey, five countries have noticed that their investors were not taking part in Turkish economic projects which total three billion dollars.

This analysis is shared by the European Community for the Delinié of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDDI). In its internal bulletin, CEDDI says the following: "It is not the European democracies which have organized an economic boycott, but the emergency Turkish regime. The Turkish market is extremely lucrative, in fact, for western enterprises, thanks to IMF functionaries who, over the years, have prepared the putch of 1980, in collaboration with NATO and the Americans. With the military, investments in Turkey report a return of much more than previously.

"It was therefore sufficient to exclude from the Turkish market the five countries which had lodged the complaints. This calculation by Evren and Oral has worked very well: Great Britain, the F.R.G., Belgium and some other countries have rushed to the thawed market. "The Swiss example is significant: Once the Strasbourg compromise was signed, Switzerland, which had great experience in the areas of neutrality and business, could finally speak freely and declared proudly in Bern that as far as its arms exports—strongly on the rise, by the way—were concerned, Turkey henceforth had top priority.

In exchange for this important market, the Swiss ambassador to Ankara, André Maillat, promised in the Turkish press that Switzerland was carefully preparing the expulsion of 7,900 Turkish seekers of asylum in Switzerland... which would be timely denied by Bern afterwards. A week later, it was announced that the new Turkish ambassador appointed to Bern was none other than General Hidayat Saltik (officially retired) who, in 1980, prepared the military coup with General Evren. In Berlin, it was officially declared that Saltik would be effectively close to those presently in power in Ankara, but that the "fact of having belonged to military hierarchies was not, according to People's Right, sufficient reason to refuse an appointment."

"The Stany which has been repeated to us for several years that today there would be a 'democratization' process in Turkey is now confirmed by a cold explanation, an economic one: the friendly accord in Strasbourg is not
the first chord of this concert. One knows now that democratization means the Turkish" matter is again open to all."

**EEC COMMISSION TOO GIVES**
THE GREEN LIGHT

In fact, the European Community started its move towards normalising its relations with Turkey with the consensus reached in the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers in Luxembourg on February 17, 1986. At this meeting, the Twelve accepted the proposal of an EEC-Turkey meeting in the Autumn of 1986.

The Council of EEC-Turkey Association has not met in over five years. The associa-
tion accord was frozen by the European Commission after the 1980 coup. Concretely, this freeze brought about a suspension in pay-
ing the balance (29 million escus) of a special aid of 75 million escus accorded to Turkey in June 1980. The fourth financial protocol of 600 mil-
lion escus -375 in financial aid and special loans and 225 in loans from the European Invest-
ment Bank (EIB) - has still not been approved by the EEC governments.

Negotiations on the limitation of EEC tex-
tile imports from Turkey were still at a stand-
still although this country has been one of the main suppliers of textiles to the EEC since 1984. The FRG, Great Britain and the Nether-
lands proposed that a Council of Association meeting take place at the ministerial level, as Turkey requested.

By virtue of a decision taken in 1976, it was expected that Turkish workers would be able to move freely within the EEC, starting from December 1st, 1986. The FRG, which shelters a large Turkish community, wanted rapid deregistration on this clause of the association accord.

For speaking up the process of normalising the relations, Turkey had to obtain support also from the Commission of European Com-

dunities. It was known that Claude Cheysson did not have sympathy towards the Turkish regime. This French commissioner in Brussels was charged with the relations with Turkey. After the European parliament’s announcing

five conditions for the resumption of EEC-Turkey relations, some insulting attacks on the EEC’s representative in Ankara, Mr. Gwyn Morgan, worried the tension.

For obvious reasons, Mr. Morgan was charged with the relations with Turkey. After his visit to Ankara, the EEC launched a new campaign of insults against Mr. Morgan.

According to the Financial Times, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Ger-
many, Great Britain and the Netherlands in Turkey estimated that it would be necessary to replace Mr. Morgan. For these diplomats, concerned about treating Ankara carefully, he had become embarrassing.

In spite of this submission, European Commissioner Claude Cheysson defended Mr. Morgan, saying that “Gwyn Morgan has done his job.”

Following this stand, the Turkish press too the European commissioner as target: “Cathyson defends the stake in our midst!” (Habertürk, 7.1.86). When Mr. Morgan returned to Ankara from Brussels, after his contacts with the Commission, the same newspaper in Ankara announced the news in its November 27, 1975 edition with the headline “Morgan the shameless has returned.”

The same paper labeled Cheysson “insa-
ANKARA—The number of firms with foreign capital stood at 421 on December 31, 1985, the Undersecretary for the Treasury and Foreign Trade announced.

Foreign capital invested reached TL 388.4 million by the same date. Total capital invested was TL 664.9 million so that the share of foreign capital in total capital invested was 44.8%.

Manufacturing industry had the greatest quarter of foreign capital invested, with TL 118.1 billion invested by 302 firms, while the mining sector had the least, with TL 84.3 million invested by four firms.

In terms of sub-sectors, the banking sector has the most foreign capital with TL 43.8 billion invested by 20 firms, while the trade sector has the least, with TL 10.4 billion invested by 123 firms.

Switzerland has invested the most, with capital of TL 35.6 billion supplied by 63 firms, while Israel, with capital of TL 29 million invested by 1 firm, has the least.

The distribution of countries with firms investing foreign capital in Turkey is shown as in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of firms</th>
<th>Foreign cap. (TL million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.A.E.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.Germany</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9,259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDB</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,417</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>35,616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Cyprus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,097</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26,750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14,399</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monaco</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>154</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5,415</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Arabia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>208,408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tent in another article which appeared in its February 14, 1986, issue. Nevertheless, Turkish Premier Oral, endorsed by European countries, counting on the result of French elections which resulted in the electoral victory of the Right, continued to knock the doors of the EEC Commission.

Even before the French elections, Oral had made a visit to Paris on November 15, 1985, and been received by Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris and future Premier of France. Although French students protested against his visit by shouting "Assassin, get out of France!" Oral had received many promises from Chirac.

After the French elections, Chirac too changed his attitude and formulated the Commission's proposals for the suspension of Turkish-European relations.

First the Commission proposed that the budget authorities make a primary transfer of 10 million ECU for 1986 within the context of special aid to Turkey. Furthermore, it proposed that the Council of Ministers decide on the community position in view of negotiations with Turkey about rules governing the freedom of Turkish workers.

"Realizing that the social-economic context characterized by significant unemployment in the Community (16.75 million are unemployed, which means 12.4 percent of the active population in the 12-member Community), and realizing that an improvement in Turkey's economic situation whose growth between 1980 and 1984 was 4.4 percent on the average, thus effecting unemployment conditions not fundamentally different from those in the Community," the Commission proposed:

"Stabilizing and improving the status of Turkish workers and their families residing regularly in the Community, particularly through the suppression of all existing discrimination in the areas of living and working condition."

"Fixing conditions of access to the job market in a member state for Turkish workers, wherever as a job is effectively offered, with respect to job priority for nationals of the member states, but permitting appropriate measures in these conditions might give rise to problems foreign to free-movement.

"Organizing the keeping together of families with respect to family life and parental obligations in the area of education."

These measures also take into account the situation of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese workers in the Community. In fact, in conformity with the Additional Protocol of the Association Accord, Turkish workers cannot be treated more favourably than workers from member states.

For the future, limitations on the exercise of free-movement will be in effect until 1987 for Greece, and 1992 for the two new members.

In concrete terms, this proposal envisages the pure and simple suspension of a right already acquired by virtue of a bilateral accord concluded in 1963 between Turkey and the EEC. In fact, this proposal which replaces free-movement starting from December 31, 1986, is only a new formulation of the statute which has been in force since 1976. The Council of Association had already decided in 1976 that the member states would be compelled to give priority to Turkish workers when the need for seasonal labour could not be satisfied by Community workers. The same council decided in June 1980 to bring about improvements to this rule: after three years of regular work in a member state, the Turkish worker can apply for a job in the same profession, and after four years, he can benefit from free access to any salaried work. Furthermore, cooperation was expected in favour of Turkish workers and their families in socio-cultural areas, and its favour of professional formation and the exchange of young workers. Moreover, the same council in June 1980 decided that Turkish Workers and members of their families in the Community could benefit from equal treatment with Community workers with respect to remuneration, benefits for sickness, old-age disability and unemployment.

The novelty might be the ending of visa obligations for Turkish workers residing regularly in the Community. But, in exchange for European concessions to the political area, the Turkish authorities are ready to accept the suspension of the right to free movement for an indefinite period.

Meeting in Brussels on March 10, 1986, the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Twelve showed agreement for a "prudent" thawing in relations with Turkey in the context of proposals from the European Commission. However, during the negotiations, the Greek minister insisted that the thaw occur only if the Turkish government respected five conditions that the European Parliament set for resumption of
Turkey: 13th Member of the European Communities?

As a sign of this acceptance, the Committee of Ministers of the 21-nation Council of Europe decided on April 23, 1986, to give Turkey the presidency of the Council next fall in recognition of the country's progress towards democratic rule.

The decision was opposed by Greece, Denmark, Cyprus, Luxembourg, Malta and Norway while Sweden abstained. But 14 European foreign ministers voted for Turkish chairmanship.

European capitulation did not end there, and on April 24, 1986, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution appreciating the Turkish regime's "efforts" in the way of democratization of political life and proposing that the Council of Europe should refrain from any interference which could lead to a rupture in this process.

What is more, during the same session, the Socialist Group of the Parliamentary Assembly announced that the majority of the socialist deputies had decided to participate in a mini-session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from June 30 to July 3, 1986, in Istanbul. A city where thousands of political prisoners are still in military jails and thousands more are still being tried before military tribunals.

After having taken all these steps, the Turkish Government announced on April 27, 1986, that it seriously considered applying to be the 13th member of the European Communities.

European governments, by reintegrating Ankara's deputies to the Parliamentary Assembly, giving the Council of Europe's presidency to Turkey and deciding to hold a mini-session of this Council in Istanbul, have already proved that a militant "democracy" can take place in an important European institution charged with defending fundamental rights and freedoms.

Then, there is no longer any obstacle against Turkey's integration as 13th member to the European Community even if the rulers continue to disregard the European Convention on Human Rights.
HISTORICAL SUMMARY

MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK
(First President of the Republic)
FIRST YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

1923, October 29: Proclamation of the Republic of Turkey on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk elected first President.


March 4: Caliph Abdülmecit and the members of the Ottoman dynasty expelled.

April 5: Abolition of religious courts.

November 10: Opposition wing within the Republican People's Party (CHP) splits and forms Progressive Party, advocating liberalism.

1925, February 11: Kurdish uprising in eastern Turkey.


November 3: Abolition of fez and other traditional dress.

November 30: Suppression of religious brotherhoods and closing of sacred tombs as places of worship.

December 17: Treaty of Neutrality and Non-aggression signed with the Soviet Union.

December 26: Turkey adopts western calendar.

1926, February 17: Adoption of new Civil Code. Abolition of polygamy.

March 1: Adoption of new Penal Code.

June 5: Agreement on Moud, Treaty of Ankara signed between Turkey, Britain and Iran.

June 28: Adoption of the new Commerce Code.

July 3: Execution of many political figures on the accusation of plot against life of Kemal Atatürk.

1927, February 17: Resumption of diplomatic ties between Turkey and the United States which had been suspended since 1917.

March 7: New Kurdish uprising in Eastern Anatolia.

1928, April 18: Turkey becomes a secular state. Islam is no longer the official religion of the state. Imam, call for prayer is made in Turkish.

November 3: Latin alphabet replaces Arabic alphabet.

1929, September 1: Abrogation of teaching in Arabic Language.

October 1: Law on Protection of national Industry goes into effect.

1930, March: Third Kurdish uprising in Eastern Anatolia.

June 15: Turkey receives her first external credit, 10 million dollars from the United States.

August 12: Foundation of the Liberal Party by a former premier of Atatürk.

October 30: Turkey and Greece sign Anakusa Treaty.

November 17: Dissolution of the Liberal Party.

23: Religious insurrection in Mevzen. Arrests and executions.

1931, April 1: Turkey adopts metric system.

October 30: Turco-soviet Treaty extended for another five years.

1931, January: First recitation in Turkish of the Islamic holy book, the Koran.

May 6: Premier İnönü visits Moscow.

August 12: Turkey becomes member of the League of Nations.

1932, September 14: Turkey and Greece sign a ten-year non-aggression treaty.

1934, January 9: First 5-year Plan for industrial development.

February 9: Balkan Pact concluded between Turkey, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia.

June 21: New law requiring Turks to adopt a surname.

November 26: Mustafa Kemal awarded the surname "Atatürk" (Father of Turks) by the Grand National Assembly.

November 27: Abolition of all inherited titles and grades.

December 8: Women obtain the right to vote and to be elected to Parliament.
1935. January: 16 women elected as MPs.

May: Weekend shifted from Friday (Islamic sacred day) to Sunday.

1936. July 20: Montreux Convention signed, Turkey regains military control over the Straits.
Adoption of a new law integrating Mussolini's anti-communist articles in the Turkish Penal Code.

1937. January 17: Arrest of great Turkish Poet Nazım Hikmet. He will be condemned to a 20-year prison term and will stay in prison until 1950.
February 6: Constitution is modified. Six principles of the Republican People's Party (CHP) are made the principles of the State: Republicanism, nationalism, populism, Islamism, secularism, and reformism.
June: New Kurdish uprising in Derinkuyu (Tunceli).
July 9: Sadadah Pact signed between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

1938. September 2: The CNA votes nominal Republic of Hatay with Turks in effective control, following agreement with France.
November 10: Atatürk's death.
November 11: Ismet Inönü designated President of the Republic.

YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1939. June 29: Turkish troops enter Hatay. Hatay Assembly votes for union with Turkey.
October 19: Treaty of Ankara between Turkey, France, and Great Britain.


June 18: Trade agreement between Turkey and Germany.

1941. March 25: Joint Turk-Soviet Declaration issued, the two sides affirming to stay neutral when the other is attacked by a third power.
June 15: Turkey and Germany sign Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression.

December 3: The USA decides to allow Turkey to benefit from the Lend-Lease Act.

June 27: The Soviet Union withdraws its ambassador in Ankara as sign of protest.
November 11: New Law to tax wealthier families. Target is mainly non-modem citizens.

December 4: Inönü meets Roosevelt and Churchill in Cairo. Turkey turns down the proposal to enter the war.

1944. January 12: Marshal Fevzi Çakmak retires from the post of the Chief of Staff which he has held since the proclamation of the Republic.
August 1: Turkey cuts all political and economic ties with Germany.

1945. February 23: Turkey declares war on Japan and Germany.

Bilateral accord with the USA.


March 19: Soviet Union informs Ankara that she will not favor the extension of the Ture-Soviet Treaty dating from 1925, and request a revision.
June 11: A moderate Land Reform Law adopted at the Assembly.
June 12: Four leading member of the CHP, opposing the Land Reform Law, propose modifications in the party programme.
June 22: New legislation on labour relations and social security.

November 1: President Inönü accepts the adoption of multi-party system.

December 4: On the provocation of İnönü's party, right-wing student groups attack daily newspaper Tan and many left-wing publication houses.
1946, January 7: Democrat Party (DP) founded by four former CHP deputies.
April 5: US aircraft carrier Mascaret visits Istanbul as a sign of the improvement in US-Turkish relations.
May 7: The United States annuls a Turkish debt of 100 million dollars.
July 21: First direct general elections held, CHP wins 403 seats, DP 62. Serious indications of electoral fraud committed in favor of CHP.
September 7: First demobilization in the Republic's history.
September 22: The Soviets give a note with a view to changing the Straits' status.
December 16: Two socialist parties, TSP and TSEKP, founded after the passage to multi-party system, are closed down by martial law and their founders are arrested.

1947, March 11: Turkey becomes a member of the IMF and the BRD.
May 22: President Truman signs assistance programs to Turkey and Greece.
September 1: Turkey ratifies Turkey-US military defense agreement.
1948, April 16: Turkey becomes member of the OECD, the former OEC.
May 20: Foundation of religious schools and the Faculty of Theology.
July 20: Foundation of the Nation Party (MP) by a coalition from the DP.
1949, March 24: Turkey recognizes Israel.
August 8: Turkey becomes member of the Council of Europe.
1950, May 14: Overwhelming victory for the DP with 420 seats over 487 total seats, while the CHP gets only 68, the MP 1 and independents 3.
May 19: Celal Bayar elected the 3rd President of the Republic. Adnan Menderes becomes Prime Minister. Period of economic liberalism opens.
June 16: Return to the Enez (call for prayer) in Arabic.
July 25: Turkey sends a brigade to Korean War.
August 1: Turkey applies for membership to NATO.
1951, August 7: Law on foreign capital investments adopted.
September 19: Turkey joins North Atlantic Alliance.
October 26: Beginning of mass arrests of prominent members of the KTP, outlawed since the beginning of the Republic.
1952, February 18: Turkey and Greece become full members of NATO. July 31: Foundation of the Turkish Trade Union Confederation (Turk-1), influenced by the US trade union movement.
August 18: Southeast European Headquarters of NATO opens in Izmir.
December 14: The Government seizes an important part of the CHP's real estate.
1954, January: Adoption of more liberal measures for encouragement of foreign capital.
January 27: The MP shut down on grounds of political exploitation of religion.
February 2: The Republican Nation Party (CMK) founded instead of the MP.
April 2: Turkey and Pakistan sign a pro-American friendship agreement.
March: Adoption of a law for foreign investments in oil industry.
May 2: General elections. DP victorious 550 seats against 31 for CHP, 5 to CMP and 1 for independents.
August 9: Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia sign a 20-year Balkan Agreement.
1955, June 6-18: Premier Menderes is abroad during his visit to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria because of his pro-American policies.
February 24: Pro-American Baghdad Pact signed between Turkey and Iraq.
April 4: Great Britain becomes the third member of the Baghdad Pact.
April 17: Asia-Mediterranean Conference convenes in Bandung. Turkey defends US positions and is isolated.
September 6-7: Anti-Greek demonstrations in main Turkish cities, pogroms and pil- lage.

September 23: Pakistan joins Baghdad Pact.

October 11: Iraq joins Baghdad Pact.


1956, June 6: DP Government modifies law on press, steps up control over newspaper.

August 14: Turkey supports British position in the Suez conflict.

September 13: Government decides to introduce religious courses at the secondary schools.

December 1: Students' protest actions against the Government's repressive policies.

December 29: Turkey supports Eisenhower Doctrine.


April/May: Some trade unions banned.

August: A Soviet commercial delegation's visit to Turkey with a 300 million dollar aid proposal.

September 27: Early elections. CHP obtains 178, CMP 4, HP 4, while the number of DP deputies falls to 424.

1958, January 16: Nine officers accused of plotting a coup arrested.

July 15: Turkey allows the USA to use Turkish airfields for operations in Lebanon.

August: Drastic economic measures and Turkish Lira's devaluation on pressure from the IMF, the OEEC and the USA who promise a credit totalling 359 million dollars.

October 17: CMP turns into CKMP (Republican Nation and Peasant Party) with the joining of a minor party.

November 24: HP dissolved. Some members join the CHP.

1959, February 19: Agreement between Turkey, Greece and Great Britain on Cyprus.

March 5: Turkey and the USA sign bilateral military agreement.

September 20: Turkey applies to the EEC for associate membership. On the retreat of Iraq, the Baghdad Pact is renamed CENTO and seated in Ankara.

October 10: Turkey and the USA agree on the installation of IRBM missiles or Tur- kish soil.

December 6: President Eisenhower visits Turkey.

AFTER THE FIRST MILITARY INTERVENTION

1960, February: Commercial accord with the USSR.

April 16: Proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus.

April 18: Government bans the CHP's activities for three months. Creation of a spe- cial committee charged with making inquiry into the opposition's activities. First Turkish participation in the Asia-Africa Conference in Colombo. Menderes announces his intention to visit Moscow and to improve Turco-USSR relations.

April 28-29: Student demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul. Proclamation of mar- tial law.

May 9: Ratification of the US-Turkey Agreement by the GNA. A NATO meeting in Istanbul and students' growing demonstrations.

May 27: Military coup d'état. The National Unity Committee (MBK) takes over pol- itical power. DP leaders arrested. General Cemal Gürgen becomes Head of State and Prime Minister.

September 29: Democrat Party dissolved by the decision of a tribunal.

September 30: State Planning Organization founded.

October: Deportation of some Kurdish notables.
November 13: Exclusion of 14 members from the MİSK, among them Colonel Tür- kes, for their totalitarian tendencies.

1961, January: Workers demonstrations for trade union rights.
January 6: Constituent Assembly founded.
February 11-12: Foundation of new political parties: Justice Party (AP), New Turkey Party (YTP) and Workers Party of Turkey (TİP).
February 24: Soviet Union protests against Turkey for having granted missile facilities to NATO.
May 27: Constituent Assembly adopts new Constitution and the Law on Elections.
July 9: New constitution adopted by a referendum.
September 15: Mass condemnations of DF leaders.
September 16-17: Former Prime Minister and his two ministers, Polatkan and Zorlu executed.
October 15: General elections: no clear winner: CHP 173 seats, AP 151, CKMP 54, YTP 65.
June: Departure of the first group of Turkish migrant workers to FRG.
October 26: Former general Cemal Gürsel elected President of the Republic.
November 20: First coalition government of AP and CHP. İnönü: Prime Minister.

1962, February 22: A coup d'etat attempt by young radical army officers fails. 
July 7: İnönü's second coalition government with the participation of CHP, YTP, CKMP and Independents.
October 22: Tension between USA and USSR over Cuba. Soviets demand dismantling of American missile sites in Turkey.
November 21: GNA adopts first 5-year economic development plan.

1963, March: Army's mutual-assistance foundation OYAK starts to function.
July 14: Laws on Trade Unions, Collective bargaining and strikes adopted.
September 12: Turkey becomes an associate member of the EEC.
December 25: Cyprus crisis. Turkish planes buzz over Nicosia, as a warning against massacre of Turks.

1964, January 2: İnönü's third government with CHP and independents.
May 15: Turkey extends its territorial waters to six miles.
June 25: Major Fehri Güran executed for his participation in unsuccessful coup attempt.
July 4: Colonel Aydemir executed for his unsuccessful coup attempt.
August 7: Turkish planes buzz over Cyprus once again.
August 28: Anti-US demonstration.
November 5: Turco-Soviet cultural agreement in Moscow.
December 1: Turco-EEC agreement takes effect.

May 17: Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Ankara.
August 9: Turkish Premier Urgupgil in Moscow.
October 10: General elections. AP gets an absolute majority with 240 seats while CHP has 134, CKMP 11, MP 31, YTP 19 and the Workers Party of Turkey (TİP) 11.
December: Spectacular relocation of army officers' living conditions by a new law.
December 3: Protocol with the USSR for the construction of the third steel-iron plant.
1966, March 28: Chief of General Staff Cerdel Sunay replaces ailing Celal Cichei at the head of State.

October 18: CHP convention adopts a center-of-left policy and elects Bettel Ecevit Secretary General. Progressive Alliance atonally found the Union Party (BP).

December 26: Kouygi's visit.

1967, January 23: Chief of Staff Celal Tural's anti-communist circular to the Army. Grey Wolves of Turkey's CKMP start training in special camps.

February 13: Foundation of the Progressive Trade Union Confederation (DISK).

March 7: Reaction against a law project of Demirel Government for restricting fundamental rights.

April 2: President Sunay goes to the United States and confirms Turkish friendship with the USA.

May 12: Right wing of the CHP quits the party and forms the Resilience Party (CP).

September 19: Premier Demirel visits Moscow.

October: Demonstration against the US 6th Fleet visit to Istanbul.

November 16: Anti-Greek demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul.

1968, March: First mass demonstration of extreme-right organizations.

June 24: Student demonstration for university reforms.

July 27: Student demonstrations against the visit of the US 6th Fleet to Istanbul. Two students killed by security forces.

August 21: Unrest in the Turkish socialist movement because of Czechoslovakia events.

August 20: President Sunay defends the USA against anti-American demonstration. Turkey declares that more than one thousand nationalists were trained to challenge the Left.

December: Robert Kuerner, a well-known CIA functionary, arrives in Turkey as US Ambassador. This nomination leads to protest demonstrations.


February 9: Neo-fascist 'Turkeys' party, CKMP, changes its name to Nationalist Action Party (MHP).

February 18: Bloody attacks by right-wing gangs on workers and students demonstrating against the arrival of the US 6th Fleet. Beginning of Grey Wolves' terror throughout Turkey.


October 12: General elections held. AP absolute winner with 256 seats, CHP gets 143 seats. CP 15, EP 1, MP 6, YIP 6, TIP 2, MHP 1, Independents 13.

November 12: President Sunay visits Moscow.


June 15-16: Workers' mass demonstration in Istanbul for protesting against the Government's attempt to restrict trade union rights. Four workers are killed by security forces. Martial law proclaimed. Worker leaders arrested.

June 21: Air Forces' commander Mustafa Bariss gives a memorandum to government for establishing law and order.

July 22: Turkey and EEC sign the agreement on Ankara's completing the first phase of the future adhesion.

August 9: Turkish lira devaluated by 66 per cent.

December 18: 27 deputies expelled from AP forms the Democratic Party (DP).

AFTER THE SECOND MILITARY INTERVENTION

1971, March 3: Four US NCOS kidnapped by the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKÖ) which demands an end to US domination on the country. They are released unharmful later.
March 12: Army commanders issue an ultimatum forcing the Government to resign.
March 19: A national coalition government formed by Nihat Erkin with a program of reforms in favor of big business.
April 28: Martial law is proclaimed. Democratic organizations banned, left-wing intellectuals and student leaders arrested.
May 21: The Constitutional Court closes down NNP on grounds of fundamentalist activities.
July 20: The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) closed down by the Constitutional Court on grounds of separatist activities.
September 20: Constitution is amended to restrict fundamental rights.

1972, January: Mass arrests among intellectuals. Defense Minister announces the purge of 120 army officers for their relations with left-wing organizations.
March 30: Massacre of left-wing youth leaders in Kusadasi during a resistance action.
April 11: Soviet President Chief Podgorny's visit to Ankara.
May 6: Execution of three youth leaders: Deniz Gezmis, Yonuf Arslan and Huseyin Iman.
May 14: Inonü resigns from the chairmanship of the CHP, disapproving of the election of Bilent Ecevit as Secretary General. Thereupon, Ecevit is elected chairman.
July: Departure of 500,000 Turkish worker to FRG.
September 4: The right-wing members of the CHP quit the party and form the Republican Party (CP).
December: The Council of Europe's move to exclude Turkey from the organization on grounds of systematic violations of human rights.

1973, January: Assassination of two Turkish diplomats by a deported Armenian in Los Angeles.
March 3: CP joins GP under a new name: Republican Reliance Party (CGP).
April 6: Chief of General Staff Glider fails to obtain necessary vote from the National Assembly for being elected President of the Republic. A former admiral, Fahri Korstürk is elected to this post. Army chief lose control over political life.
April 26: A new right-wing government formed by Nairn Tulu.
May 15: Heavy criticism at the Council of Europe against the Turkish regime.
August: Ecevit convinces the regime's critics at the Council of Europe to suspend the procedure against Turkey, by claiming that he would establish democratic order when he comes to power.
October 14: General elections held. CHP is the winner with 185 seats (though short for absolute majority) while AP gets 149 seats, new founded National Salvation Party (MSP) of Erbakan 48, DP 45, CHP 13, MDP 3, TBP 1 and Independents 6.
December 12: Local elections. CHP raises its percentage from 33.3 to 37.1.

1974, January 24: Premier designate Ecevit agrees with fundamentalist Erbakan to form a coalition government.
May 9: Grey Wolves' attacks restart.
May 16: General amnesty is approved by the National Assembly. Although those condemned for articles 141 and 142 are left outside the scope of the amnesty, the Constitution Court later decides that they also can benefit from the amnesty.
July 2: Ecevit Government lifts ban on opium cultivation in seven provinces, put in practice in 1972 under the pressure of the USA.
July 15: Athens-led coup d'état of Nicos Sampson in Cyprus.
July 20: Turkish Army intervenes to restore peace and stability in the island. Martial Law proclaimed in 14 provinces in Turkey.
August 14: Greece quits military wing of NATO. Turkish Army's second intervention in Cyprus. Half of the island fell under the occupation of the Turkish Army.
September 19: Premier Ecevit resigns as a result of disagreement with Vice-premier Erbakan.
September 20: Turkish lira devaluated.
December 18: Four right-wing parties, AF, MSP, MHP, and CHP decide to act jointly as a "nationalist front" against the left.

1975, February 4: US Congress decides to halt all military aid to Turkey. American arms embargo imposed against Turkey for having used military aid during Cyprus operation.

February 13: Turkish Federated State of Cyprus proclaimed by Demirel with the support of Ankara.

March 31: Nationalist Front coalition government formed by Demirel.

Grey Wolves enter Government.

July 26: Activities of US military bases in Turkey suspended in retaliation for US arms embargo.

August: Perv of democratic minded public servants.


1976, March 28: Turkey and the USA sign a new military accord which restores American privileges at defense facilities in Turkey.

May 1st: First mass celebration of May Day in the Taksim Square of Istanbul on the call of DISK.

May 12: Seventh Islamic Conference opens in Istanbul.

September 17: Ten of thousands DISK-member workers go on strike paralyzing life in Turkey's main cities to protest Government efforts to extend the lifespan of the State Security Courts, ruled "unconstitutional" by the Constitutional Court.

1977, May 1st: Thirty-seven persons die in a May Day rally in Taksim Square in Istanbul when unidentified persons fire on workers.

June 5: Legislative elections held. CHP wins 213 seats, while AP at 189, MSP at 24, MHP at 16, CHP at 5 and DF one.

August 1: Demirel's new right-wing government receives vote of confidence 229-219.

1978, January 4: Thanks to 11 AP deputies' defection, Ecmilt forms a left-wing government.

March 1: Turkish Lira is devalued 29.8 percent.

March 2: General Erem named new Chief of Staff.

October 4: Turkey reopens US military installations.

December 34: 117 people massacred by right-wing assailants.

December 26: Government declares martial law in 13 provinces.

1979, February 1: Mehmet Ali Aca assassinates journalist Abdil Ipekci.

May 1st: Arrests of trade union leaders.

October 14: Partial Senate and Assembly by-elections with the success of AP.

November 7: Demirel forms a new right-wing government.

1980, January 2: Army commanders' ultimatum to political leaders.

January 10: Turco-American Defense Cooperation Agreement initialed.

January 24: Adoption of the drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF.

February 2: DISK decides to go on general strike.

June 25: NATO Ministerial Council meeting opens in Ankara.

July 4: Coral turns into a battle field. Rightist commandos attack left-wing people.

July 9: Army's "Fount" Operation in Fatsa, a city administrated by a left-wing mayor.

July 22: Former DISK Chairman Türkler assassinated.

August 1: Workers' strike in the Army officers' OYAK-Remsit car factory.


September 12: General Erem's military coup d'etat.