

**On the occasion of the 9th anniversary
of the military coup of September 12, 1980**



**REAL FACE OF A
"DEMOCRATIZATION"**

INFO-TÜRK

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INFO-TÜRK
Brussels, September 1989

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 county, 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 13 years: The monthly newsletter INFO-TÜRK

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FOREWORD

On September 12, 1989, Turkey's democratic forces will observe with indignation, for the ninth time, the black anniversary of the Turkish generals' coup of 1980.

The putsch of September 12, 1980 was a ferocious attack on the acquired democratic rights and freedoms, setting loose an unprecedented State terrorism marked mainly by the arrest of more than 630,000 people, mass trials, executions, tortures, dissolving of the Parliament, banning of political parties, trade unions, associations and newspapers and the impoverishment of the working people.

The present regime "à la turque", despite the holding of a few elections since 1983, is still characterized by the constant violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Particularly:

- Thousands of progressive and democratic people are still in military and civil jails.

- Innumerable mass trials continue before State Security Courts. Furthermore, many military tribunals set up by the junta continue to try thousands of people despite the lifting of martial law.

- Tribunals still pronounce capital punishment against political people and Turkey remains the only European country which keeps this inhuman penalty in its legislation. More than 200 capital punishments are on the agenda of the National Assembly and about 500 are still being dealt by the Court of Cassation.

- Daily practice of torture in interrogation centers and inhuman treatment of political detainees in prisons are still the object of complaints by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations,

- Political parties of the working class and the Kurdish people are still banned.

- Political rights of former socialist leaders are still suspended, while the right-wing leaders such as neo-fascist Türkes are taking part in political life and heading their new parties.

- Socialist people who attempt to set up legal political parties are the object of persecution.

- Social and trade union rights, as admitted by the ILO, are still extremely restricted.

- The progressive trade union center DISK is still excluded from labour relations and its leading members still face heavy prison terms at the Military Court of Cassation.

- Journalists are constantly harassed by the state security courts and left-wing publications are often confiscated and banned.

- Many journalists who have been condemned by military tribunals are still in jails.

- Academic autonomy has not yet been restored and universities are still subject to the barrack discipline of the Higher Education Council (YÖK).

- More than 1.6 million people are still recorded as "suspect". They are still deprived of the right to work in a public service or to travel abroad.

- More than 14,000 people are still deprived of Turkish nationality. Many political refugees who return to their country are immediately arrested and sent to state security courts.

- National, cultural and religious rights of the Kurdish population and Christian minorities are not respected. Turkish Kurdistan is under the occupation of two thirds of the Turkish Army's troops and is subject to state of emergency under the exceptional rule of a "super-governor".

All these practices show that the wounds opened during the three years (1980-83) of the military dictatorship are still very far from being healed.

Issuing this new pamphlet we wish to make public the real face of the so called "democratization" in Turkey.

POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN TURKEY

The year of 1989 marks a serious blow to the regime established by the military and the beginning of a political upheaval in Turkey. The local elections held on March 26th resulted in a genuine rout for Prime Minister Özal. His party won only 21.88 per cent, way behind *the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP)* and *the Correct Way Party (DYP)* which respectively obtained 28.36% and 25.37%.

When the current 21.88 per cent score is compared with the 41 percent it won in the last local elections five years ago, nobody can minimize Özal's defeat.

The ANAP's most serious setback in the elections for mayors, municipal councils, and local representatives was the loss of big city power bases, including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya and Adana. Sensational among these is Istanbul, Turkey's biggest city, which the ANAP incumbent had expected to win with a landslide. The mayor, Bedrettin Dalan, is possibly the most popular politician in the country, yet he saw the ANAP vote crumble and the Social Democrats take the seat.

Since the working people of the urban areas have lost at least 50 per cent of their purchasing power because of Özal's monetarist policies and the inflation, running at around 70 per cent, could not be brought down by Özal, such a result in big cities is not at all astonishing.

"The vote was clearly a protest against the government's inability to curb inflation. This peaked in November at an annualised rate of 87 per cent, falling back in February to 72 per cent. Turkish voters have become increasingly disenchanted with Özal's neo-Ottoman, opulent lifestyle, and distanced, personnel rule surrounded by his family and

close advisers. Added to this have been rumours of nepotism and corruption in government." (*The Financial Times*, March 28, 1989)

"Özal's trick card -the threat that unless the voters continue to choose him the country might go 'back to the years when there was blood in the country'- has not worked. It convinced the bankers and the IMF more than his own people. The side-effects of this sort of modernization are as familiar in Turkey as in large areas of the Third World." (*The Guardian*, March 30, 1988).

The scores in big cities exceeded the Social Democrats' expectations. Of the two Social Democrat parties of Turkey, the real winner is no doubt the *Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP)* which obtained 28.36 per cent of the vote. As for the former social-democrat prime minister Bulent Ecevit, his *Democratic Left Party (DSP)* stayed under the bar of 10 per cent.

The following table shows the distribution of social democrat votes in the provinces where the proportion of wage-earners in the population (in brackets) is rather high:

PROVINCE	SHP	DSP	TOTAL
Istanbul (70.66).....	34.81	13.84	48.65
Ankara (60.46).....	36.15	7.14	43.29
Kocaeli (55.83).....	27.13	14.04	41.17
Izmir (54.41).....	45.49	7.58	53.07
Adana (45.57).....	31.72	7.30	39.02
Zonguldak (44.34).....	23.84	19.77	43.61
Eskisehir (41.66).....	36.45	5.01	41.46
Hatay (40.44).....	33.53	9.36	42.89
Icel (38.29).....	34.80	5.80	40.60
Gaziantep (35.42).....	34.70	4.52	39.22
Tekirdag (35.11).....	33.56	14.97	48.53
Kirklareli (34.60).....	32.04	13.70	45.74
Edirne (31.62).....	30.81	19.92	50.73

Although the social democrat movement seems as the most powerful candidate for governing the country after a new legislative election, it is still suffering from internal quarrels.

First of all, the votes are divided between two parties. For the

moment, there is not any sign of unification or cooperation between the two parties.

Secondly, the SHP itself has not yet be able to put an end to the feud between its two factions. Since Deniz Baykal became Secretary General of the party, left-wing party officials have been fired from their posts. The party direction went so far that even a member of the Turkey-EEC Joint Parliamentary Commission was expelled from the party for having defended the Kurdish people's rights at Strasbourg.

Though the SHP came out as the first party of the country at the last local elections, the left-wing fraction maintained SHP lost popular support and votes in five provinces where Baykal's anti-democratic disciplinary practices disappointed left-wing voters.

AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE LEFT STILL OUTLAWED

Since the military coup of September 1980, an important part of the Left has been outlawed and many left-wing organizations are carrying out their action semi-clandestinely despite the government's claim that Turkey enjoys a pluralist democracy.

The Turkish press reports that 120 outlawed organizations are currently active in the country. According to the data provided by the General Directory of Security, out of these organizations 74 are labelled "extreme-left or separatist", 38 "fundamentalist", 6 "extreme-right or racist", 1 "Armenian extremist" (Asala), 1 "Christian extremist" (Witnesses of Jehovah).

Of course, many fictive "organizations" have been included in this list with a view to convincing the public opinion that law and order are still being threatened by a great number of "clandestine organizations."

In fact, the outlawed left in Turkey is currently divided into several currents.

Pro-Soviet current:

The main representative of this movement is *the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)*, founded in 1921 and banned since then. After the military coup of 1980, this party was joined by *the Workers'*

Party of Turkey (TIP), one of the legal socialist parties of the pre-coup period, and changed its name into *the United Communist Party of Turkey (TBKP)*.

However, a fraction of the TKP led by a group in England, refusing this merger as an attempt of liquidating the party, continues to name itself the Communist Party of Turkey.

Another branch of this current, *the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP)*, which was equally legal prior to the coup, has been carrying out talks with the TBKP leadership in a view to unite all Pro-Soviet currents within a single organization.

In the same category are also active *the Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B)* and *the Communist Labour Party of Turkey (TKEP)*.

Pro-Chinese current:

Represented by the Workers-Peasants Party of Turkey (TIKP) prior to the coup, has recently been organized within a new legal party, *the Socialist Party (SP)*. Since a legal procedure against this party was turned down by the Constitutional Court, the SP is for the time-being the only legal political party in the Turkish left.

However a group of intellectual has, contesting the party leadership, recently left this new party. Publishing the monthly *Sosyalist Birlik*, they advocate the unification of different Marxist movements in a new political party

Another faction of this current, loyal to the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung and against the present line of the Chinese leadership, is the Communist Party of *Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP-ML)*. Advocating armed struggle, they carry out guerilla warfare especially in the Turkish Kurdistan.

Pro-Albanian current:

Represented by *the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP)*.

Independent revolutionary currents:

Beside the above-mentioned four currents near to different ideological centers of the communist world, a high number of extra-parliamentary left groups claim themselves independent of foreign

influence and strive for developing a socialist struggle conforming to the realities of the country.

By the origin, many of them are the emanation of the legendary guerilla organizations of the years 70s: *the Popular Liberation Party/Front of Turkey (THKP/C)* and *the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO)*.

The most representative ones of these organizations are *the Revolutionary Way (DEV-YOL)*, *the Revolutionary Left (DEV-SOL)* and *the Liberation (KURTULUS)*. Since these three organizations were the most influential and combative in the popular areas before the military coup, the State terrorism has taken them as the principal target.

In this category take place also some other little groups which are inspired by the militancy of the THKP/C and the THKO.

Reflection groups

In addition to the existing political parties and groups, many left-wing reflection groups, for a few years, have been developing projects to unite all socialists within a unique political party. These groups are composed of some former party leaders or socialist intellectuals.

The most spoken ones of these groups are those which have been set up around former TIP leader *Mehmet Ali Aybar*, Professor *Sadun Aren*, Professor *Yalcin Kucuk*, Trade Unionist *Sirri Ozturk*, Editor-Writer *Murat Belge*, Editor-Writer *Metin Culhaoglu*, Editor-Writer *Ragip Zarakolu*, former youth leader *Ertugrul Kurkcü*, etc. and voice their views by the means of periodical reviews or books.

A few *Trotskyist* groups too take part in this reflection.

Kurdish organizations

In addition to this left-wing organizations, a number of Kurdish political parties have been striving for the recognition of national rights of the Kurdish people.

The most powerful of these Kurdish organizations inspired by Marxist views is *the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK)* which is currently carrying out a guerilla warfare in the Turkish Kurdistan.

The other Kurdish organizations: *the Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TSKP)*, *Ala Rizgari, Rizgari*, *the Vanguard Workers Party of Kurdistan (KOIP)*, *the National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK)*, *Kawa*, and *the Democratic Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKDP)*.

Legality: At what price?

For about two years, the pro-Soviet TBKP has been carrying on a campaign with a view to obtaining a legal status in Turkey.

Inspired by the *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* actions in the Soviet Union, the TBKP has renounced its former ideological and political positions and claimed to be a "national party". Declaring that it is no more against Turkey's presence in NATO and is favorable to Turkish adherence to the European Communities, the TBKP seeks a dialogue with other political forces of the country, even with the ANAP, for amending the 1982 Constitution.

To this end, two top officials of the party, Nabi Yagci and Nihat Sargin returned to Turkey in 1987, but they were arrested at their arrival. Their trial at the State Security Court of Ankara is still going on.

In another move to convince Turkish authorities of the "sincerity" of its claim to turn into a "national party", the TBKP has recently shut down its two clandestine radio stations, "Voice of the TKP" and "Our Radio", broadcasting from the DGR.

As for the other left-wing groups, they contest the TBKP's way of seeking "legality" and reproached the pro-Soviet leaders to give concessions to Turkish authorities in ideological and political plans. They refuse a "legality" at whatever price.

Instead, they give the priority to the reunification of all socialist forces, including the TBKP, on the basis of a more radical programme compatible with the realities of the country. It is only after the realization of such a unity that, they claim, the socialist movement of Turkey can obtain its legality without giving any concession to the rulers of the present regime.

EXTREME RIGHT'S ELECTORAL SCORES

In a pamphlet entitled *Extreme-Right in Turkey*, Info-Türk already exposed the spectacular rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey, especially after the 1980 military coup. This rise has been confirmed in many occasions in 1989 such as the Salman Rushdie Affair, Islamic headcover actions and especially the local elections.

In fact, the two legal political parties of the extreme-right made impressive gains in the March 26 local elections, winning eight provincial capitals. Particularly the gains of the Islamist RP show that an important part of fundamentalist votes are now leaving the ANAP and returning to the ranks of their former leader Erbakan, whose *National Salvation Party (MSP)* had been disbanded by the military regime after 1980.

Erbakan's new *Welfare Party (RP)* won five mayoral offices, including Konya, the fourth largest city in Turkey. In addition to Konya, a traditional stronghold of the Islamic fundamentalist movement, RP also won the mayoral offices in provincial capitals of Kahramanmaras, Sivas, Sanliurfa and Van as well as in 15 townships and 48 municipalities.

Erbakan and other executive members of MSP spent at least two years in jail after the military coup in 1980. They were finally acquitted of charges of heading an organization aimed at setting up a state in Turkey based on Islamic law.

RP increased the number of nation-wide votes it won from 7 percent in 1987 to 9.8 percent in the last local elections. In a national election, a party taking a minimum of 10 percent of the popular vote may take a seat in Parliament. The percentage of votes polled by RP is even higher than the 8.5 percent rate that went to MSP in the 1977 general elections.

The ultra-right *Nationalist Labor Party (MCP)* of Alparslan Turkes also managed to increase its share of the electorate. Like Erbakan, Turkes spent four years in prison after the coup on charges of inciting violence in Turkey. Turkes, whose *Nationalist Action Party (MHP)* was disbanded by the military regime in 1981, had polled 6.4 percent of the national vote in the 1977 elections.

Polling 4.2 percent of the nation-wide vote, MCP won the mayoral offices in three provincial capitals, 10 townships and 11 municipal administrations. It won mayoral offices in the provincial capitals of Yozgat, where the ultra-nationalist movement has always been strong, Elazig and Erzincan.

Konya's new Islamic fundamentalist Welfare Party (RP) mayor has , in an apparent effort to make municipal regulations comply with the Islamic code of behavior, implemented a segregated bus service

for male and female university students. Two buses were put into service in Konya on April 10, 1989, to carry students from the city center to the Selcuk University campus. One of the buses carried the sign "For Girl Students."

A group of male and female students boarded the bus for girls in protest against the practice of segregation. Male students argued with the driver. The driver had to take all the students to the campus when the male students refused to get off the bus.

The new regulation has given way to protests from secular circles. The rector of Selcuk University in Konya, Prof. Halil Cin, refused to allow the segregated buses on campus, saying the decision to segregate female students is "primitive and against contemporary civilization."

"The previous administration of the municipality also tried to start a separate service for the girl students. We have resorted to this practice to solve the problem of crowded buses in an economical way. Anyone can get on the bus he or she likes," said the mayor at a press conference Wednesday. Urun, showing a number of "For Girl Students" signs and said these were prepared before he took office, said: "Those who are against this practice should explain their reasons without giving way to their emotions."

Before Urun, the post of mayor in Konya was occupied by a member of Özal's ANAP.

Urun also explained his plans to set up a women's hospital in Konya with all female personnel. "My wife gave birth to her baby in England at a similar women's hospital. Why are all these women's hospitals in England, the United States and Europe considered contemporary and plans to set up a similar one in Turkey taken as a sign of backwardness?" asked Urun.

Sener Battal, one of the top executives of RP, said on April 12 that the matter was distorted by the press. He said there is no connection between the new bus service and the principle of secularism. "Girl students are not able to get on the buses during rush hours. Those who can get on the bus have to be squeezed in with the male students. This situation has led to complaints by the parents and the students themselves," said Battal.

"The mayor cannot segregate boys and girls in buses that belong to the public. There is an investigation going on about the

matter. If the girls want to go to school separately they should hire a minibus" said Özal Thursday replying to reporters questions after his meeting with President Kenan Evren.

Erdal Inonu, the leader of the main opposition Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), said mayors should not indulge in actions which violate secularism. "Secularism is the basic principle of the republic. The mayors should respect the basic principles of our society," said Inonu.

Just the controversy over the segregated bus services was developing, Halil Ibrahim Celik, the Welfare Party (RP) mayor of Sanliurfa was arrested on April 16, for claiming that he was neither a supporter of Kemal Ataturk nor of secularism.

Celik was in Ankara with 79 other RP mayors to attend a meeting with party chairman Necmettin Erbakan. At the meeting, the RP mayors threatened to resign if legal action is taken against Konya Mayor, author of the segregated bus service. Çelik defended his colleague, saying Urun acted in goodwill. "But this was unpalatable for those who call themselves modern women. The circumstances have brought us to a stage where they might demand common bathrooms for men and women," added Çelik.

The Sanliurfa mayor said he was neither a supporter of Ataturk nor a believer in secularism. "I am just a Moslem," he said in a television interview with a West German television station. In the first constitution of the Turkish republic put into force in 1924 there was no such concept as secularism, Çelik argued. "In the 1924 constitution, Turkey is referred to as an Islamic republic," Celik claimed.

Following the publication of Celik's remarks by the press, Nusret Demiral, the chief prosecutor of the Ankara state security court, ordered the arrest of the mayor. Demiral also ordered a search in Celik's houses in the southeastern town of Sanliurfa. Police sent to Ankara 287 volumes of religious books found in Celik's two houses. No other evidence was collected.

Celik caught the attention of the press shortly after his election to office on March 26 when he submitted a statement on his wealth to election authorities, as required by law. He included two wives and nine children on the list.

PROTESTS AGAINST SALMAN RUSHDIE'S BOOK

The world-wide outcry over publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* lately reached Turkey. Unlike other predominant Moslem countries, at the beginning, Turkey did not experience any violent or extensive protests against the book. But a few weeks later, reactions against the Constitutional Court's ban on Islamic-style dress on Turkey's campuses coincided with the growing of anger against Salman Rushdie and gave way to fundamentalist mass demonstrations throughout Turkey.

Prior to mass demonstrations, Özal had been asked to comment on Rushdie's book after he bid farewell to his Iranian counterpart Mir Hussein Moussavi who was in Turkey on an official visit. The prime minister refused to comment. A spokesman for the Department of Religious Affairs also refused to give an official stance to persistent reporters.

As for General Evren, he had hinted, after returning from India, that Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* would probably be banned from publication in Turkey. "But I am not in a position to say what should be done," Evren told journalists.

Evren added that some people can do extraordinary things in order to achieve fame in the world. "It is not only fame. There is also the financial aspect of the matter. This person (Rushdie) resorted to unbelievable sensation, with all the mass media in the world helping him. His book is now selling for \$200. What more could he expect in terms of promotion? The Department of Religious Affairs is now studying the book. Probably the appropriate authorities would ban the publishing of the book in Turkey. The Ministry of Interior has such authority. The book can be included in the list of banned publications," said Evren.

Regarding local support for Khomeini's call for Rushdie's murder, Evren said: "Turkey has been a secular republic since 1923. Our people will not take the behavior of a few people like them seriously because all the new generations have a firm footing in Atatürk's principle of secularism. Masses of people in Turkey with open allegiance to Atatürk's principles won't let others violate it."

Meanwhile, Yusuf Özal, the prime minister's younger brother

and a state minister, suggested he saw an opportunity for more business with Iran now that it has been isolated by the West.

The first considerable reaction to Rushdie came on February 23, 1989, when an Islamic leader called for Rushdie's death for insulting Islam and the Koran. "I am willing to kill him and I'm prepared to face any punishment," said Halil Korkut, Mufti of Osmaniye, in an interview with the daily *Cumhuriyet*.

Meanwhile a religious preacher from the Mersin area, Gulcin Tavsan, reportedly said "those who take sides with the Satan will be punished," adding she supported killing Rushdie. Besides, a lawyer from the Mersin Bar Association accused the Islamic Welfare Party's (RP) mayoral candidate in Adana of saying Rushdie should be murdered, the newspaper reported.

Mass demonstrations against the Constitutional Court's ban on Islamic-style dress took on a more popular character on March 10, 1989, after Friday prayers. People coming out of mosques in Istanbul, Ankara and Adana staged protest marches, shouting slogans against President Evren who filed the suit at the Constitutional Court demanding it repeal the law allowing Islamic attire at the universities. (See: *Info-Türk*, February 1988).

"Evren, Rushdie hand-in-hand!" shouted some demonstrators.

Several thousand demonstrators gathered at the main entrance of Istanbul University after Friday prayers and defied police orders to disperse. Women in chadors waiting in front of the university in a separate group did not join the men as they began marching toward the Grand Bazaar.

"Evren resign!" "Head scarves will not be taken off!" shouted the crowd.

Instead of using force to disperse the demonstrators, the police pleaded with them to obey the law.

The police finally went into action near Sultanahmet and dispersed the demonstrators. Police detained 25 people, but all were released afterwards.

In Adana, a group of 600 people, including women, staged a similar demonstration. When the demonstrators did not obey police orders to disperse, riot squads charged on them with night sticks. Police said 20 people were arrested on various charges.

In Bursa, demonstrators protested the head scarves ban and Salman Rushdie's book after Friday prayers. Police detained four people.

In Ankara too, a crowd of about 1,500 men gathered at the Haci Bayram Mosque after sending telegrams of protest from the Kizilay post office to the Constitutional Court, the Parliament and the prime minister's office.

Shouting slogans like, "Break the hands that want to take off the head scarves," "Death to Rushdie" and "Down with the British and Israeli Zionism," the crowd began walking towards Ulus Square.

When the police ordered them to disperse peacefully, some of the demonstrators shouted back, "Aren't you Moslems, too. Join us!" Finally, police charged with night sticks, arresting 18 people and dispersing the crowd.

On March 12, 1989, demonstrations continued in Istanbul and Ankara. Police used force to disperse demonstrators in the capital after a meeting organized by the Islamic fundamentalist *Zaman* newspaper. The meeting, which was called "Koran Symposium '89," drew some 1,500 people to the Kocatepe mosque after noon prayers. They refused to budge from their places after the mosque orderlies announced the meeting was over.

"People are praying inside and your noise is disturbing worshippers," said the announcements.

About 60 women in chadors managed to move the crowd, which then began a protest march on the streets. From time to time the marchers argued with policemen, claiming they were not demonstrating. After walking from Kocatepe to Haci Bayram mosque, the second largest mosque in the Turkish capital, the demonstrators dispersed.

The demonstrations continued on March 14 in Adapazari, a town 200 kilometers (124 miles) southeast of Istanbul. Police arrested 25 men and women. Several protesters were badly beaten by police using night sticks. Six of the demonstrators were formally arrested next day by the local court. The remaining 19 were released.

In Istanbul, a group of women in Islamic dress gathered on March 14 in front of the university campus and began collecting signatures for a protest letter. They defied police threats that they would be dispersed by force if they did not stop. However, police did not act

against them and allowed the group to stay at the entrance of the university until evening.

Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP), said that the demonstrations constituted "popular reaction within the, limits of the law." He said he was against banning head scarves. Oguzhan Asilturk, the party's general secretary, praised the protesters as "glorious fighters."

OTHER FUNDAMENTALIST ACTIONS

The rise of fundamentalism in Turkey manifested itself once more in May during the first prayer at the newly-opened Cezeri Kasim Pasa mosque in Cagaloglu, Istanbul's press center.

On May 5, the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadan, thousands of fundamentalists flocked to the mosque, stopping traffic and beating up journalists on the pretext of marking what they called "Jerusalem Day."

The faithful, most of them wearing beards, green coats without lapels and skull caps, stopped the traffic on the busy thoroughfare for hours when they used the streets for Friday prayers. When the prayers finished the crowd began shouting slogans and tossing pamphlets into the air.

The pamphlets, which began ""In the name of God", declared that the last Friday of the holy month Ramadan is a day of struggle for all Moslems who must take back Jerusalem from Israel.

The demonstrators began marching toward the main office building of the daily Hürriyet about 70 meters from the mosque, chanting slogans such as "Down with Zionists", and "Police are with us."

In front of the Hürriyet building, the crowd protested what they termed the pro-Zionist policies of the newspaper. Several photographers who were taking pictures of the demonstrators were attacked by the group. Other reporters trying to cover the events in Cagaloglu were chased away by the demonstrators.

The police did not move to stop the attack on the journalists.

After the demonstrators cleared the Cagaloglu Square, a group

of newspaper reporters left their cameras on the street in protest of the actions of the police. Besides, journalist organizations carried out a series of protest demonstrations in Istanbul, Ankara and Adana.

Prime Minister Turgut Özal told reporters that they should not exaggerate what happened in Cagaloglu.

TEHRAN BEHIND THE PROTESTS?

Since the outbreak of the controversy over head scarves, Iranian newspapers and other mass media have been persistently attacking President Kenan Evren and Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the republic who introduced the principle of secularism.

On March 13, about 600 women students clad in chadors held a demonstration at Tehran University carrying placards in Turkish in support of the Islamic fundamentalist students in Turkey.

"We are protesting the banning of Islamic attire in universities in Turkey," "We are in the same trenches with our Moslem Turkish sisters," "No Moslem women without cover," read the slogans written in Turkish on the placards carried by the Iranian students during the demonstration.

"Head scarves are the symbol of freedom, their absence is slavery," "The colonialists of the world are afraid of the head scarves," "Islam is our way," read others in Persian.

The students also shouted "Khomeini leader, Allahu Akbar."

A student in a chador read a six-point declaration during the demonstration attacking Atatürk and Evren and vowing to react against every Turkish official visiting Iran as long as the ban on Islamic attire remains in Turkish laws.

In a commentary broadcast on March 14, Tehran radio said those who opposed head scarves in Turkey were "the lackeys of America and imperialism."

Thereupon, Manouchehr Mottaki, the Iranian ambassador to Ankara, was summoned to the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry and was said that mass media commentaries on the head scarf ban and demonstrations in Iran were considered as an intrusion into Turkey's domestic affairs.

However, this diplomatic quarrel did not prevent the Turkish government from lowering of Turkish flags to half-staff on June 5-6 to mark the death of Ayatollah Khomeini has led angry reactions in opposition circles.

Turkish law says the prime minister's office is entitled to declare days of national mourning when the Turkish flag can be lowered to half-staff. However, until now the star-and-crescent has been lowered only during the funerals of heads-of-state of friendly nations, and on November 10, the anniversary of the death of Kemal Ataturk, founder of the Republic.

Tufan Dogu, deputy general secretary of the main opposition SHP, reminding that Khomeini insulted Ataturk on every possible occasion, said: "The lowering of the Turkish flag on the death of Khomeini -who has no official title in Iran except that of religious leader- is nothing less than irresponsible. What Khomeini did in Iran was not a revolution, but a mass murder. We deeply deplore the government's decision to lower the flags."

The government was also criticized for lowering the Turkish flag before the NATO Headquarters in Brussels. Only the Turkish star-and-crescent among the flags of 16 NATO allies was at half-staff in Brussels on June 5-6.

ISLAMIC INVESTMENTS IN TURKEY

Whatsoever is the role of Iran in the recent religious actions, the real force behind the rise of fundamentalism is no doubt the growing economic power of Islamic capital.

Islamic fundamentalism's economic activities in Turkey are getting more and more uncontrollable in Turkey thanks to the Özal Government's encouraging attitude. It should be reminded that many ANAP officials and government ministers are adherents to Turco-Islamic Synthesis. Within the total foreign capital invested in Turkey, the Islamic countries holds a share of 8 percent. At the end of 1988, the number of companies founded with the participation of Islamic capital reached 309 of which 134 are shared by Iraq and 31 by Saudi Arabia. The total

capital invested by Islamic countries is estimated at 64.3 billion TL. (*Cumhuriyet*, 21.2.1989)

One of the main Turkish partner of these companies is Korkut Özal, brother of the Turkish Prime Minister. He is the principal shareholder of Akabe Insaat, Özal-Bayraktar Oil and Chemical Products Co., Hak Investment Co. and Akoz Commercial Advisory Co. He has also a share of 0,1% in Al Baraka, principal international investment company of Saudi Arabia. (*Milliyet*, 12.1.1989)

Islamic capital appears as the most eager in the field of foundations. While there were 754 foundations in 1984 in Turkey, their number rose to 1237 in 1988. The new 483 foundations' properties are estimated at 300 billion TL. At least 10 percent of the new foundations have been founded with religious purposes. (*Cumhuriyet*, 6.2.1989)

Islamic foundations' growing control in the field of education is seriously menacing the principle of secular education, one of the main pillars of the Republican state. The number of Koran courses throughout Turkey rose to 4,691 in recent years. 633,000 children learn by heart the Koran in Arabic language, without understanding its meaning. (*Cumhuriyet*, 23.1.1989). Meantime, these courses, mainly founded and directed by Islamic foundations, form children according to the Shari'a (Islamic law) principles.

As for the official religious high schools (Imam Hatip Okullari), their number rose to 384 in 1988, while it was 384 in 1980. Accordingly, the number of students educated by these schools rose from 178.000 to 290.000. (*Cumhuriyet*, 9.1.1989) The majority of these students are lodged in the dormitories belonging to Islamic foundations.

A group of Islamists, led by former TV director Karatas, has taken the initiative in founding a private university, Bezm-i Alem, to operate on the basis of Islamic principles. (*Hurriyet*, 30.1.1989)

And some more figures on the rise of fundamentalism in Turkey:

The number of the personnel employed by the Religious Affairs Directory was raised from 53,582 in 1984 to 84,717 in 1988. Every year at least 1,500 new mosques are being built throughout Turkey. Five mosques and seven small mosques have been opened in five universities of Ankara. The daily circulation of an Islamic daily newspaper climbed to 132,000 and that of an Islamic children magazine to 100,000. The number of the people who go to Mecca to make the pilgrimage climbed from 30,450 in 1984 to 285,724 in 1988. (*Cumhuriyet*, 23.1.1989)

THE ARMY REMAINS THE REAL MASTER OF THE REGIME

As political upheaval is growing, the Army continues to remain as the real master of the regime. When Islamist militants took to the streets, Army chief Gen. Necip Torumtay paid an unexpected visit to President Kenan Evren on March 10, 1989, as saying the army forces were following the fundamentalist students and their supporters.

In a telephone interview with the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, Torumtay said the issue of wearing head scarves on the campuses became a political matter. When asked whether he thought there is a clandestine organization behind the protest demonstrations by Islamic fundamentalist students, Gen. Torumtay said: "I don't have a definite opinion. But it is a possibility." Torumtay was also asked whether the National Security Council (MGK) would hold a meeting before its scheduled date because of the demonstrations. The council is a semi-military advisory body. "I don't think so. However, it is up to the president to decide whether to hold such a meeting. The agenda of the meeting is fixed by the general secretary of the MGK following the president's approval. So I am not in a position to comment on this subject," said Torumtay.

Despite the mild tone used by the army chief in his replies to *Cumhuriyet*, his remarks led to speculation in political circles and the press that an army intervention is possible if demonstrations get out of control.

On March 12, the army headquarters issued a written statement saying that Torumtay's answers in the telephone interview led to different interpretations in the press. "The Turkish armed forces have full allegiance to parliamentary democracy and they are aware of their role and their duties within the constitutional regime," said the written statement. It also said the armed forces serve the democratic and secular state as an integral part of the nation.

On March 13, in a written statement distributed by his press secretary, Evren said he did not approve of involving the armed forces in political issues. "The president believes that it is natural for institutions and persons who sincerely believe in the merits of the democratic system to be sensitive toward secularism," said the statement.

It also said Evren thinks the statement by the army headquarters a day earlier was clear and left no room for misinterpretations.

However, Hurriyet said in March 13 issue that Prime Minister Özal has been under pressure from the army since the first week of January when the nation's top generals attended a dinner with a high placed civilian government officials and aired their complaints.

According to the newspaper, the officers told the unidentified official that their complaints should not be taken as an attempt by the military to intervene in the government's business. But they said the armed forces were concerned about the upsurge in religious movements and religious education in the country. They said secular norms established by Kemal Atatürk in national education should be observed in the educational policies of the government.

Top-ranking officers also complained about the behavior of four cabinet ministers whom they said were encouraging religious movements in the country.

MILITARY INVESTMENTS IN TURKEY

Although for the first time in Turkey's recent history the government announced cutbacks in the defense budget, few days after it had to cede before the pressure coming from the Army chiefs.

The headquarters of the Turkish General Staff had asked the government to allocate a total of 4,258 billion TL (\$2.1 billion) for defense in the coming fiscal year. During the current fiscal year 2,399 billion TL (\$1.23 billion) has been allocated to national defense.

The government announced it would provide only 3,500 billion TL (\$1.8 billion) for defense in line with its plan to reduce government spending drastically so that inflation could be brought down to around 20 percent by 1992.

After the announcement of defense cutbacks, General Necip Torumtay, the chief of the Turkish general staff, met with Özal explaining to the Prime Minister that the government's plan might pose certain risks for national security.

On the Army's pressure, the prime minister agreed on a total of 3,883 billion TL (\$2.04 billion) for defense spending in the coming year.

Turkey comes fourth after the United States, Greece and Britain within the NATO in terms of military spending, according to the latest issue of the magazine *Military Balance*.

The magazine, published by NATO, said military expenditures in the U.S. constitute 6.4 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP). In Greece the ratio is 6.3%. Britain and Turkey spend 4.9% and 4.7% of their GNP respectively for military purposes.

The defense industry development administration (SAGEB) plans to complete in 1989 five out of 13 priority defense projects. The \$10 billion projects are all open to investment by international and local companies.

A high frequency radio project, under discussion for 13 years, is one of the five priority schemes; it will cost an estimated \$700 million. There are three contenders for the contract: Plessey and Marconi from Great Britain, and Siemens from West Germany, but the real competition is said to be between the two British companies.

A light transport aircraft project, costing \$100 million is the second scheme. Bids were received last year from four contenders: Casa (Spain), DeHavilland (Netherlands), Nord America (USA) and Air Italy (Italy).

A mobile radar project is required urgently by the Turkish armed forces, and entails the procurement of 14 advanced radar units. This project is estimated to cost \$100 million. Westinghouse, General Electric and the Aydin Corporation (USA), Plessey/Marconi (Great Britain), Thomson CSF (France) and Sellenia (Italy) recently submitted their best final offers for the project.

Another priority project is for 35mm gun radar. A training plane project will be integrated with the light transport aircraft scheme.

Negotiations will also be started with the supplier of the light transport aircraft for 50 training planes.

There are six other schemes which will be spread over 1990 and consecutive years.

These projects are: F-16 radar project (estimated cost \$80 million), low altitude air defense scheme (\$75 million), mine sweepers project (estimated cost yet to be established), F/4-E modernization scheme (\$50 million), M/113 modernization project (\$150 million), composite fuel rocket engine project (\$100 million).

SAGEB signed two of the 13 contracts last year. One of them, for armored personnel carriers, is with the U.S. company FMC, and the local Nurol group. The other is for the local manufacture of F-16 aircraft. The formation of a corporation with foreign capital involvement for the carrier project is continuing.

Another phase of the contract for the F-16 project relating to the aircraft's electronic equipment was signed with the U.S. Loral Corp. 111 electronic warfare systems will be assembled for the 160 F-16s manufactured in Turkey. This bidding was finalized in December following fierce competition among four companies, three American and one British.

With a view to accelerating the collaboration with foreign armament industries, the Defense Industry Development Administration of Turkey (SAGEB) organised a second International Defense Equipment and Aviation "IDEA-89" fair in Ankara on May 2, 1989, with the participation of nearly 30 foreign countries. An estimated 5 trillion TL (\$2.5 billion) worth of equipment was displayed during the five-day event.

On the other hand, the Ankara Government has accepted the United States plans to modernize the monitoring equipment in the Pirinçlik Base in Diyarbakir. Pirinçlik is one of the major US bases in Turkey monitoring communications and military activities in the Soviet Union and the Middle East.

The Pentagon has been asking for permission to modernize its equipment at Pirinçlik for the past two years, but Turkey has refrained from giving the go-ahead, using cuts in US military aid to Turkey as a pretext.

The Foreign Ministry said permission was restricted to Pirinçlik and did not cover other US bases such as Incirlik in Adana and other smaller stations on the Black Sea Coast.

PRIVILEGES OF TURKISH OFFICERS

The Turkish army officers are among the most privileged soldiers of the World. In comparison with other public servants, the income level of army officers is extremely high.

For example, an Army major can get a net salary of 495,306 TL per month, while a senior school teacher hardly get 293,114 TL and a civil engineer 245,865.

An army general gets 1,092,889 TL net per month. When he is retired, he gets a total of 15 million TL as retirement premium and continues to get a monthly net salary of 926,400 TL. (*Hurriyet*, 5.7.1988)

It should be reminded that the minimum monthly wage for a worker is only 85,000 TL and this sum hardly climbs to 250,000 TL for a senior qualified worker.

Besides, all Army officers and NCOs are shareholders of a giant finance holding, OYAK (Armed Forces Mutual Aid Foundation). In addition to their different material advantages, each gets a profit share from this holding which has investments in all economic sectors. According to the annual report to the Shareholders Assembly of June 1988, its annual profit climbed to 33.5 billion TL in 1987, while it was 10.5 billion TL in 1986. The value of its properties is estimated at 74 billion TL. OYAK distributed to its members in uniform a profit share of 63.9% in 1988. The Assembly decided to make more investments in the war industry.

Following the example of the US business, the big Turkish companies too began to engage retired army generals in their service with a view to getting lion's share in the affairs related to the growing war industry.

The daily *Milliyet* of September 29, 1988, revealed the names of 30 former army generals who are currently either in administrative boards of companies or military advisors.

Prime Minister of the military government between 1980-83, Retired Admiral Bulent Ulusu is in the service of Aksa Co. Gen. Dogan Ozgocmen is engaged by Yapi Kredi Bank, Gen. Namik Kemal Ersun by Kullutas Construction Co., Gen. Recai Baturalp and Gen. Talat Cetiner by Tekel Co.

Their payments rise to 10 million TL (\$5,000) per month with salaries, different kinds of supplementary allowances and shares in profit. (*Milliyet*, 29.9.1988)

A giant venture recently set up in the tourism sector is shared by former Army generals. This venture named Kamelya Tourism Co. has already bought estates of 305,000 square meters in the Manavgat district, at the Mediterranean Coast, and plans to construct there the biggest tourist complex of the country. Among the founders of the company are also former Air Force Commanders Tahsin Sahinkaya (member of the 5-man military junta in 1980) and Halil Sozer, former Gendarmery Commander Mehmet Buyruk, former Land Forces Commander Kemal Yamak as well as General Evren's daughter and son-in-law. (*Milliyet*, 21.4.1988).

A NEW MILITARY INTERVENTION?

Turkey today is being governed a political party which hardly obtained 21.88% of the votes at the March 26, 1989 local elections. The logical consequence of this electoral rout of Özal's *Motherland Party (ANAP)* will no doubt be a change in political power, because the Prime Minister is finding it increasingly difficult even to make his party obey his instructions, let alone the bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, the results of the last local elections and the ongoing opinion polls show that none of the existing political parties can obtain the vote necessary to form a single-party government, even if the elections are to be held in accordance with the current Electoral Code which allowed the ANAP to get 65% of the seats in Parliament though it got only 35% of the vote at 1987 legislative elections. Furthermore, it is too naïve to think that Özal will go to the polls without changing this electoral system which may doom his party to a catastrophe. A new system which can save the ANAP from staying out of Parliament will no doubt favour the representation of smaller parties such as the *Democratic Left Party (DSP)* of Ecevit or the *Welfare Party (RP)* of Erbakan as well. And this will be to the detriment of the SHP and the DYP.

So, a new period of coalition governments in Turkey seems inevitable.

Whatever be the outcome of the future legislative elections, the restoration of political stability seems rather difficult. Considering these facts, one may ask if the military can intervene again in political life as a "referee" and suspend the process of "democratization" for an indefinite period.

The Army's a recent proposal aimed at setting up a paramilitary territorial defense force similar to the National Guard in the United States has given rise to speculations on this subject.

The project, which is still being finalized in the Ministry of Defense, was discussed first at a meeting of the National Security Council, composed of army chiefs and the cabinet ministers responsible for defense and security matters. Despite the return to civilian rule, it is this council that determines, by the virtue of the 1982 Constitution, the policies as regards national security.

According to the plan, the territorial defense force would be made up of civilians who have undergone military training for short periods of time. It will be responsible for services behind the front-line, such as defending strategically important facilities, helping communications, assisting intelligence gatherers, protecting from enemy sabotage, and controlling the refugees and prisoners of war.

All men between 40 and 60 years of age and women between 20 and 40 will be eligible for mandatory service in the territorial defense force for a week to ten days every year.

The law also asks that those who refuse to respond when they are called to service to be punished with prison terms ranging from six months to two years and fined not less than 50,000 TL (\$30).

When the details of the proposal are ironed out, the plan will be put to a vote in Parliament.

Former prime minister Demirel showed a strong reaction to the idea of a new paramilitary force. "Isn't the 800,000-strong army enough? The people are now forced to undertake additional responsibilities. There is no point in imposing responsibilities on civilians in a country which feeds the fifth biggest army in the world," he said.

Cumhuriyet columnist Ugur Mumcu expressed the concern of many when he wrote about the counter-guerilla department which functioned under the headquarters of the general staff in the 1970s. At

that time the members of this department were blamed for torturing left-leaning Turkish intellectuals.

The Counter-guerilla Department played a sinister role in the preparation of the military coup d'état of 1980. By instigating political violence and protecting extreme-rightist Grey Wolves, this department took the country to an instability which was used a pretext of the coup by the military. (See: *The Black Book on the militarist "democracy" in Turkey*, Info-Türk, 1986, Brussels)

"Could the paramilitary units envisaged today be used as a political force when strains increase? Or will the civilians in these paramilitary units one day stray from their original task with political motives and become the armed wing of a certain political party or organization? We have gone through bitter experiences in the past. That is why we are overly cautious today," Mumcu wrote.

An Islamist daily, *Zaman* of May 16, 1989, raised the following remarks concerning a possible military intervention:

"Özal seems to have decided to completely get rid of the possibility of another coup in Turkey. Appointing armed forces command staff himself instead of leaving the choice to the generals was an important step for Özal. Serious efforts have been made to limit the authority of the bureaucracy and non-elected state bodies.

"But recently we have witnessed the government being scolded by the Constitutional Court, the High Election Board, Supreme Administrative Court and the High Board of Radio and Television. For the past year President Evren and Özal have been in open confrontation with each other before the public. Turkey is drifting toward an atmosphere reminiscent of periods preceding military coups; workers and students are out on the streets; Özal does not have firm control over his own party; the opposition parties are increasing the pressure on the government.

"Although Turkey is still far from the possibility of a coup, none of the politicians can say there will be no more military takeovers in Turkey."

