



"CONSTITUTION" MADE TO MEASURE!

As the state terror was escalating with the arrest of the former social democratic premier Ecevit, the military rulers of Turkey have also accelerated the process of the preparation of the new constitution which will lay the foundations of an authoritarian civil regime to succeed the actual military one.

Following his wrathful speech of Bursa which gave the military prosecutor the green light to rearrest Ecevit, General Evren doubled and even tripled his attacks on democrat politicians in his two other successive speeches.

On April 18, in his address in the city of Balıkesir, reiterating that in the present "transition period" political activities would not be allowed, the chief of the military junta said: "Those who insist on doing the opposite (engage in political activity) and chase after future political investments, will be subjected to legal prosecution and the punishment they deserve."

In the same speech, the chief of the Junta hinted that even after returning to the civilian rule, the military will not hesitate to intervene in again, if necessary: "Many citizens want to know that will happen if after we leave, the country comes to the same point (a crisis situation). Do not be afraid... You will get rid of those who might be responsible (for new crises). Also remember that there are other forces at your side who will protect this country."

Five days later, in a message on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, actually dissolved, General Evren attacked again democrat politicians such as Ecevit whose arrests are protested by the European democratic forces: "I am following with grief and indignation the efforts of those who once clamoured for full independence... Forgetting how they brought this country to the treshold of an abyss, they are attempting to take Turkey back to their kind of democracy by getting foreigners to put pressure on Turkey and by playing that part of informants against their own country."

OUTLINES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Loyal to the will of the military rulers who designated themselves as the law-maker, the members of the Consultative Assembly started in April to draw up the text of the new constitution.

Although the Speaker of the Consultative Assembly, Mr. Sadi Irmak said "the world will not come to an end if the constitution is not prepared by autumn," Constitutional Commission Chairman, Professor Dr. Orhan Aldıkaçtı said on April 25 that the new Constitution would be presented to the Consultative Assembly before September 1982.

Since its designation in November 1981, the Constitutional Commission has led "data collection" activities.

31 out of 160 members of the Consultative Assembly, governors of 51 out of 67 provinces of Turkey, 37 universities and higher education institutions, supreme courts, pro-governmental workers' union Türk-İş, employers' associations such as TISK, TÜSIAD and the Union of Chambers, some banks and professional associations have given their views on new constitution to the Commission.

With the purpose of taking the views of the "man in the street", the Commission decided to conduct a poll involving some 200,000 people, but the National Security Council prevented this limited opening to the public opinion on the pretext that the 1982 budget of the State Statistics Institute did not contain funds to realize such a poll.

As known, former political leaders of Turkey have been deprived of the right to declare their opinions on the future constitution. The NSC has permitted the Constitutional Commission to seek the opinions of political party members who had not taken part in the administration of the parties they were attached to. However no political party member has been approached for views although two months have elapsed since the permission was issued.

On the contrary, the organizations of businessmen have freely expressed their views on the future constitution by publishing well printed pamphlets.

For example, the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Commodity Exchanges declared that the authorities of the executive power should be increased and a Council of the Republic should replace the defunct Senate of the Republic. The businessmen have asked also that Turkey's political regime should be closed to communism and the Turkish state should be run according to the principles of Atatürk and Turkish nationalism.

They say: "The position of the Head of State should be more powerful than under the 1961 Constitution and the Head of State should be able to suspend the constitution for a while by declaring a state of emergency when unable to cope with emerging internal and external threats. The Head of State should also have the authority to make appointments and to control some of the autonomous institutions... And the new constitution should protect the rights to private enterprise and property."

Other organizations of businessmen such as the Confederation of Employers Unions (TISK) and the Association of Industrialists and Businessmen of Turkey (TÜSIAD) have issued similar proposals for the Constitution. Among them are also the restrictions on the right of workers to organizing in trade unions and to strike.

In fact, these proposals are generally identical with the directives given by the Chief of the Junta in his inauguration speech and other statements.

Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, Aldıkaçtı repeated on April 6 that the rejection of some of the principles laid down by General Evren's speeches would be impossible. In another interview appeared in the news-

./..

KEMALISM AND MILITARISM

As all democratic organizations are being subjected to different forms of repression, "Kemalist Eten Association" which had been constituted last year on the encouragement of the military junta, held its first convention on April 11, 1982 in Ankara.

Chairman of the association, Mr. Baha Vefa Karatay announced at the meeting that the association had already been organized in 22 provinces and 14 districts and preparations were made for organizing also in 26 provinces.

This association claiming to be the real follower of Atatürk's ideas is considered as the nucleus of the political party to be formed by the actual military rulers.

Besides, the National Security Council had decided earlier to constitute *Ata-Birlik* (Ata-Union) to determine the principles of kemalism (statürkism). Presided by General Evren, this new institution will open branches everywhere in Turkey. Even after returning to the civil rule, all governments will be obliged to act within the ideological framework drawn up by the *Ata-Birlik*.

DANGEROUS STREET NAMES

The Municipal Council of the city of Denizli has decided to change the names of streets in conformity with the ideological orientation imposed by the military regime. Among the names which are considered against this orientation are also *Barış Caddesi* (Peace Avenue), *Emek Caddesi* (Labour Avenue), *Hürriyet Caddesi* (Liberty Avenue), *Devrim Caddesi* (Revolution Avenue). They were renamed after some historical figures of the Ottoman Empire's period.

MILITARIZATION OF THE EDUCATION

A retired Air Lieutenant General, Burhan Göksel was appointed to the head of the Education and Training Department of the Ministry of Education. (DN-5.4)

The Education and Training Department of the Ministry of Education has decided to insert sayings of Atatürk in the text-books of schools of all levels. Teachers will be obliged to replace all text-books from the educational year of 1982-83 by the new ones which contain Atatürk's sayings. (C-17.4)

ARMING THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Council of Ministers decreed that the members of the Consultative Assembly were authorized to carry fire-arms as long as they keep this post which was accorded them by the National Security Council. (C-16.4)

papers of April 26, Aldıkaçtı said: "The new constitution will assign the necessary authorities to the head of state for the solution of problems such as those faced before the September 12 Operation. The Head of State will be given the power necessary for the solution of crises, such as the authority to dissolve the parliament and to declare a state of emergency."

In answer to a question asking if any of the recently issued legislations be included in the new constitution as articles, Aldıkaçtı stated that those found suitable could be incorporated, and added that the last word lay with the National Security Council.

Regarding reports of the establishment of a Council of Republic attached to the Head of State, Aldıkaçtı said that he had put forth this proposal to avail of the knowledge and experience of "eminent" personalities to assist the Head of State in times of crisis.

He underlined that the principle of nationalism would be incorporated into the new constitution as part of Atatürk's principles.

The only item the Commission is unable to clarify as yet is the place of the NSC members in the new constitution. According to Aldıkaçtı, it is probable that the NSC (actual 5-man military junta) will continue to exist and function after the return to the democratic system at least for a short period of time.

This anti-democratic procedure of the preparation of the new constitution provokes reactions even among the members of the rubber-stamp Consultative Assembly. At the sitting of April 20, Assembly member Nuri Özgöker said: "It is time for the Consultative Assembly to assume responsibility. All views on the Constitution should be brought to the Assembly after a preliminary grouping, where the principles can be determined. The Constitutional Commission may later draft the text along these principles".

But among the 160 members of the Assembly, this kind of critical attitude is limited to a few persons, and the rest are still conscious of that they were designated as "law-maker" for putting in the text of the new constitution all directives of the military junta and the big business. They do their best in order to make the new "constitution" to measure drawn up by General Evren!

POLITICAL GROUPINGS

The Anka newsletter of April 27, 1982 reports that "The various interest groups as well as their political representatives have started jockeying for position at the projected political structure for Turkey's 'new democracy'. The major newspapers will be the centrepieces for the new political groupings..."

These various interest groups express their political ambitions through daily newspapers such as *Tercüman*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Güneş*.

As the daily *Tercüman* reflecting the views of the defunct Justice Party circles is advocating to reconstitute traditional political structures, the daily *Güneş*

boasting immense funds of the new rising financial holding *Cavuşoğlu/Kozanoğlu Group* defends the idea of creating a secular, western-oriented centrist party to safeguard the interests of the big business without neglecting the maintenance of "social peace". The ANKA newsletter says: "The seemingly paradoxical co-existence of 'starts' with diverging political backgrounds and orientations are now being given new interpretations in the light of emerging military preferences for a strong 'Kemalist Block'."

It is useless for the time-being to talk of the perspectives of the legal political groupings of communist and social-democrat forces who are considered Enemy No. 1 by the military junta and the big business. As said by Evren, "there would not be room for communist party"; furthermore, even a social-democrat party just as the Republican People's Party of Ecevit is being treated as a component part of the communist movement of Turkey.

BUREAUCRATIC REFORM

On April 13 at the Consultative Assembly, a designated member, Muzaffer Ender launched the campaign for restructuration of the Turkish bureaucracy by saying: "The bureaucracy is reducing the speed of Turkey's development. Now there is bureaucratic anarchy in Turkey. Despite the sincere attitudes of the National Security Council and Prime Minister, the attitude of bureaucracy is a source of sorrow for us. These state servants who have the inclination not to accomplish their duties properly are sabotaging September 12. They should either learn the meaning of September 12, or go..."

This remark was followed by the challenge of Vice-Premier Turgut Özal at the Budget-Planning Commission of the Consultative Assembly: "The reform of the state administration is a subject on which studies were made for years. The point of importance is to put this reform into practice, that is to say, as Alexander the Great, one should cut the Gordian knot!"

At the end of his speech, Özal asked the authority in the force of law in order to cut the Gordian knot.

The remedies for the "bureaucratic anarchy" are resumed by the daily *Güneş* of April 16 as follows:

- Instead of creating cadres for the jobless people, the capable persons should be chosen for existing cadres.
- The living standard of the state employees should be raised.
- The number of the general directorates should be decreased.
- The local problems should be solved in its locality instead of the capital.

As a first step in this sense, the National Security Council started to study on the possibility of subjecting all state employees to a single Personnel Law. Actually different categories of the state employees are engaged in service according to 19 different laws.

STATE TERROR

ECEVIT UNDER ARREST

On the accusations formulated by General Evren, Bülent Ecevit, former prime minister of Turkey, was taken into custody by the martial law authorities on April 10, 1982, for the interview he had accorded to the West German news magazine *Der Spiegel*. Although the military judge of the 2nd Martial Law Tribunal re-

jected the prosecutor's request for the arrest of Ecevit, on the objection of the martial law command, the 3rd Martial Law Tribunal issued the warrant for his arrest.

On April 26, the 1st Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara issued a second warrant of arrest for Ecevit on the pretext of a letter he wrote to a Dutch journalist which was later used in BBC broadcast.

The trial of Ecevit at the 2nd Martial Law Tri-
..

bunal started on April 29 for the first accusation. During his interrogation, Mr. Ecevit said: "I do not believe in necessity of suspending democracy for stopping terror."

On April 20, Ecevit was questioned by the military prosecutor also for the bloody incidents provoked by the fascist groups attacking the funeral of local party chairman who had been assassinated by "Grey Wolves".

The Interrogation of 138 former deputies of the defunct Republican People's Party was started on April 27 at the offices of the military prosecutors of Ankara and Istanbul martial law commands. They are accused of having collaborated with the DISK leaders and supported resistance acts of workers.

Two deputies of the CHP, Ertugrul Günay and Temel Ateş, were arrested on April 10 by a military tribunal in Ankara and sent to Erzurum. They will be tried there within the cadre of the trial of Dev-Yol for their alleged links with this organization in Fatsa.

A PARTY LEADER CONDEMNED

Mr. Mihri Belli, Chairman of the Labour Party of Turkey (TEP) was condemned to one year prison term by the 3rd Martial Law Court in Istanbul for an allocution he gave at the meeting of the party's central committee in 1979. The verdict was given on April 2 in his default since he has been in clandestinity since the military coup d'état. Mr. Belli is one of the veteran communist leaders of Turkey and the TEP had already been banned by the Constitutional Court before the coup.

CONDEMNATION OF A MINISTER

Turkey's Supreme Court sentenced on April 13, to 9-year and 8 month in prison former minister Hilmi Işgüzar for "corruption and abuse of his official position for financial gain". The court also fined Işgüzar 5,2 million TL (\$ 35,000). Another minister of Ecevit's government, Mr. Tuncay Mataracı had been condemned in march to life-imprisonment by the same court.

The National Security Council ordered on April 29 an investigation against former minister of Industry of the actual military government, Mr. Sahap Kocatopçu for similar accusations.

SCANDAL AT THE FUNERAL

The funeral of the former foreign minister Turan Güneş who died on April 3 after a heart attack give the possibility to the partisans of the defunct political parties to manifest their sympathy for their leaders and their desire for a civilian rule. Thousands of people gathered before the Faculty of Political Sciences in Ankara where Mr. Güneş was professor before entering in political life. Thereupon, the ceremony before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was annulled at the last moment and while actual foreign minister and the ministry staff were waiting for the funeral procession, the hearse was transferred directly to Istanbul without stopping there.

DISK TRIAL RESTARTED

The trial of 52 leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade-Unions of Turkey (DISK) restarted on April 14 at the 2nd Martial Law Court in Istanbul.

The military prosecutor added one more defendant to the case and read at the first sitting the supplementary indictment about him, Mr. Ahmet İsvan, is

accused of using the means of the municipality for aiding the DISK's actions.

At the second session, the military judge started to interrogate the defendants. The interrogation of Mr. Abdullah Baştürk, Chairman of the DISK, continued until the end of the month.

On a question about the way which he prefers for the passage to socialism, Baştürk said: "I am a member and former deputy of the Republican People's Party (CHP). The political view of the CHP is known by all. Since the CHP was a mass party, there were in it democrats, progressive ones, social democrats as well as the partisans of a democratic socialism. I have democratic socialist views, just as those of the Socialist Party of Mitterand and of socialist and workers' parties of other European countries."

Because of the arrest of principal defence lawyer of the DISK Trial, Mr. Orhan Apaydın, the 53 accused trade-unionists are being defended by other lawyers. The objection of the lawyers against the procedure reminding the *Inquisition*, was rejected by the military court.

Another demand for the release of 122 other trade-unionists of DISK was also rejected on April 2. They will be reportedly judged in another mass trial.

On the other hand, the military junta ordered another investigation about the bank accounts of 107 DISK officials opened since 1st January 1975. The inspectors study also the accounts of their relatives.

As to the case of the Turkish Peace Committee, on April 14, famous painter Orhan Taylan was also incarcerated and the number of the members put in jail reached to 25. Others are still in clandestinity.

On April 13, eight persons were brought before the 3rd Martial Law Tribunal for having hidden Fehmi Işıklar, Secretary General of the DISK, after the military coup.

2 NEW MASS TRIALS FOR WORKERS

One of the biggest mass trials started on April 15 at a military tribunal in the city of Amasya. 510 out of 989 miners of the Yeni Çeltik Lignite Mines are accused of participating in the Dev-Yol activities. Among defendants are also 105 peasants, 49 tradesmen or handicraftsmen and 18 teachers. The military prosecutor requested 64 death sentences.

13 officials of the Tüm-Maden-İş (Metal Workers' Union) were brought before the 3rd martial law tribunal in Istanbul on April 22. Imprisonments up to 10 years requested.

New trials were opened in April by military prosecutors against progressive people and death sentences were requested for 187 of them. So, the total number of the capital punishment demand has reached to 4,476 at the end of April 1982. In the following list of the new cases, numbers of the demands of death sentence are mentioned in parantheses just after the number of the accused:

- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): 16/4 in Amasya: 510 (64)
- Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): 20/4 in Erzurum: 172 (34)
- Kurdish Organization KAWA: 1/4 in Istanbul: 42 (14)
- Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit (MLSPB): 25/4 in Istanbul: 114 (42)
- State Employees' Association (Tüm-Der): 7/4 in Istanbul: 8 (-)
- Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP): 9/4 in Ankara: 48 (-), 16/4 in Istanbul 82 (-)
- Communist Party of Turkey/Union (TKP/B): 4/4 in Adana: 12 (-)

- Cadets of War Academy: 11/4 in Ankara: 29 (-)
- Rightists: 4/4 in Istanbul: 3(3), 3/4 in Erzurum: 142 (30)
- People's Clubs: 30/4 in Ankara: 17 (-)

CONDAMNATIONS

Within last month, the military tribunals have given many condemnations for political detainees and condemned 17 persons to death.

Distribution of death sentences to organizations: Popular Liberation Party/Front of Turkey (THKP/C) 7, TKP/ML 2, Kurdish organization TEKOSIN 2, Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) 1, Dev-Yol 2, Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol) 1, National Liberation Army (UKO) 1. Two other persons were also condemned to death for non-political crimes.

Condemnations to imprisonment: TDKP 11, Path of the People (HY) 3, THKP/C 37, TKP/ML 10, Dev-Sol 1, Tekosin 3.

And it is the first time since the military intervention, a person condemned to death for a criminal case was executed on April 22 in Sakarya. With the execution of Sabri Altay, number of the victims of capital punishment reached to 15.

MAN-HUNTINGS

The Ministry of Interior announced that, through the informations obtained by the Data Collecting Center, more than 60,000 persons were detained in 1981.

Within one month period of April 1982, the security forces claimed to detain 99 members of the TKP, 29 of THKP/C, 24 of TDKP, 67 of Dev-Yol, and 298 persons from other organizations.

NEW REPRESSIVE MEASURES

Minister of Interior Cetiner announced on April 3 that the number of police officers would be raised from 50,000 up to 121,000.

The law project for setting up Mobil Police Forces in important cities of Turkey was taken on the agenda of the Consultative Assembly. On April 9, General Evren received a delegation of security officials and said the Turkish security organization had to go thorough renovation in the same way that the Armed Forces kept up with the changing times, by modernizing itself.

Also in order to raise the living standard of police staff, a Mutual Assistance Fund (POYAK) will be set up by a governmental decree.

The Minister of Justice announced at the Consultative Assembly that 67 new prisons would be built in Turkey within coming one-year period.

As to the justice, the Code of Martial Law Regime was changed once more by the National Security Council on April 20 and the obligation of reading full text of indictment at tribunal was suppressed in order to accelerate the judging of more than 50 thousand political prisoners.

ORGANIZATIONS UNDER HEEL

The Council of Ministers has sent to the Consultative Assembly a new law project aiming "to protect the professional organizations against harmful currents".

Even before the adoption of this law, the military junta had already banned many democratic organizations and arrested their leaders.

Recently, the remaining professional organizations go under the heel. Some rightist members of the Union of Engineers and Architects of Turkey (TMMOB) applied on April 8 to the National Security Council for

opening an investigation about the infiltration of "subversive" elements into this organization.

On April 8, the Martial Law Commander of Ankara forbade the celebration by the Architects Unions of Ankara the anniversary of Mimar Sinan, greatest Turkish architect lived four centuries ago.

Interior Minister Cetiner announced on April 8 that an investigation was started against the Foundations of Language and History.

Ministries of Rural Affairs and Cooperative opened on April 20 a law suit for closing down the Köy-Koop, progressive cooperative organization of peasants.

With the purpose of getting under the control the youth, the Council of Ministers prepared a new law project. According to the text, all youth organizations existing until today will be dissolved and a single central youth organization will be set up under the supervision of the government. The youth of Turkey will be represented in Turkey as well as abroad only by this organization entitled "National Council for Youth Services".

TORTURE

A Kurdish writer living in exile in Sweden claimed on April 5 that 38 Kurdish nationalists, detained in the prison of Diyarbakır, had been tortured to death a few days earlier. The monthly newspaper *Demokrat Türkiye* reported that in the night of March 21, the principal defendant of the Case of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK), Mr. Mazlum Dogan was killed under torture in his cell and 12 other detainees were also shot dead.

On April 26, the Turkish Foreign Ministry admitted that two detainees in the Diyarbakır Prison were really found dead, but denied the death of other 36 persons.

The *Demokrat Türkiye* reports also that three other persons had been tortured dead in other regions: A person named Isa in the district of Unye (on March 5), Vakkas Dogru in the district of Araban (March 7) and Süleyman Seker in the district of Dönova (end of February).

The 428 defendants of the Dev-Sol Trial at the 2nd Martial Law Tribunal in Istanbul continue to reject coming to sittings unless their torture allegations are not taken into consideration.

At the trial of TKP in Ankara, on April 2, defendant Ali Aras said that he had been put in confinement because of his defence made at preceding session.

Same day, at the trial of TDKP, two defendants asked to be transferred to hospital for the reason of torture, but their demands were rejected.

The defendants tried in Ankara and Izmir for participation in the acts of the Revolutionary Vanguard of People (HDO), declared that all depositions had been taken from themselves under torture.

On April 15, the women prisoners tried at 2nd Martial Law Court for resisting against orders of prison command revealed that they had been beaten, insulted and left hungry by soldiers.

TWO CONFESSIONS FOR SAME ACT

Two different groups are tried at different tribunals for the assassination of a goldsmith in 1979 in Ankara. While Bünyamin Karaman, Adalet Erbaş and Süleyman Sagol are being judged for this assassination at the 3rd Martial Law Tribunal of Ankara, at the trial of 574 defendants of Dev-Yol Trial opened recently, Ali Baspınar, Alper Tunga, Levent Yakıs and Mehmet Baha Cetintas are also accused for the same act. Both sides have already assumed responsibility of the assassination at their police interrogation!

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST TORTURERS

1 Superintendent, 7 policemen and 2 night-guards were brought before the 3rd martial law tribunal of Ankara for having tortured members of the TDKP in August and September 1981 in Kırıkkale.

Army Captain Falk Ağah Uner, Sergeant Gazi Gündoğdu and Dr. Nebi Ziya Akkan were condemned on April 1st, to 36-year imprisonment each, for having killed under torture three peasants, Ali Orcan, Mustafa Orcan and Mehmet Kodak. The victims had been arrested on July 10, 1980 in the town of Misis.

The military prosecutor of Ankara opened proceedings against 11 policemen of the Political Section of Ankara Police Department for killing a detainee under torture.

CONFESSIONS OF TORTURERS

Police officer Ekrem Ozbey said on April 3, at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara: "All interrogations at the Police Headquarters are made under tor-

ture. I also participated in some torture practices. Later on I resigned from the police service."

At the 1st Martial Law Court of Ankara, police officer Rahman Gümrükçü said on April 6: "If the detainee does not say the truth, he is subjected torture and then interrogated once more."

At the trial on the death of publisher İlhan Erdost, on April 16, witnesses said that the sergeant and soldiers at the Mamak Military Prison beat each new coming detainee.

On April 19, Superintendent Tugman Aykın, witness of the Kurtuluş Trial at the 2nd Martial Law Court of Ankara, said that he made moral pressure on detainees in order to get deposition.

WHAT IS THE CRIME OF TORTURING TO DEATH

Decision of the General Council of the Military Court of Cassation; "The crime of torturing to death can be established if the author of this act really intended to do it in a cruel manner and if the victim really suffered from cruelty as dying". (C-24.4.1982)

CULTURAL LIFE

QUARREL OF SENSATIONAL PRESS

As the progressive press is totally condemned to silence, the sensational daily press of Turkey has been engaged in a quarrel of circulation by using all means.

Especially after entering in the arena of the daily *Güneş*, launched by the powerful finance holding Kozanoğlu/Çavuşoğlu Group, the quarrel of circulation has turned into the war of influence in economic and political fields.

Hürriyet, the oldest one of the high-circulation newspapers, did not hesitate to denounce its rival, *Güneş*, to General Evren, for giving a news in spite of the interdiction of martial law authorities.

But the result has been worse for *Hürriyet*. The military authorities have not touched *Güneş*, on the contrary they obliged *Hürriyet* to publish on April 11 an apology for some expressions used in the text of the denunciation.

NEW CASES AND CONDEMNATIONS

The military prosecutor opened a legal proceeding against lawyer Burhan Apaydın and the responsible editor of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, Mr. Okay Gönensin, on 1st April, for the text of appeal against the arrest of lawyer Orhan Apaydın. The prosecutor claimed that there were expressions in the text which insult his colleague.

Nazlı Hıccak and Aydoğdu İter were interrogated by the prosecutor on April 2, for violating the NSC Decree No. 52.

Responsible editor of the *Savaş Yolu*, actually forbidden, Mr. Mustafa Sayim was condemned on April 5, to 7,5-year prison by the 2nd Martial Law Court of İzmir.

The Council of Ministers banned, on April 16, the diffusion of 22 publications printed abroad.

Correspondant of the daily *Hürriyet*, Mr. Serdar Altıparmak was detained in the district of Kütahya on April 20, for having taken photograph of tribunal employees washing the private car of the judge.

A prison term given for writer Necip Fazıl Kısakürek was ratified by the Court of Cassation on April 23. He was condemned on the ground of defaming Atatürk.

A NEW MENACE TO UNIVERSITIES

The National Security Council modified the Law on Superior Education on April 20. The new law authorizes the Council of Superior Education (YOK) to dismiss any rector or dean without waiting the end of his normal term and without showing any concrete justification. President of the YOK, Prof. Dođramacı said on April 27 that whosoever does not respect the principles of Atatürk will be expelled from the university.

SOCIAL LIFE

While the progressive trade-union movement of Turkey was going under heavy repression, its counterpart, the Confederation of Employer's Unions (TISK) held its 14th general assembly in Ankara on April 8, to determine new labour policy of capital owners who have benefitted since 1980 from the suspension of working class' right to strike and realized high pro-

fit rates up to 200-300 pc. The Executive Committee of the TISK, headed by Halit Narin, claimed in its performance report that, in view of the 3 million unemployed, those who were lucky enough to find a job were a "prosperous minority" and being so should not ask for wage increases. This claim of employers caused a big noise even in the pro-governmental press.

And what is more, Mr. Omer Çavuşoğlu, co-chairman of the gigantic Kozanoğlu/Çavuşoğlu Holding, refusing this hawkish approach of Narin, announced that the Turkish business, defending liberal economy, should adopt an attitude to correct the ills of the social structure, and to this effect, should support trade unions and democracy.

Reflecting a similar approach, the Chairman of the Turkish Businessmen's and Industrialists' Association (TUSIAD), Ali Koçman said at the congress: "In the new order to be set up, we have to co-exist with the workers. As for workers, they will be by our side while claiming all their rights, exercising their rights to strike..."

These declarations have been commented by editorialists that the big business was not satisfied with the suspension of the trade-union activities and wished to allow workers to use their right to collective bargaining. There is nothing to be astonished at that; because, the big business, despite the fact that they obtained fabulous profits within two years, is afraid now of losing interior market for the reason of the fall of the buying power of workers. And they think that it is the time of giving some concessions to the labour.

A pro-governmental trade-union leader, Chairman of the Textile Workers' Trade-Union (TEKSİF), Şevket Yılmaz too talked at the congress and shared the "good will" of the big business. He said: "If you do not erect new factories, we, workers, will not exist anymore... Then, we, employers and employees, are bound to each other just like flesh and nail..."

However declarations of good will were not enough to settle the wage confusion. First of all, without the active participation of the DISK, it will never be possible to conclude a collective agreement to satisfy the workers. Since the military junta is decided to finish with DISK, a reliable counter-part at the desk of collective bargaining will not exist anymore unless the regime is not completely changed.

Secondly, the law projects prepared by the military government on labour relations will make it impossible to re-establish an equitable collective bargaining system. Furthermore, the same projects limit the sectors where a strike can be done and authorize the government to suspend any strike even in these sectors.

Thirdly, within the framework of the actual economic policies, it is impossible to find remedies for chronic unemployment and decreasing of the buying power.

According to a survey made by the Railways Workers Union, a worker is obliged to work for 14 hours and 12 minutes in order to be able to buy 1 Kg meat and 1 hour and 13 minutes for 1 Kg bread, while these durations were 6 hours and 17 minutes for meat and 44 minutes for bread in 1963.

The minimum monthly salary is still 9,618 TL (60 US \$), and Mr Side, Minister of Social Security and Secretary General of the Türk-İş declared that it is out of question to readjust the minimum salary until 1984. While the monthly salary rests at this level, a survey published in *Cumhuriyet* of 1st April shows that a family of 4 persons in Istanbul needs at least 24,950 TL (\$ 167) per month.

ECONOMIC LIFE

LAND AND AGRARIAN REFORM

The burning question of land and agrarian reform which could not be solved since the proclamation of the Republic came once more on the agenda of the "legislative".

Earlier, many attempts for realizing this vital reform have failed due to the pressure of the big landowners. The first Land and Agrarian Reform Law was enacted in 1973, subsequent to which implementation was started on a pilot-basis in the province of Urfa. After a considerable nationalization, however, the Law was repealed by the Court of Constitution in 1977. In the absence of a new law to substitute the previous one, a major part of the nationalized land could not have been distributed.

After the military coup d'état of September 12, 1980, international finance institutions such as the IMF and the OECD suggested the military government to realize this reform in order to eliminate feudal barriers in front of the bourgeoisie and to enlarge the internal market of the industrial sector.

Thereupon, the military government drew up a new reform bill to halt action against nationalization until a final solution is found.

But this new bill too was confronted with the pressures of the big landowners. The concerned commission of the Consultative Assembly, influenced by the lawyers of the landlords, first decided to delete the provision that said ongoing law suits against the nationalization of land would be suspended.

However, on the pressure coming from the NSC, the Consultative Assembly had to adopt the authentic text of the government with 64 votes to 22 against.

Subject to approval by the NSC, the draft bill says landowners can not claim rights over nationalized land until 10 years after such action. Also all law suits initiated previously will be suspended.

GOLDEN YEAR OF MONOPOLIES

The year of 1981 has been announced by Turkish newspapers as a "Golden Year" for monopoly capital.

According to the *Günaydın* of April 4, the percentage of the increase of profits in comparison with the year of 1980, registered by principal banks of Turkey as follows:

Ziraat Bankası 192.5 pc, Halk Bankası 124.5 pc, İş Bankası 65.8 pc, Akbank 92.9 pc, Pamukbank 124.9 pc, Emlak Kredi Bankası 323.3 pc, Türk Ticaret Bankası 18.4 pc, Osmanlı Bankası 54.2 pc, Yapı ve Kredi Bankası 170.5 pc, Dış Ticaret Bankası 677.8 pc, Töbank 90.7 pc, Hisarbank 169 pc.

Only İş Bankası distribute 1000 pc dividends to its shareholders.

The *Cumhuriyet* of April 7 reports that principal Turkish companies have distributed dividends to their shareholders in the following percentages:

Canakkale Seramik 200 pc, Sarkusyan 160 pc, Kav 150 pc, Bastas 110 pc, Anadolu Cam 100 pc, Good-Year 100 pc, İzcam 100 pc, Uniroyal 120 pc, Türkiye Sise Cam 90 pc, Kordsa, Koruma Tarım and Rabak 75 pc each, Bursa Cimento, Kartonsan 60 pc each, Akçimento, Çelik, Hektas, Koç Holding, Makina Tarım, Nasas, Olmuk, Plastifay 50 pc each.

The greatest rum-overs belong to Cukurova Holding, Koç Holding and Kozanoğlu/Çavuşoğlu Holding

which are respectively 394 billion TL (\$ 2,6 billion), 271,5 billion TL (\$ 1,8 billion) and 110 billion TL (\$ 700 million).

As for the state economic enterprises (KIT), accused always of being a burden to the economy, it is the first time that 27 out of 38 enterprises registered profits. The percentage of the profit is 43.33 pc for the Radio-Television, 34.77 pc for the Electricity Co-operation, 29.84 pc for the PTT, etc.

But this success of the banks, private companies and KITs has been registered, not because of a rationalization of functioning, but thanks to the ban on collective bargaining and strikes. What is more, the KITs have dismissed 18,500 workers in one year.

Another element of great importance in this process has been also the liquidation of smaller enterprises. According to the daily Cumhuriyet of April 5, the number of the firms declared bankruptcy has increased by 107 percent in 1981.

FOREIGN DEBTS

The Turkish Daily News of April 14 reports that

Turkey's total foreign debts are estimated at 18 to 19 billion dollars. But with new credits in the pipeline and interest payments to foreign debt burden goes up as much as 30 billion dollars.

Turkey repaid foreign debts totaling 3,15 billion dollars in 1981, of which 1,08 billion dollars went for interest payments and 2,07 billion for the repayment of the principal amounts borrowed.

FOREIGN BANKERS IN TURKEY

On the initiative of the Turkish Yapi ve Kredi Bankası (Construction and Credit Bank) and Euro-money, a seminar on "Turkey and World money markets" was made in Istanbul on April 14-15. 59 high level officials of 50 finance institutions from 15 countries participated in the seminar which was also attended by Vice-Premier Ozal.

Executive Board member of the West German Daimler Benz, Dr. Gerhard Giener speaking at the seminar said the incentives applied after 1980 were found to yield positive results and noted that a considerable potential for foreign capital existed in Turkey.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

TURKEY-USA

A US company and three Turkish state-controlled enterprises signed on April 13 a partnership agreement for a joint venture to manufacture electronics equipment in Turkey. The US Company, Aydın Corporation will have a 38.5 pc share in the new enterprise. The major partner is the Turkish Air Force Support Foundation with 51 pc ownership. The rest of the shares are distributed among the Turkish Electronics Industry Enterprise (TESTAS) and the Turkish Aircraft Industry Enterprise (TUSAS).

Initially, a plant to be built in Ankara would manufacture spare parts for existing military aircrafts. In time, if Turkey succeeds in developing its own aircraft manufacturing industry, the electronic part of these planes would be made at this new created Havelan-Aydın Plant.

On the other hand, a high level Turkish-American joint defense group, conceived during US Secretary of Defense's visit to Turkey last december, held its first

official meeting in Ankara on April 27-28. The group discussed the ways and means of modernization of the Turkish Armed Forces as to enable them to meet their NATO commitments.

TURKEY-EUROPE

Talks between Turkey and the EEC on anti-dumping taxes levied on Turkish cotton yarn exports to the Community ran into a stalemate at the end of march. The Turkish Foreign Ministry announced that since under these circumstances the 12 pc anti-dumping tax on cotton yarn continued, Turkey would start charging a 15 pc tax on steel products imported from the EEC.

However, during Ozal's visit to Paris on April 19, representatives of the European Commission, Mr. Davignon and Mr. Duchateau held talks with him and they have reportedly agreed on measures to end the dispute. But application of this principle agreement depends on the approval of each member countries.

SOLIDARITY

- An invitation by Turkey to the ceremonies of 20th anniversary of the Court of Constitution was accepted only by one country, Switzerland. France, Germany, Spain, Austria informed that they would not participate in ceremonies. Yugoslavia and Italy have not replied to the invitation. (9/4)

- On the initiative of the Democratic Lawyers' Association of Liège, 150 lawyers of different opinions sent an appeal to the Belgian Prime Minister, asking him to act for liberation of Mr. Orhan Apaydin. (13/4)

- The Turkish Government refused the demand of the Danish Premier Joergens to visit Ecovit in Turkey. (18/4)

- The Belgian Socialist Party organized a meeting in Gent on the subject of "Grey Wolves in Belgium and Fascists in Turkey". Two representatives of INFO-TURK also talked at the meeting. (22/4)

- The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)'s Congress held in The Hague, 19-23 April, adopted a resolution on Turkey asking immediate suspension of the Turkish membership in the Council of Europe. (23/4)

- The reopening of the DISK Trial in Istanbul was attended by many foreign observers: Lawyer F. Van Drooghenbroeck for the World Confederation of Labour, Lawyer Claude Larzul for the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. Also the Dutch FNV, Danish LO and Spanish UGT sent observers to the trial. Returning from Turkey, Mr. Drooghenbroeck and Mr. Larzul held a press conference in Brussels on April 26. (24/4)

- New member of the European Parliament, Mrs. Raymond Dury asked foreign ministers of the Community to complain jointly the Turkish regime to the European Human Rights Commission. (26/4)

- Neither the Parliamentary Assembly nor the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe took a firm stand against the Turkish regime at their meetings between 26-30 April in Strasbourg. At the Parliamentary Assembly, only Belgian deputy Claude Dejardin, Norwegian Deputy Liv Aasen and British Deputy Burtz asked questions about Turkey to ministers. As to the Ministerial Committee, it was contented with saying in its final communiqué that the situation in Turkey had been discussed.