



MILITARIST  
“DEMOCRACY”  
IN  
TURKEY

INFO-TÜRK

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*"The Parliament which will be elected in Turkey on November 6 will not be able to be considered as representing 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"* (Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, September 30, 1983)

*"The rules under which the elections of 6 November will be held prevent them from being a true expression of democracy."* (Resolution of European Parliament, October 13, 1983)

*"The so-called elections in Turkey on November 6, 1983 is in no way an election that will lead Turkey back to democracy. 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."* (Resolution of the Executive Committee of the European Trade Unions Confederation, October 14, 1983)



## INTRODUCTION

*Turkey has been under a military dictatorship since the coup of September 12, 1980.*

*Five army generals who have been ruling the country with absolute power for three years claim that, with the legislative elections to be held on November 6, 1983, the process of returning to a civil regime will be completed.*

*In actual fact, although a legislative election will be held, it will serve only to change the military image of the dictatorship. All traditional political parties of Turkey have been solved by the military junta. Following the adoption of the new Constitution, only those which are considered loyal to the principles laid down by the Junta have been authorized to found new political parties. Only the three new parties, out of 15, which were founded by the yes-men of the military junta, have been permitted to participate in the legislative election.*

*According to the new Constitution, despite the existence of a "National Assembly", it is the "Presi-*

*dential Council", consisting of five generals and headed by General Evren, that will actually rule over the country for at least five more years.*

*Nevertheless, the installation of the "National Assembly" will mark a turning point in the history of Turkey. From November 6, 1983, the fascist military dictatorship will be replaced by a "parliamentary" fascism.*

*This pamphlet has been edited with the aim of providing world opinion with a document summarizing the reasons of the military coup, the repressive practices of the military regime, the consequences of the drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF, Turkey's foreign relations during this 3-year period and the new structure of the Turkish State.*

*In fact, all detailed information concerning this 3-year period of military dictatorship as well as the 4-year pre-coup period has already been given in the monthly Bulletins of Info-Türk, which have been published since 1976 in french, english and dutch. For further information, our readers can also refer to other pamphlets edited by Info-Türk.*

## MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY"

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

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

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



## Military coup of September 12th

This new dark period started on September 12th, 1980, with the military coup led by General Kenan Evren, 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 Nurettin Ersin of the Landed Forces, General Tahsin Sahinkaya of the Air Force, Admiral Nejat Tümer, commander of the Navy, and General Sedat Celasun, commander of the Gendarmerie.

General Evren, who had hinted at a possible military move, early in January 1980, in an ultimatum addressed to the President of the Republic, declared to act now because "democracy could not control itself". Hence, a new era of "controlled democracy" started in the south-eastern flank of the Atlantic community.

But, from the outset, the communiqués issued by the military junta made it clear that the main reason behind the coup laid not in the international instability of the country, but in the instability of the Middle-East area. In the message he delivered himself on the day of the coup, General Evren pledged Turkey's continued loyalty to NATO and this loyalty was confirmed later in all the documents issued by the new regime.

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

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

The same newspaper informed also that: "One of

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

In view of all these informations, can it be considered a coincidence that both these NATO manoeuvres 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.

Therefore, it cannot be denied that the military coup of September 12, 1980, has been 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 with the conclusion of the Turkish-American Defense Cooperation Agreement early in 1980.

Neither was it an odd coincidence that General Evren's first ultimatum was put forward just after the release of an 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 of reviving 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.

The first step towards setting up a new regional

structure under US domination, was to have Turkey signed the Turkish-American Defense Cooperation Agreement, which laid down the basic principles of bilateral defense relations and assured continued operation of the key US bases in Turkey. (Turkey had unilaterally abrogated a previous defense treaty in 1975 in retaliation for the US embargo and had closed all US military bases except for a strategic NATO air base at Incirlik).

Although the 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 facilities in the country was strongly opposed by the democratic forces, including the left-wing of Ecevit's Republican People's Party.

As Demirel had come again into power and just after the army's ultimatum, the representatives of the US government rushed to Turkey and within a few days, on January 9, 1980, the Turkish government concluded the defense cooperation agreement.

After the conclusion of this bilateral military treaty, opposition leader Bülent Ecevit accused the Demirel government of turning Turkey into a "lightning rod of NATO". In fact, according to the new treaty, the US have been allowed to operate the following military bases and facilities in Turkey:

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

All these bases and facilities became increasingly important, as new tension arose in the Middle East and particularly after hostilities broke out between Iraq and Iran. Thanks to the military intervention of Evren's Junta, the United States have ensured for at least a few years the functioning of these bases and

facilities in Turkey. So, the Turkish Armed Forces have assumed the mission of acting as a watch-dog of US interests in the area. (For a detailed report, see: Info-Türk, *US Interests in Turkey*, March 1982).

### **A well-planned trap: OYAK**

Apart from the fact that the Turkish Armed Forces were one of the strongest armies within NATO consisting of 566,000 men, 271,000 of whom were conscripts, they had one more reason for intervening: being part of the country's military-industrial complex.

For, since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Army had always been one of the driving forces behind Turkish society. In the 19th century, the leaders of the progressive *Young Turks* movement had found their keenest supporters among the young Army officers. The bourgeois 1908 revolution (*Mesrutiyet*), the National Liberation War (1919-1922), the proclamation of the Republic (1923), all these events had been led by Army officers.

Although the main burden of the National Liberation War laid on the shoulders of workers and peasants, the military, in order to favour by all means the developing local bourgeoisie, took all measures to prevent the working class from acquiring a class consciousness, from organizing in political parties and trade unions and from being represented in Parliament. It is the alliance of the military and the rising local bourgeoisie that had 15 leaders of the newly founded Communist Party of Turkey murdered, outlawed this party and suppressed all trade unions and democratic organizations. Besides, by adopting a chauvinistic ideology squaring with the ambitions of the rising local bourgeoisie, the military subjected the Kurdish minority of Turkey to national repression.

During Turkey's republican period, the dual cha-

racter of bourgeois progressiveness came always in the foreground. While taking an anti-imperialist stance in order to safeguard the State's political sovereignty, the army commanders proved always concerned, in internal policy, to strengthen the local bourgeoisie at the expense of the working masses.

After World War II, the high bourgeoisie who had grown stronger thanks to the support of the Armed Forces, found a new powerful ally: the United States of America which intended to include Turkey and Greece in their military camp. On May 22, 1947, the Law on "Aid to Turkey and Greece" and on July 12, 1947, the Accord on "Aids to Turkey" came into practice. Afterwards, the "Foreign Aid Law" of 1948 and the "Mutual Aid for Defence Law" turned the Turkish Armed Forces into mercenaries charged with the task of defending US interests in the area. And one more step in this way was Turkey's adherence to NATO in 1951.

Despite this formal dependence on the USA, for the following reasons, some elements of the Turkish Armed Forces remained opposed to both US domination and the government of the collaborating bourgeoisie.

First, the vast majority of army officers had at that time a poor peasant background and saw themselves close to the people. This position was also strengthened due to the unfaithfulness of the collaborating bourgeoisie who disregarded the welfare of their former ally and even caused the army officers to become poorer than ever.

Secondly, near all army officers regarded themselves as the sole guarantee for national independence and were dissatisfied with the increasing control and influence by the US on the Armed Forces.

It was under these circumstances that the Turkish Armed Forces, being encouraged by the popular mass resistance against the authoritarian regime of the cen-

ter-right Democratic Party, took over power on May 27, 1960 and put into force a new Constitution guaranteeing human rights and basic freedoms as well as some social welfare measures.

Although they were very well aware of the preparations of the coup, the US did not intervene in any way whatsoever in order to prevent it. Because, if the Armed Forces had not intervened, the discontentment of the masses might have led to a real popular uprising. But just after the take-over, US advisors imposed on the National Unity Committee (the military Junta of that time) the sui-generis OYAK project with the aim of placating the army officers.

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

By force of law, all army officers and sergeants were obliged to subscribe to OYAK and to contribute 5 percent of their salaries. These contributions totalled up \$20 million a year. The fund was to be managed by a board of directors consisting up of army generals and officers elected among the commanding body of the Turkish Armed Forces. Once a year the representatives of the military shareholders were to meet in order to verify the account books, to determine the strategy and to decide how to use their funds.

Having noticed that the army officers' compulsory contributions had created a huge accumulation of capital, the Generals decided to use these funds for profit-making investments in trade and industry.

Army officers' turning into capitalists in uniform

has also created an economic and social gap between them and the working class. This growing contradiction has been revealed for the first time in 1970 during the mass resistance movement of industrial workers in defense of their trade union rights and later, during the repressive rule of the military between 1971 and 1973.

### **Behind the political violence: the Army!**

As stated in the communiqués of the military junta, the official pretext for the September 12 coup was to stem the wave of political violence which had claimed a death-toll of 5,355 from 1975 until the day of the coup. Especially, taking into consideration the number of those who fell victims to political terror during the 10-month period of the Demirel government, up to 500 per month, it seemed, at first glance, that the military were quite right in putting forward this argument. And yet, behind this violence there has been none other than the Army itself.

In Turkey, the covert activities led by an illegal department set up within the Army, had continuously been focusing attention since 1973. This was the Counter-Guerilla Department located in the General Staff Headquarters of the Turkish Armed Forces. The original name of this section is the "Special War Department". The US Military Aid Mission and the Special War Department are housed in the same building in Ankara. The training of the officers of the Counter-Guerilla Department is carried out by the United States intelligence services. The apparent aim of this department is to set up resistance forces in case of "uprising" or foreign aggression. But, as it appears from the application and training directives, it is obvious that this organization could be aimed against the domestic movements of social awakening. In various of-

ficial written regulations of this Department, "uprising" is defined as "political and social opposition against the established order in the country".

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

The Department had a "Special Office" under the name of "Bayraktarlık" (standard-bearership) in Cyprus, where extreme-rightist political murderers used to seek refuge after having assassinated progressive people.

The Counter-Guerilla has always maintained a close collaboration with the neo-fascist party of former colonel Türkes and provided it with all facilities with respect to armaments and conspiracy.

It must also be taken into consideration that the armed forces were in a position to control most sensitive areas of Turkey, since martial law had been proclaimed at the end of 1979. And yet, instead of decreasing, political terror grew considerably stronger.

Having succeeded to drag the country down in a fascist regime, the Counter-Guerilla and its collaborators, the "Grey Wolves", have ceased their activities for a certain period.

Therefore, within a few days following the military coup, Turkey has witnessed tranquillity everywhere.

### **Program of monopolistic capitalism**

Immediately after the coup of September 12, all the communiqués issued by the Junta showed that, contrary to the previous coups of 1960 and 1971, the new regime intended to give priority to the economic and social measures already determined by the International Monetary Fund.



Prior to the coup, the annual trade balance deficit amounted to nearly \$3 billion. Besides, the total foreign debt amounted to over \$20 billion. A very high inflation rate which had reached 100 percent a year in 1980, was of course to result rapidly in a slump. *Newsweek* noted that out of 60 countries selected by the managers of multinational companies, Turkey had the third place amongst the most hazardous. Moreover, the directors of the big companies, banks and holding companies had repeatedly declared that Turkey's key problem laid in restoring its political stability.

During successive negotiations with the preceding governments, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had imposed to Turkey a number of drastic measures summarized below:

- Stemming inflation by cutting down the workers' spending power,
- Raising interest rates in order to boost savings,
- Developing exports by granting low interest rate credits and by other incentive measures,
- Ensuring law and order in the country in order to drain foreign investments and credits.

The proposed measures were indispensable conditions for fresh international credits to be granted to Turkey.

All of these measures had already been enacted on January 24, 1980 by the Demirel government - i.e. 9 months prior to the coup -, but had not been put into practice in an entirely satisfactory way for the IMF, due to social and political opposition.

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 advisers, in particular Mr. Turgut Ozal, the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. Mr Ozal's fate will be a pointer to whether IMF and*

*World Bank relations will continue smoothly with Turkey."*

In actual fact, Mr. Turgut Ozal stayed at a key position as deputy Prime Minister in the new military government and a few weeks later, on October 5, 1980, he flew to Washington in order to reassure the IMF and World Bank directors.

They soon proved satisfied with the economic policy led by the Junta, by approving a few weeks later fresh credits.

The credibility regained by Turkey with the international financial institutions went along with an unprecedented wave of repression and the impoverishment of all classes and strata of Turkish society, except a small number of monopolistic capitalists.

### **A Despotic Presidential System**

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

First of all, on November 7, 1982, the new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey was adopted by a referendum. With voters subjected to intimidation and all criticism banned, the result was hardly surprising. Nevertheless, out of 20,7 million voters 9 percent refused to go, 8 percent voted against. Contrary to official propaganda saying that 91,27 percent of all citizens above 21 years old voted for the new Constitution, the text which automatically made General Evren president of the Republic for a 7-year term, was actually adopted with a 83 percent majority. Especially in the Kurdish areas which have undergone an unprecedented repression, "yes" votes fell down to 64 percent.

Prior to the referendum, counter propaganda was officially banned, those who dared to disregard this

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

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

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

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

After putting on his tail-coat and top-hat as "President of the Republic", General Evren, claiming that he had absolute support of the nation, launched the operation of enacting new laws to reshape the State and of recruiting new-type politicians to set up the political parties designed for the future guided "parliamentary regime".

As a matter of fact, since the military coup, the NSC has adopted 581 laws, 33 of which had previous-

ly been discussed by the Consultative Assembly which has been acting as a rubber-stamp office of the military. Prior to the legislative elections, all fundamental laws concerning the new structure of the State have already been enacted by the Junta.

As it can clearly be seen in the Table, all the key organs of the State have been attached to the President of the Republic. This new structure has already been provided in the Constitution adopted last year. The new laws detail the foundation and functioning of each institution. Since the adoption of a proposal for a constitutional amendment requires a two thirds majority of the total number of members of the National Assembly and considering that the first National Assembly will be made up of deputies enjoying the confidence of the Military Junta, it will be impossible to amend the Constitution. Thus, the new structure of the State based on a despotic presidential system will exist at least until the next legislative election due to be held in 1988.

*1. President of the Republic:* Whereas, before the military coup the President of the Republic was a symbol of the State, now he has extensive powers for "ensuring the implementation of the Constitution and the regular and harmonious functioning of the organs of the State": he will now be empowered mainly to promulgate laws, to return draft bills to the Assembly to be reconsidered, to submit to referendum, if he deems it necessary, legislation regarding the amendment of the Constitution, to appeal to the Constitutional Court for the annulment of laws, to call new elections for the National Assembly, to dismiss ministers. He is no more accountable before the National Assembly. In the exercise of his functions, the President of the Republic will command organs which either did not exist before the coup, or were independent of him.

*2. Presidential Council:* According to a provisional article of the Constitution, the four members of the present military junta will acquire the title of members of the Presidential Council. For a period of six years, this council will examine laws adopted by the National Assembly and submitted to the President of the Republic, will give advice on matters relating to the holding of new general elections, the use of emergency powers and the measures to be taken during a state of emergency, and will investigate matters relating to internal and external security.

*3. General Secretariat of the President of the Republic:* Already the former commander of the NATO Forces of South-East Europe, Retired General Sedat Güneralp, has been appointed Secretary General. Advisers will be attached to his office for State affairs, Intelligence and State security. It means that, apart from the National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) and the Army Intelligence, the President of the Republic will have his own intelligence service.

*4. The Armed Forces:* The President of the Republic will represent the office of the Commander-in-chief of the Turkish Armed Forces, empowered to declare war and to decide to use the Turkish Armed Forces. According to a new bill drawn up by the military government, a High Council of War will be set up under the absolute authority of the President of the Republic. This council will be entrusted with evaluating the situation in case of war or mobilization, with taking all necessary measures and employing all citizens, both civilians and military, in accordance with the requirements of the situation. Then, despite the fact that General Evren has already retired from the post of Chief of General Staff, he will remain the real military chief of the Armed Forces.

**5. *Judicial Power:*** Although the Constitution provides that judges shall be independent in the discharge of their duties, the key posts in the judicial apparatus will be dependent on the President of the Republic. According to the same Constitution, members of the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Supreme Military Administration Court, the Military High Court of Appeal and the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors as well as the Chief Public Prosecutor will be appointed by the President of the Republic and will act in conformity with the directives of the latter.

**6. *Scientific and Cultural Life:*** In order to reshape the country's scientific and cultural life within the ideological framework imposed by the military junta, the President of the Republic has been provided with extensive powers. First of all, all universities and other higher educational institutions have already been placed under the authority of the Higher Education Council (YOK), all members of which have been appointed by the President of the Republic. Besides, the latter is also entitled to appoint the rectors of all Turkish universities. In order to express their gratitude, the rectors who have already been appointed by Evren, bestowed on him, on January 14, 1983, the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" and a honorary university professorship for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order in the country and for respecting the law while doing it". A similar honorary title was also conferred on the military chief of Pakistan, General Zia Ul-Haq during his visit to Turkey in August.

The Constitution provides also for the establishment of the "Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History" under the supervision of the President of the Republic, in order to "develop scientific research, to produce publications and to disseminate information on the thought, principles and re-

forms of Atatürk, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and the Turkish language.”

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

According to the Constitution, a National Security Council shall be set up under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. It shall be made up of the Chief of Staff, of the Commanders of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, and of the General Commander of the Gendarmerie as well as of the Prime minister and the ministers of National Defence, Interior and Foreign Affairs. It is this council which shall submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring necessary coordination for formulating, establishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to the decisions of the National Security Council. The Agenda of the NSC shall be drawn up by the President of the Republic.

Moreover, a State Supervisory Council of which the Chairman and the members to be appointed by the President of the Republic and attached to the office of the Presidency of the Republic, will have absolute authority to supervise the functioning of the administration. All public bodies and organisations all companies in which those public bodies and organisations share more than half of the capital, public professional organisations, employers' associations and labour unions at all levels, as well as public benefit associations and foundations shall be subject to inquiries, investigations and inspections carried out by this supervisory body. Then, the Council of Ministers will

have no authority over the state apparatus which has been placed under the direct supervision of the President of the Republic.

Moreover, the President of the Republic has the authority to preside over the Council of Ministers and to dismiss any minister.

### ...And the Assembly and Parties

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

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

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

12 other political parties set up after the adoption of the new Political Parties Law were denied the right to register for the poll as a result of obstruction made by the Junta. One party, the *Grand Turkey Party* (BTP), set up by the followers of the defunct Justice Party of Demirel, was officially dissolved by a decree of the



military junta. As for the others, they have been exposed to an unprecedented practice of the junta. According to the Election Law, for being allowed to register for the polls, a political party should have at least 30 founders who have not been vetoed by the NSC. Until the deadline, August 25, 1983, the Junta has vetoed 453 out of 750 party founders without any concrete justification. Thus, among others, two influent political parties, the *Social Democracy Party* (Sodep) and the *True Path Party* (DYP) which have gained considerable support within the mass of the population, lost any chance to participate in elections.

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

It should be stressed that the setting up of any political party on a working class basis or on the basis of the Kurdish population of Turkey has already been forbidden by the provisions of the Constitution. Even if the other parties had been allowed to take part in elections, this would have been anti-democratic elections. Let alone a working class party or a Kurdish party, the military junta has not even tolerated the competition of other right-wing parties with regard to those which are obedient followers of General Evren.

### **State Terror**

The militarization of the State under the guise of a "parliamentarian regime" has not met any organized opposition, because from the very first day of military rule all democratic, political organizations and trade-unions have been faced with an unprecedented

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

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

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

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

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

During man-hunting operations, more than 866 people were shot dead by the security forces in the streets. According to a communiqué issued by the International League for Human Rights on February 19, 1982, only within the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,958 persons were taken into custody for preliminary investigation. Among them

were also 203 members of Parliament, 79 journalists or writers, 93 judges or prosecutors, 35 district governors, 300 mayors, 2,000 trade union officials, 6,191 teachers and 6,758 state employees. More than 100,000 of them were released following a 3-month detention without court warrant.

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

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

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

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

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

Whereas the maximum capacity of the civil prisons was of 55,000, the Ministry of Justice announced on June 20, 1983 that there were 78,886 prisoners. 67 new prisons are being built in order to place the surplus of the prison population. 5 special prisons

have been built for those who were convicted of "political violence acts" by the military tribunals.

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

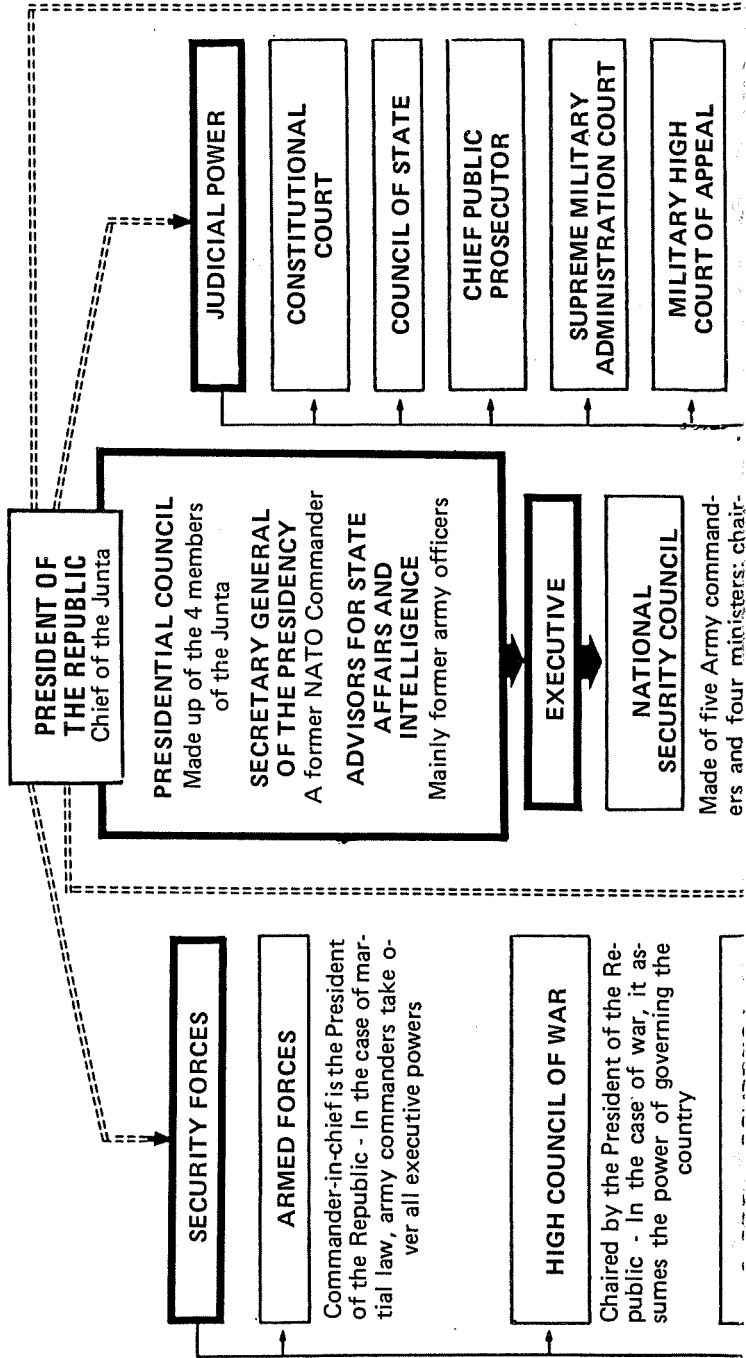
After the coup, all police forces too were placed under the authority of the martial law commanders. The military junta has assigned a sum of 99 billion TL to the reorganization of the police forces. It was decided to raise the number of the police officers from 50,000 to 121,000 and to set up a rapid deployment force in each major city of Turkey. With the assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States, the police forces are being equipped with modern weapons, armoured vehicles and helicopters.

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

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

The procedure applied at military tribunals is proof that the right to a fair trial provided by the European Convention on Human Rights, is being violated. The bills of indictment are based on confessions obtained under torture. At mass trials, the prisoners are not brought all together to court, only groups of 10 or 15 are allowed. In court proceedings take place without previously proving the defendants' identity, without previous judicial inquiry; in some cases the

# NEW STRUCTURE OF THE TURKISH STATE



**SUPREME GOVERNORS AND GOVERNORS**

In the state of emergency, they can act as martial law commanders; even in a normal situation, they can restrict and suspend the use of freedoms

**STATE SECURITY COURTS**

Made up of military and civil judges. They replace military tribunals when martial law is lifted

**STATE SUPERVISORY COUNCIL**

Appointed by and attached to the President of the Republic. It can control each public administration and institution as well as associations and unions

ed by the President of the Republic

**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**

Appointed and chaired, if necessary, by the President of the Republic. He can dismiss any of the ministers

**LEGISLATIVE**

**GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

For the coming five years, made up of 400 deputies of 3 parties which have confidence of the military junta. 12 other newly founded parties have been prevented from participation in first elections. Parties of the working class and of the Kurdish people are outlawed.

**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 (YOK)**

**UNIVERSITY RECTORS**

**ATATURK HIGH INSTITUTE OF CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND HISTORY**

All of them are appointed by and attached to the President of the Republic

defendants never appear in court. The witnesses are conditioned before being brought to court; defendants are given no possibility to defend themselves; they are not even allowed to read their petitions. The time allowed for the defence is very short and sometimes the defendant is not allowed to speak in the court room.

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

### **Trials and Death Sentences**

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

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

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

- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): 2,458
- Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): 957
- People's Liberation Party/Front of Turkey (THKP/C): 571
- Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol): 529
- Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP): 177
- Kurdish organization KAWA: 154
- Liberation (Kurtulus): 118

- Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK): 68
- Union of Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda (MLSPB): 57
- Revolutionary Vanguard of People (HDO): 31
- Revolutionary Communists' Union of Turkey (TIKB): 31
- National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK): 18
- Workers' Voice (İşçinin Sesi): 18
- Kurdish organizations Rızgari and Ala Rızgari: 13
- People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO): 12
- Kurdish organization TEKOSIN: 11
- Communist Labour Party of Turkey (TKEP): 11
- Reorganization of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP/TOK): 6
- Revolutionary Union of the People (DHB): 4
- Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B): 2
- Union of Socialist Youth (SGB): 2
- Revolutionary Liberation (DK): 2
- Association for Fighting Unemployment (PİM): 1
- Nucleus of Revolutionary Red Army of Turkey (TIKOC): 1

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

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

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

In addition to the left-wing organizations mentioned above, thousands of progressive persons are still



being tried at military tribunals, accused of being affiliated to the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP), the Union of Labour (EB), the Path of Partisan (PY), the Progressive Youth Association (IGD), the Labour Party of Kurdistan (KIP), the Association of Patriotic Revolutionary Youth (YDGB), the Socialist Fatherland Party (SVP), the Revolutionary Youth (Dev-Genç), the Workers'-Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP).

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

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

According to the French League for Human Rights, 300 out of 1,600 dismissed mayors of Turkey have been arrested by the military following the coup. The cases of three mayors, Ahmet İsvan of Istanbul, Mehdi Zana of Diyarbakır and Fikri Sönmez of Fatsa have been singled out as exemplary, because all three have been subjected to torture in prison and since their trials are still going on at military tribunals.

Besides, many democratic organizations such as the Association of Teachers (Töb-Der), the Union of Architects and Engineers (TMMOB), the Union of Peasants' Cooperatives (Köy-Koop), the Turkish Peace Committee, the Bar Association of Istanbul, the Asso-

ciation of State Employees (Tüm-Der), 25 progressive trade unions affiliated to DISK and even some organizations connected with the pro-governmental Türk-İs, the Union of Turkish Writers (TYS), the Chamber of Chemists, the Association of University Professors (Tümöd) and the Popular Houses of Culture have also been subjected to legal proceedings. The leaders of Töb-Der and Köy-Koop have already been sentenced.

### Tortures

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

One of the most striking revelations was made by Abdullah Bastürk, Chairman of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), during the session of December 15, 1982 of the DISK trial, attended by a delegation from the ICFTU. (See: *Bulletin*, December 1982). In his request submitted to the military tribunal, Bastürk said: "Even though no sentence has been rendered and though we believe it is impossible for such a sentence to be given, the death sentence that is wanted for us has slowly but concretely begun to be executed through the conditions of confinement we are suffering."

All the defendants of the DISK trial revealed during their interrogations that they had been subjected to torture. The Chairman of the Miners' Union Cetin Uygur has been mutilated as a result of torture.

Within these three years 204 political prisoners have been tortured to death during their interrogations.

All attempts made by international human rights

organizations for visiting Turkey's military prisons and interviewing prisoners, have categorically been refused by the military junta on the pretext that these prisons were closed even for Turkish observers and reporters. Whereas, in fact reporters of the pro-governmental Turkish newspapers are regularly permitted to enter in military prisons and to interview the prisoners who talk in favour of the Junta and prison administration for benefitting from a reduction of prison term.

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

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

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

### **Press Under Censorship**

The Turkish press was put under censorship from the very inception of military rule. In addition to the newspapers and reviews which had already been forbidden prior to the military coup, three daily newspapers, Demokrat, Aydınlık and Hergün were indefinitely closed down on September 12, 1980. Since then many newspapers and periodicals have been subjected

to temporary bans on their publication. Those which were temporarily forbidden in the past year are mentioned below:

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

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

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

Besides, 18 distinguished writers of Turkey, have been tried since January 6, 1983 as members of the Board of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS). Besides, 44 famous intellectuals of Turkey are still being tried by the military for having participated in the activities of the Turkish Peace Committee.

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

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

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

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

A new bill modifying the Press Law has been adopted by the Consultative Assembly. According to this law, prison terms for press offences will be much heavier than before, the prosecutor will be allowed to call for the ban or the seizure of any publication as well as of all printing facilities owned by the editor.

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

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

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

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

### **Clamp Down on the Universities**

Trouble arose in the Turkish universities with the adoption of the controversial law on the founding of a 25-member High Education Council (YOK) which exercises centralized authority over Turkey's 27 universities, their 6,723 professors, 12,000 teaching assistants and instructors and an estimated student-body of 350,000.

According to this law adopted on November 7, 1981, the members of YOK as well as all university rectors have been appointed by the Chief of the Junta.

With the adoption of the new Constitution, further legislative restrictions were imposed on the universities, mainly a ban on joining political parties and making political statements.

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

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

Besides, on August 21, 1982, new disciplinary regulations were announced and consequently university members and students have been forced to abide by YOK's rules on clothing and outer appearance. All bearded professors had to make a choice between two alternatives: either to get a shave or to lose their university posts.

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

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

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

tific activities in the country will be carried out in accordance with the guidelines to be determined by this institution.

### **National Repression**

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

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

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

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

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

## Reinforcement of the monopolies

The drastic measures imposed by the IMF have been carried out so as to satisfy the international financial circles, but their implementation during the past three years led only to the reinforcement of the position of a small number of monopolies at the expense of the working masses and the lower middle class. As soon as interest rates had been decontrolled, in 1981, hundreds of "bankers" started springing up like mushrooms and begun tapping savings, by promising interest rates of 60 percent for time deposits, while the official inflation rate was about 30 percent. However, in order to cover the high interest rates, these "bankers" used to open credit accounts in favour of firms short of cash, at interest rates fluctuating round 70-80 percent.

However, this extravagant rise in interest rates eventually caused hundreds of "bankers" going bankrupt, since they proved unable to refund. Several of them, sometimes the most notorious, were arrested and, therefore the minor banks lost their credibility.

In pursuance of a new decree publicized on September 14, 1982, the banking system was reorganized, so as to clear the ground for the major banks only. The daily *Hürriyet* reported on January 5, 1983 that half the savings, totalizing 2,100 billion of TL (\$10 billion), had been deposited in Turkey's two leading banks, Ziraat Bankası and Is Bankası.

As for the industrial and commercial firms, the same process has been noticed. Whereas in 1980 there were 9,216 industrial firms, in 1983 this figure fell to 7,325 due to bankruptcies and liquidations. On the other hand, the number of share companies has increased from 2,406 in 1980 to 3,903 in 1982. Another revealing sign of the liquidation of the small companies has been the increasing number of protested



bills of exchange, totalizing 217 billion TL in 1982, as compared with 61 billion LT in 1980.

In spite of all advantages given to exporting firms, it has been announced that only in 1982, 300 exporting companies had went bankrupt.

Following the liquidation of the smaller firms, the big companies managed to get absolute control over the market and, within the space of two years, their benefits have enormously increased.

According to the daily *Günes* of August 25, 1983, the distribution of the 950 basic commodities in Turkey is being controlled by 185 monopolies.

In 1982, Turkey's 500 major companies increased their profits by 37 p.c., as compared with the preceding year. On the other hand, it appears from informations published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* on September 3, 1983, that the companies' free of tax benefits per employee increased from an average 183,632 TL in 1979 to 687,000 TL in 1982.

As far as foreign capital is concerned, it should be noted that, according to the State Planning Organization (DPT), since the coup of September 12, 1980, an influx has been registered of \$601 million, as compared with a total \$228 million over the last 26 years preceding the coup. According to the daily *Hürriyet* of September 22, 1983, 17 out of Turkey's 50 major private companies are controlled by foreign capital. One third of all foreign investments are owed to West-German companies.

### **The Military-Industrial Complex**

As stated in the first part of this study, the Turkish Army is directly involved in a military-industrial complex, for which the 1981-1982 period has been a "golden age".

First, OYAK (Mutual Aid Fund of the Armed

Forces), which cooperates with foreign companies, has become in a very short time a gigantic holding company... The assets of this fund reached 8.6 billion TL in 1982, as compared with 4.6 billion TL in 1980.

Beside OYAK, the military-industrial complex comprises three other foundations, set up in cooperation with the civil and military sectors, with the aim of attracting donations from the public and assigning them to the arms industry.

The most important of them is the Foundation for the Reinforcement of the Air Force (HKGV). The assets of this foundation amounted to 33.5 billion TL by the end of 1982, as compared with 2 billion TL in 1980. It holds 45 percent of the shares in the "Turkish Aeronautic Industries company" (TUSAS), which was founded with the aim of modernizing the Turkish Air Force and of constructing military aircraft. To this end, the Turkish aeronautic industry is to cooperate with, at least, 170 local firms. HKGV also contemplates manufacturing photographic films and paper designed for being used in Air Force reconnaissance operations.

Following long months of bargaining, the Turkish military ended by opting for the F-16 C-D fighter, constructed by the US company General Dynamics, in order to modernize over the ten coming years the Turkish Air Force with 160 aircraft of this type. This modernization is to cost Turkey 4 to 5 billions of US dollars. In a stage between mid-1985 and early 1987, the first F-16 C-D's are to be partially assembled in the TUSAS factories.

The Foundation for the Reinforcement of the Land Forces (KKGV) was set up afterwards, but has developed very rapidly. At the conference of this Foundation, it has been stated that the assets of KKGV amounted to 6.7 billion TL in 1982, as compared with a mere 400 million TL in 1980. This means that, thanks to the Army's intervention, the donations in favour of KKGV have been multiplied by se-

venteen. General Ersin announced that, within the course of two years, 5.5 millions of people had made donations to KKGV. Especially among the Turkish migrants community in Europe, the Turkish diplomatic missions had launched a donations campaign. As far as the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands are concerned, the Turkish consulates have been collecting gifts totalizing 2 million DM. KKGV has a financial interest in a lot of companies. It has set up ASELSAN for manufacturing electronic component parts and communication equipment, and ASPILSAN for producing batteries designed for military equipment. ASELSAN will be able to produce spare parts for the F-16 and F/A-18 aircraft. This company has also concluded an agreement in April 1982 with the US company Aydın Corporation for manufacturing high technology electronic equipment.

As for the Foundation for the Reinforcement of the Naval Forces (DKGV), its assets amounted to 2.9 billion TL in 1982. It has invested the gifts collected among the people in the construction of ships for its navy. Two vedette-boats built thanks to the donations of the Turkish migrants in West-Germany, have been called *Gurbet-I* and *Gurbet-II* (Exile-I and Exile-II). Recently, a submarine has been built in the Turkish shipyards by DKGV. This foundation holds also 15 percent of all shares in NETAS, a communication equipment company.

In the framework of the projected building up of an arms industry, Turkey's closest foreign partners are the US and the Federal Republic of Germany.

### **Economic stagnation**

While the military-industrial complex was growing stronger thanks to the drastic measures taken by the Junta and because of the ruthless exploitation of

the workers, the general state of the country's economy, instead of improving, is still in a deadlock by the end of the third year of military rule.

In spite of the propaganda asserting that these measures might have stemmed inflation and slowed down the balance of payments deficit, statistics themselves show the reverse.

True, thanks to incentives Turkey's exports rose from \$2.91 billion in 1980 to \$5.74 billion in 1982. Yet, it should be emphasized that this increase results partially from the fact that earlier illegal exports had been regularized. As for the migrant workers' remittances, they rose from \$2.07 billion in 1980 to \$2.17 billion by the end of 1982. Meanwhile imports showed also an increase: from \$7.9 billion in 1980 to \$8.37 by the end of 1982. Whereas the balance of payments' deficit has sharply been reduced from \$2.93 billion in 1980 to \$457 million in 1982, it has again increased over the first seven months of 1983: It amounted to \$798 million compared with \$1.20 billion in 1983.

Moreover, in view of the credits granted to Turkey over the past three years by the international financial institutions, this country will have to refund until the year 2022 a foreign debt of \$21.51 billion. The sums payable in 1984 amount to \$2 billion in 1984, \$2.25 billion in 1985, to 2.2 billion in 1986, etc.

One should also take into account the \$4-5 billion payable over 10 years for buying the F-16 aircraft.

Consequently, despite all reorganization claims, the country will have to cover in the future a global deficit of \$4-5 billion a year.

As for the internal economy, Turkish industry has been hit by an unprecedented slump due to the workers' falling spending power.

It is a fact that the workers' and employees' share in the national income has decreased from 23.5 percent in 1972 to 16.2 percent in 1982. Consequently:

- 2/3 of all firms did not succeed to increase their production,
- the average capacity usage in industry has fallen to 59 percent.

### **Oppression of the Workers**

This situation causes a rise in unemployment. The official number of unemployed has increased from 2,366,000 in 1979 to 3,324,000 in 1982; that is to say from 14 percent prior to the coup, the unemployment rate has risen to 18.19 percent.

Not only the rise of unemployment, but also the loss of spending power and state terror have turned daily life for the workers into a hell.

The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) has been suspended and its 85 officials are still being tried by a military court in Istanbul. Chairman Abdullah Bastürk and 74 of his comrades risk the death penalty.

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

As for Türk-İs, the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, it has not been suspended as a reward for its collaboration with the military regime. The Secretary General of this confederation, Sadık Side accepted to take part in the military government and has kept his seat despite violent protests from the world trade union organizations. Although the affiliation of Türk-İs to the ICFTU was suspended by the latter in 1981, this measure was lifted this year on the ground that Sadık Side exercised no more the function of secre-

tary general. Sadık Side himself, however, repeatedly declares that he may return to his post at Türk-Is soon after the legislative elections.

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

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

Since the right to collective bargaining and strike has been suspended, the level of wage increases is to be determined by the Supreme Arbitration Council. Acting in accordance with the IMF's suggestion to freeze wages, this council has conceded ridiculous wage increases. Whereas the inflation rate of the past 3-year period has been 100 percent, the total wage increases over the same period failed to exceed 50 percent. Thus, the workers have lost half their spending power since the time of the coup.

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

Since there is no hope for stemming the stagnation and the rise of unemployment the military junta, in order to make permanent the limitation of wage increases, has adopted a number of laws concerning social life.

As stressed by the ICFTU, the new legislation on

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

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

### **State Terror Abroad**

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

Among those who lost their nationality are also prize-winner movie director Yılmaz Güney, the famous Turkish singers Melike Demirag, Sanar Yurdatapın, Cem Karaca and two editors of Info-Türk, Doğan Özgüden and İnci Tuğsavul.

The Turkish Government has already asked for extradition of 246 Turkish citizens from European countries on the grounds that they had committed

the crime of political violence. 36 of them have already been extradited. One of those who were under the threat of extradition, Cemal Kemal Altun, committed suicide in Berlin on August 30, 1983.

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

### **New Terror Institutions**

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Consequently, with the new structure of the State and the extraordinary powers of the President of the

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

### Foreign Relations

In the international level, the military Junta has pursued a policy furthering U.S. interests in the Middle East. One month after the coup, the Military Cooperation Agreement with the US was ratified by the National Security Council.

In December 1981, the Turkish and US authorities agreed for setting up a "Common Defence Committee", charged with both determining common military needs and providing for them. Furthermore, it was entitled to take decisions as for the US contribution to the building up of a Turkish arms industry. The negotiations for buying the 160 F-16 fighters have already been brought to a successful conclusion.

The military Junta also pointed out that American spy aircrafts and AWACS will be allowed to operate from Turkish airbases.

Both countries concluded on November 29, 1982, in Brussels, a new treaty providing that new airports be built in Turkey, that those existent be modernized and entitling the US to stockpile military equipment on Turkish territory. In view of the conclusion of this treaty, the question of Turkish support to the Rapid Deployment Force has gained new dimensions. Just after this agreement, it has been announced that the US were to establish a new military command for the Middle East, in order to defend US interests in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean area. In 1982 and 1983,

the US Rapid Deployment Force has participated in NATO manoeuvres in Turkey. In return for all these advantages, the US have increased their military and economic "aid" to Turkey, amounting to \$547 million in 1981 and \$703 million in 1982.

During the past three years, the US intervened several times in Turkey's internal affairs. Just before the referendum on the new Constitution, CIA boss William Casey made a 36 hours visit in Turkey and had secret negotiations with the Turkish authorities. Simultaneously, the general manager of AAFLI, a CIA financed educational trade unions institute, Mr Morris Palladino, arrived also in Turkey for discussions with the leaders of Türk-Is, the pro-governmental confederation. It was announced that AAFLI had guaranteed 20 million TL for financing Türk-Is' educational complex.

Despite its close relations with the US, the Junta has enjoyed some understanding from the Socialist countries.

During the discussions on human rights at the Madrid conference, while the US delegation attacked the Polish regime, the representatives of the socialist countries refrained from mentioning Turkey as an example of military regime in the Western world.

From February 25 to 28, 1982, General Evren made an official visit to Bulgaria on the invitation of Todor Jivkov and has been decorated with the "Great Balkan Star". After this first visit, General Evren was also received in Romania, Yugoslavia and in the People's Republic of China.

As for the relations with the other neighbour countries, the Junta has been trying to take advantage of the Greek-Turkish tensions over the Egean and Cyprus. Especially, the policy of the Papadreu Government towards NATO has always been denounced by the Turkish Government and by the Turkish Press as a subversive stance within the Alliance.

The UN General Assembly's resolution of May 13, 1983, stipulating for withdrawal of all occupation forces from Cyprus, has immediately been denounced by the Turkish Government. In the process of colonizing the occupied sector of Cyprus, the Turkish currency has started circulating in the Turkish "Federated State" (that is to say, the sector which has been occupied since 1974 by the Turkish Army), following a decision taken by the Junta on May 19, 1983. At the same time, the Junta prompted Mr Denktas, the former collaborationist of British colonialism and the present chief of this so-called "Federated State", to announce that the independence of this "State" will soon be proclaimed unilaterally.

Egged on by the support of the US, the Junta has also taken upon itself to act as a gendarme in the Middle East. Under the pretext of carrying out a combing operation against Kurdish guerillas, the Turkish Army entered into Iraqi territory on May 26, 1983. In Turkey, some observers speculate that by undertaking this "police action", the Turkish military regime has made the first step with a view to achieve an old dream it discreetly entertains: Recovering the northern part of Iraq, the "*Vilayat-ı Mossul*", rich in oil.

Nevertheless, over the past three years, Turkey has developed its commercial and economic relations with the Middle East and North African countries. Whereas prior to the coup, the share of the EEC countries in Turkey's foreign trade was the most important, in the meantime, however, the muslim countries caught up with them and got ahead of them. Curiously, Turkey's major trade partners are Iraq and Iran, between whom the Junta claims to play the part of a go-between.

Besides, dozens of Turkish companies are being involved in construction works in the Middle East and Libya, with contracts totalizing \$14 billion.

## The Military Regime and Europe

In spite of criticism expressed by European MP's and in spite of certain resolutions passed by the Council of Europe and European Parliament, one can generally note that the European Governments have stuck to their good relations with the Ankara regime. Only the French, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Governments have lodged a complaint with the European Commission for Human Rights about the violations of human rights in Turkey, and have meanwhile ceased or decreased their contribution to the OECD "aid campaign on behalf of Turkey". On the other hand, the West-German, British, Belgian and Italian Governments have always continued to provide Turkey with economic and military assistance and have prevented pressure from being put on the Turkish Government, aiming at forcing the Junta to respect human rights.

Nevertheless, under pressure of the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the European trade union movement, the European Commission has expressed, on November 4, 1981, its deepest regrets about the violation of human rights in Turkey and has decided to suspend the conclusion of the 4th financial protocol between Turkey and the EEC until a democratic regime is restored.

Just before the "legislative elections", the European MP's have once more condemned the Turkish military regime and have rejected in advance the results of the forthcoming elections.

First, in a resolution adopted on September 30, 1983, the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly considers that the Parliament which will proceed from the election, will not be the "democratically elected representation of the Turkish people" and that, as such, "it cannot really be regarded as a delegation

entitled to take part in the proceedings of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly".

Next, on October 13, 1983, the European Parliament, denouncing the fact that the practices of torture, the arbitrary political arrests, the pressures put on the press have been going on, has adopted a resolution deploring mainly that "the rules which are to govern the election of November 6th will prevent it from being a true expression of democracy".

The main thing for the oppressed people of Turkey is the solidarity proceeding from the directly elected representatives of the European peoples.

This decision will be a support of the utmost importance given to the struggle of the people of Turkey against Evren's dictatorship and for the restoration of a true democracy in the South-East of Europe.

## TURKEY IN FIGURES(\*)

Area: 779,452 km<sup>2</sup> (Anatolia situated in Asia: 755,688 km<sup>2</sup> – Thrace situated in Europe: 23,746 km<sup>2</sup>)

Frontiers: With the USSR: 610 km, with Syria: 877 km, with Iran: 454 km, with Iraq: 331 km, with Bulgaria: 269 km, with Greece: 212 km.

International affiliations: UN, Council of Europe, NATO; associated member of the EEC since 1963.

	1980	1983
<b>POPULATION</b>	44.921.000	47.763.000
Rural population	55,8 p.c.	
Urban population	44,2 p.c.	
Life expectancy	57 years	
Annual birth rate	3,72 p.c.	
Annual death rate	1,08 p.c.	
Growth rate	2,64 p.c.	
Infant mortality	12,3 p.c.	
 <b>POPULATION AT WORKING AGE (15 to 64 years)</b>		
Working people	17.182.000	18.493.000
Completely unemployed	14.531.000	14.927.000
Unemployment rate	2.651.000	3.566.000
	15,43 p.c.	19,27 p.c.
 <b>DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING PEOPLE BY SECTOR</b>		
Agriculture	60,4 p.c.	
Industry	12,8 p.c.	
Construction	3,8 p.c.	
Trade	4,9 p.c.	
Transports	3,4 p.c.	
Services	13,6 p.c.	

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1983</u>
<b>DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THEIR STATUS</b>		
Homework	45,2 p.c.	
Wage-earners and employees	27,7 p.c.	
Self employed	25,6 p.c.	
Employers	0,8 p.c.	
Unknown	0,7 p.c.	
<b>PEOPLE ENJOYING SOCIAL BENEFITS</b>		
	4.624.000 (31 p.c.)	
<b>FREE OF TAX MONTHLY MINIMUM WAGE</b>		
	66\$	40\$
<b>MONTHLY AVERAGE WAGE</b>		
	141\$	91\$
<b>PRICE INDEX (100 in 1968)</b>		
	1.832	3.923
<b>GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT</b>		
	49.682.626.000\$	41.744.862.000\$
<b>GNP PER INHABITANT</b>		
	1.106\$	874\$
<b>BALANCE OF PAYMENTS</b>		
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1982</u>
Imports	7.667.300.000\$	8.374.000.000\$
Exports	2.910.100.000\$	5.746.000.000\$
Migrant remittances	2.071.000.000\$	2.171.000.000\$
Deficit	2.686.000.000\$	925.000.000\$

\*) Accord

\*) According to official data



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