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ELECTIONS OF NOVEMBER 6th
**a slap on the face
of the military**
(page 2)

TURKISH REPUBLIC IN CYPRUS

**a face-saving
fait accompli
of the military**

(page 4)



The people of Turkey voted on November 6, 1983, not for expressing its confidence in any of the three "privileged" parties, but for giving General Evren a slap on the face. Although the military junta, which has been ruling the country since the coup of September 12, 1980, was confounded by the voter's refusal to vote for its favorite party headed by another army general, the big winner is the IMF, which backed the party headed by its tried and tested collaborator in Turkey.

According to the official results announced on November 14, 1983 by the Supreme Elections Council, 18,214,104 voters, that is 92.27 percent of the total registered 19,740,500, went to the polling stations and casted their ballots. 885,369 of these votes (4.86 percent) were declared invalid, that is to say 95.14 percent of the participants, voted for any of the three running parties.

Party	Votes	p.c.	Deputies	p.c.
Motherland Party (Ana-P)	7,823,827	45.15	211	52.75
Populist Party (HP)	5,277,698	30.46	117	29.25
Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP)	4,032,046	23.27	71	17.75
Independents	195,164	1.12	-	---
Vacant	---	---	1	0.25
TOTAL	17,328,735	100.00	400	100.00

The voters rejected not only the military-backed MDP by putting it at the bottom of the list, beneath the HP, but also three out of seven ministers of the present military-backed government running as MDP candidates.

As indicated in our preceding *Bulletin*, the observers considered that the voters would manifest their reaction against this mockery of elections by refusing to go to the polling stations or, if they were forced to go, by casting an invalid ballot. The Correct Way Party (DYP) and the Social Democracy Party (SDP) which enjoyed more popular support than the three running parties and were denied the right to participate in the elections of November 6, launched a campaign for boycotting the polls.

Nevertheless, two days before the elections, a grave error of General Evren gave the voter the chance of manifesting his opposition to the military in another way.

The opinion polls carried out by some daily newspapers indicated that, despite the fact that about 40 percent of the persons whose opinion was asked were saying that they were undecided, the rest were in the opinion that the party of Ozal was much more preferable than that of General Sunalp. Besides, the election rallies of Ozal were much more successful than those of Sunalp.

At their debates and electoral speeches on television, Ozal was distinguished from Sunalp.

Thereupon, being sure that his "popularity" still existed, General Evren went on television in order to address the voters with a thinly-veiled appeal to support the MDP and not to vote for the Ana-P.

In effect, one year ago more than 90 percent of the electorate, having no alternative and being intimidated, voted for General Evren's election as "Presi-

dent of the Republic" and said "yes" to a constitution which provides the latter with extensive new powers. This vote was depicted by Turkey's official publicists and even by the world press as a sign of deep affection for the "man who rescued his country from the scourge of terrorism."

But one year later, that image was shattered.

Boycotting the elections turned out to be dangerous for the voter. General Evren declared that those who would not vote, are traitors or their puppets. The Interior Ministry announced that all those who make propaganda for the boycott will be prosecuted. And many people were arrested for distributing leaflets calling for a boycott. The military government banned the introduction into Turkey of 204 newspapers and periodicals published abroad, calling on the people to boycott the elections.

Instead of risking to be branded a traitor and, consequently to be detained, the voter preferred to give a clear slap at the Generals by rejecting the military's choice.

As emphasized by *The Guardian*, there cannot be any real doubt that it was the military who let in Mr. Ozal. By suppressing all other right-wing parties, including the supporters of Demirel who was Prime Minister at the time of the coup, the way was cleared for Ozal to pick up most of Turkey's conservative votes. Without a ban on his rival, the Correct Way Party (DYP), Ozal's party would perhaps have been confined to the sidelines. But in the absence of a reliable alternative, the conservative voters and even some centrist and left-wing voters thought that a vote for Ozal's party would be a vote for civilian political supremacy.

So, the MDP paid the invoice for the past 3 years' repression and unpopular economic measures carried out by the military.

The most paradoxical aspect of the election result is that the winner was, in actual fact, the principal author and mastermind of those unpopular economic measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

The day after the coup, *The Financial Times* of September 13, 1980 published the following commentary from its Washington correspondent: "Both the IMF and World Bank negotiations had been conducted very closely with a small number of former Premier Demirel's advisers, in particular Turgut Ozal, the Under Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. Ozal's fate will be a pointer to whether IMF and World Bank relations will continue smoothly with Turkey."

In actual fact, Turgut Ozal stayed at a key position as Deputy Prime Minister in the military government and a few weeks later, on October 5, 1980, he flew to Washington in order to reassure the IMF and World Bank directors. They soon proved satisfied with the economic policy led by the Junta, by approving a few weeks later fresh credits. (Info-Türk, *Militarist "Democracy" in Turkey*, October 1983).

Although he was compelled to resign from the post of Deputy Prime Minister, when a major scandal broke out following the bankruptcy of numerous brokers who had mushroomed up as a result of the application of the IMF policies, this withdrawal from the scene proved also to be an opportunity for the financial circles who were looking for a new "civilian figure" to represent their interests in the case of a "transition to a parliamentary regime". Just after his resignation, Ozal started to declare that he contemplated forming a political party able to achieve the mission of "returning to civilian rule". As a matter of fact, the ban on the political activities of the former conservative party leaders provided Ozal with the possibility of carrying out this mission. Although the military might have preferred to entrust a former army general, Turgut Sunalp,

with this task, the international financial circles, as they did just after the military coup, forced the military to allow Ozal to take part in the general elections. As it turned out, it is clear that Ozal has been more successful than Sunalp in recruiting a young and well-trained brain trust consisting of people who have the confidence of big business.

According to a survey published by the daily *Milîyet* of November 25, 1983, the average age of the newly elected Ana-P deputies is 45.

Out of its 211 deputies, 187 hold at least a university diploma. The distribution of these 211 deputies according to their professions:

50 architects and engineers, 45 lawyers, 40 economists, 15 doctors, 8 teachers, 7 high bureaucrats, 6 retired army officers, 5 pharmacists, 12 businessmen, 4 religious dignitaries, 2 farmers and 1 journalist.

On the other hand, because of his personal views which are close to those of the defunct fundamentalist party, MSP, of which his brother was one of the distinguished leaders, Ozal has also enjoyed the solidarity and indirect aid of the oil-producing Islamic countries.

During the two months' electoral campaign, the two right-wing parties used enormous funds for their American-style propaganda: whereas the total expenditure of the center-left Populist Party stayed at 26 million TL, the MDP spent 246 million TL and Ana-P 238 million TL. The daily *Cumhuriyet* highlighted the fact that the Ana-P collected within the last week preceding the polls a sum of 47 million TL, the sources of which have not yet been disclosed.

There is no doubt that the election result has been an unexpected blow for the military and, particularly, for General Evren's personal prestige. Nevertheless, as underlined by the *Wall Street Journal* of November 9, "the military has reason to rejoice in the election of a government that will hold an absolute majority in parliament, even if it isn't the government they preferred." Furthermore, "as deputy Prime Minister and economic overlord until the middle of last year, he (Ozal) worked comfortably with his chiefs."

In order to reassure the military, Ozal was quick to offer an olive branch to the Generals who sought his defeat. In his first post-election message to the nation, he said: "I thank the Turkish armed forces and the National Security Council for their efforts to establish law and order in the country and to restore democracy." Thereupon, General Evren who held hasty meetings with other military chiefs when the results of the elections first became known, received Ozal at the Presidential Palace and pointed out that the Motherland Party would be asked to form a government.

This was a compromise between both wings—military and civilian—of Turkey's ruling circles that relieved the Turkish businessmen as well as the international financial institutions. Yet, as it turned out, this was a precarious compromise.

In fact, whatsoever is the result of the elections, it is the military who will rule the country for at least five more years. According to the Turkish Constitution, General Evren, as President of the Republic, will retain a veto over the bulk of parliamentary actions. With his extensive powers (See: *Militarist "Democracy" in Turkey*), he will have the last say in both executive and judicial fields. Ozal may have some liberty of action on economic subjects as long as he remains loyal to the directives of the IMF, but the re-establishment of respect for human rights and basic freedoms is out of the Prime Minister's power.

But the coming government headed by Ozal, has another possibility for opening the road to the re-establishment of respect for human rights.

The Ana-P and the HP which surpassed the milit-

ary's favorite party thanks to the votes of those who do no longer support the anti-democratic practices of the military, have got the possibility of amending the anti-democratic articles of the Constitution. According to Article 175 of the Constitution the adoption of a proposal for an amendment shall require a two thirds majority of the total number of members of the Assembly. Although provisional Article 9 provides that, if the President of the Republic refers back the amendment for further consideration, the re-submission of the Constitutional draft amendment in its unchanged form to the President of the Republic by the Assembly is only possible with a three fourths majority of the votes of the total number of members. Well, this three fourths majority exists in the present composition of Parliament. In case of adoption of the amendment, the President of the Republic is empowered to submit it to a referendum. In view of the results of the latest elections, it is clear that the electorate will vote then for the bills amending the anti-democratic articles of the Constitution.

If the Ana-P and the HP are determined to remain in the political field as representative formations, they are obliged to initiate sooner or later this proceeding of amending the Constitution. Otherwise, at the elections, other political forces will easily be able to supersede them.

The military junta is very well aware of this fact. In order to maintain the supremacy of the military in state affairs—including after the general elections—it has already taken a number of measures, without waiting until the meeting of the elected National Assembly:

Acting as "legislative" power, it has extended the period of martial law for four months, adopted the laws on the Press, on Radio-Television, on the Constitutional Court. (See further details under the headline *State Terror*).

Acting as "executive" power, it has appointed to many key posts the yes-men of the military and extended for one more year the terms of the army officers who had been appointed to civil posts after the coup.

As soon as the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly will be formed, the 5-man military junta will be turned into the Presidential council. The Junta has continued to appoint army officers to the key posts in the Secretariat of the Presidential council which is headed by a former NATO commander. Simultaneously with adopting the law on the State budget of 1984, the NSC has increased the appropriation to the Presidential Palace from 352 million TL up to 969 million TL.

For keeping its supremacy, the military junta may resort to some political manoeuvres. Although the Ana-P and the HP have been the winners of the legislative elections, the Correct Way Party (DYP) of Yıldırım Avcı and the Social Democracy Party (SDP) founded by Erdal İnönü remain the mainstream right-wing and left-wing parties in Turkey, despite their exclusion from the elections.

Before the elections, one of the Junta members had tabled a draft bill aiming at excluding the DYP and the SDP also from next year's local elections. But, in the face of the success of the Ana-P and the HP, this draft bill was drawn back from the agenda. Therefore, the DYP and the SDP will presumably be allowed to participate in these elections. So, the military junta, after it took off its uniform, will be given the chance of weakening the prestige of the newly elected civilian leaders and of playing the role of an arbiter over the civilian political forces divided in three right-wing and two left-wing parties.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the future government headed by Ozal, will take over an economy which is in a state of complete stagnation.

According to a survey published by the right-wing daily *Tercüman*, the budget deficit has already reached 150,000 million TL this year and is assumed to rise to 500,000 million TL in 1984. The annual inflation rate has already approached to 50 p.c. The official number of fully unemployed people is about 4 million. Turkey's foreign debt has reached \$21,500 million; and the government will have to refund \$1,400 million in 1984. Furthermore, the downturn in export revenues and migrant workers' remittances is keeping on.

In addition to this situation, because of the accord for buying 160 F-16 warplanes, Turkey will have to pay \$4-5,000 million over a 10 years' period.

Lastly, the proclamation of a "Turkish Republic" in the northern part of Cyprus has already brought about another handicap for the future Ozal government. Because, it is the Ozal government which will have to endure the economic consequences of the diplomatic isolation caused by this decision taken with-

out Turgut Ozal's knowledge. So, after 3 years of military dictatorship, holding a mockery of elections has failed to bring political, economic and social stability to the country; on the contrary, Turkey has found herself again in a chaos caused by the suppression of the democratic institutions.

The only positive element which has emerged from this dark situation is the fact that the people of Turkey, despite all obstacles, has expressed his determination to resist a dictatorial regime.

In the coming months and years, world opinion will witness a permanent struggle in various forms—parliamentary or extra-parliamentary—between the people and the Armed Forces. There is no doubt that the latter will do all possible to bring about political instability in order to be in a position to play the role of an arbiter and, if necessary, to make another direct intervention in the political sphere, as they did prior to the September 12, 1980 military coup.

THE WORLD PRESS ON THE TURKISH ELECTIONS

"In public comments yesterday the election result was hailed as a triumph for the spirit of democracy. (...) The clearest indication of the poor judgement of Turkey's military rulers is that instead of welcoming Mr Ozal as an almost ideal civilian ally, they have turned his poll victory into a rebuff for themselves." (*The Guardian*, 8.11)

"Turkey still has some way to go before representative democracy is fully restored. Whoever is prime minister of Turkey no longer has the powers which once went with this office. Instead, the generals' new constitution has introduced a strongly presidential system." (*The Financial Times*, 8.11)

"If the national election was a clear slap at the soldiers, it is too early to say with certainty that it was a victory for democracy... With or without the election, President Evren retains a veto over the bulk of parliamentary actions." (*The Wall Street Journal*, 9.11)

"The election which lately took place in Turkey has nothing in common with similar events in democratic countries... One might as well say that this sort of democracy is all eyewash." (*La Nation*, 16.11)

"The protest of the Turks against the barracks-like democracy imposed on them by the military, could hardly have been more impressive... With catch-phrases such as 'Sunalp... Calp... Rap, rap, rap...', Turkish citizens used to scoff at the way the party leaders, charged with the task of forming the government and the opposition, were imitating the rhythmic tread of soldiers." (*Der Spiegel*, 14.11)

"Turkey is still far from being a democracy of the kind the Council of Europe, in particular, would like to see in each member country. And the large number of political prisoners, the systematic practice of torture as reported by Amnesty International, as well as the muzzling of the press are simply odious." (*Het Parool*, 8.11)

"The slap... On might say that by intervening directly, Evren will have driven the voters straight into the arms of Turgut Ozal. For the time being the question arises how the Generals ultimately will react on Ozal's poll success and on the slap the voters inflicted on them." (*Rheinische Post*, 8.11)

"The election result reveal that the Turks are weary of the military, hence Sunalp's failure... Ozal is keenly aware that, in the short term, he is likely to govern not against the Generals, but by being tolerated by them." (*Die Welt*, 8.11)

"But Ozal's election has to be interpreted, first of all, as a protest against the Generals. Most of the Turks are satisfied that terrorism has been stamped out, but during the past months they did not appreciate censorship and the vetoing of the new parties." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8.11)

"The Turks themselves like to compare with the period from 1946 to 1950: during the first year, an election held with a great deal of intimidation and fraud, four years later—under the same government İnönü—a fair election which resulted in his downfall, ringing the opposition to power." (*NRC Handelsblad*, 4.11)

"Turkey has dealt a severe blow to the ideology of the Alliance as the defender of freedom and Human Rights. Even after Sunday's election, Turkey is not yet a democratic state, where human rights are being respected." (*Elseviers Magazine*, 12.11)

It is even rumoured that it is to a U.S. intervention that he (Ozal) owes the approval by the Generals of his candidacy in the election. Evren may very well kick himself now for having given in: Turgut Ozal may very well encroach upon the General-President's popularity." (*Liberation*, 8.11)

"Sunalp was incontestably a bad horse. But for all that, can the idea really be ruled out that, by their votes, the Turks have also sought to demonstrate their distrust towards the political conceptions of a military regime?" (*La Libre Belgique*, 8.11)

"Obviously, this election will not result before long in a liberal democracy. The Generals have provided a lot of safeguards. But they have enabled all malcontents (the middle class, workers, Kurds, peasantry, etc.) to express, after three years of forced silence, their discontentment." (*La Figaro*, 8.11)

"The Turks, by voting for the competitor of the Generals just one year after they elected by plebescite General Evren, have presumably sought to make clear that the time has come for the Army to retreat in its barracks." (*Le Monde*, 8.11)

"Obviously, the main losers are the colourless candidates sponsored by the military... Notwithstanding the election and the official restoration of democratic life, Turkey is still experiencing a martial law regime." (*Le Figaro*, 8.11)

"It appears that the Reagan administration, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, concerned for

the good health of Turkey's economy, have advised Ankara to allow Ozal to stand for election." (*Le Soir*, 8.11)

"Since the three sham parties which last Sunday came forward to this sham election, were the only ones, it is hardly serious to interpret Ozal's victory as a major setback for the military." (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, 8.11)

"It is under joint pressure by the U.S. administration, the World Bank and the IMF, that General Evren and his associates had to accept Ozal. The Chief of the Motherland Party has the confidence of the International monetary circles." (*La Cité*, 8.11)

"How curious is this election! (...) Strange by its blueprint, its actors, by the way it took place, this consultation leaves in the background some key issues that is to say those pertaining to the future regime: one swallow does not make a summer, says the proverb, accordingly an election is not enough to found democracy." (*Journal de Genève*, 8.11)

"The Generals will keep supreme control over maintaining public order. An order they are determined to preserve, even at the expense of democracy." (*Quest-France*, 8.11)

"Ozal is in favour with the U.S., the conservative Arab world and with big business. In economic terms a powerful alliance, but a very odd one from an ideological viewpoint. The time, however, Ozal has at his disposal, is limited. Because, assuming that the Social Democrats and the Right Path Party would already be allowed to take part in the next municipal elections, and, afterwards in legislative elections, Turkey's political stage might perhaps change once more, presumably at the expense of Ozal's economic liberalism..." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8.11)

"Evren's intervention in favour of Sunalp as well as Ozal's success may be a trick devised by Evren in order to present to world opinion a picture of a 'free' election. Whether it is - or not - a demonstration of protest, Ozal's future government will be subjected to a heavy tutelage, as will be the Turkish people" (*Volkskrant*, 8.11)

"For the time being, Evren's regime is more lucky than our own junta has been. Turkey has just gone through her 'markozinisation'. (Markezinis: Prime Minister of the Greek Colonels' junta, appointed in 1973). But, at the same time, this smooths the way for undermining the ground under the junta's feet." (*Elathorotypia*, 8.11)

CYPRUS: A FACE-SAVING FAIT ACCOMPLI

The proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is not a surprise for the readers of the *Info-Türk*.

"After denouncing the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution of May 13 asking the withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces from Cyprus, the Turkish military regime accelerated the colonization of the occupied territory on the island. On May 19, the Evren junta consented to the adoption of the Turkish Lira in the Turkish 'Federal State' (sector occupied by the Turkish Army since 1974) and prompted Rauf Denktaş, an old collaborator of British colonialism and present chief of the so-called 'Federal State', to declare that the independence of this 'State' will be soon proclaimed unilaterally." (*Info-Türk Bulletin*, June 1983)

The fact is that the proclamation of the Republic did not delay. Although the Turkish junta claimed that it had not been informed of the Turkish Cypriot leaders' intentions and that it had not been in a position to prevent the proclamation of the republic, such assertions can by no means conceal the following facts:

1. The northern section of the island has been under occupation by the Turkish Armed Forces since 1974. Although there is no declared martial law regime, all security and intelligence activities are controlled and carried out by the Turkish commanders who are the real rulers of the so-called "Turkish Federated State".

2. After having adopted the Turkish Lira in May of this year, the Denktaş administration started staging a number of rallies, meetings and conferences for making acceptable the idea of the proclamation of the Republic. The latest rally was organized on October 14, 1983 in Nicosia with about 10,000 Turkish Cypriots taking part, who were addressed by Denktaş himself saying that the proclamation of the Republic was inevitable. This rally and Denktaş's speech hit the headlines of the front-pages of all Turkish newspapers, all of them subjected to the junta's censorship.

3. It was reported that prior to the meeting of the Turkish National Assembly, all communications with abroad were suspended and that Denktaş held through the night a secret meeting with the political leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community and ultimately obtained their common consent. How could it be possible that the Turkish military commanders in Cyprus were not aware of the cut of all external communications and of the extraordinary meeting in the Presidential Palace which took place under military supervision as well.

4. One of the most striking aspects of this action has been the declared "consent" of the Turkish Cypriot left-wing parties to the proclamation of the Republic. Turkey's daily *Cumhuriyet* published on October 25 interviews with Alpay Durduran and Özker Özgür, respectively leaders of the Socialist Liberation Party (TKP) and the Republican Turkish Party (CTP). In these interviews they clearly stated that their parties were opposed to the idea of independence and in favour of the foundation of a federated state. But, during the meet-

ing at the Presidential Palace on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic, the leaders and deputies of the two left-wing parties were reportedly threatened by Denktaş and, therefore, gave their consent on the promise that the existing constitution of the "Federated State" will not be amended.

5. Just after the proclamation of the Republic, the first thing the Denktaş administration did, was to start preparations for drawing up a new constitution on the model of the constitution of the Republic of Turkey. One of the main objectives being pursued by amending the constitution, is undoubtedly to bring restrictions on fundamental rights and freedoms in the new state and to put an end to the representation of the left-wing parties in the Turkish Cypriot parliament, as it occurred in Turkey. This point is also very important for the democratic struggle in Turkey. During the past three years of military dictatorship in Turkey, the relative democracy in the Turkish sector, where the left-wing parties could express their democratic ideas, had always been a cause of annoyance for Denktaş as well as for the Turkish junta. At the latest elections, both left-wing parties got about half the votes and have always been candidates for ruling the Turkish sector. A new constitution is supposed to free Turkey's military rulers of this nightmare.

6. The proclamation of the Republic coincided with the enactment of the decree on the establishment of *free zones* in Turkey, just opposite the northern coast of the island. A free zone and harbour had already been established in 1977 in the port city of Magosa (Famagusta) within the borders of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". At the end of October 1983, the Denktaş administration had announced "The Free Port and Zone Law of the TFSC" which provides foreign companies with new advantages. On November 4, the Turkish junta adopted the decree on the establishment of free zones in Turkey, and only two days before the proclamation of the Republic, a new decree stipulated that the port cities of Antalya and Mersin had been recognized the status of *free zones*. These parallel steps suggest that the northern sector of Cyprus is viewed by Turkey's rulers as part of a free zone area, economically dependent on Turkey. As a matter of fact, this is an actual annexation of northern Cyprus to Turkey.

But the main point in this mockery of independence is the fact that it has been an opportunity for the Turkish junta to save its face, which was slapped by the people of Turkey at the elections. Despite their assertions that they were not aware of Denktaş's intentions, it has been the Turkish junta which first recognized the new "state". Furthermore, by order of the junta, this event has been celebrated throughout Turkey as a national victory. Overwhelmed with chauvinistic propaganda, people applauded this expansionist action of the Turkish junta.

But it is the same people who will have to pay the bill for this mockery of independence, because of the isolation in the international arena.

STATE TERROR

Despite the fact that general elections were held on November 6, 1983, the military, acting as legislative and executive power, have been going on enacting laws and issuing decrees in order to restrict the basic rights and liberties in Turkey.

The main points:

MARTIAL LAW PROLONGED: The National Security Council has announced that martial law which, in certain provinces, had been in force since early 1979 and since September 12, 1980 throughout Turkey, has been extended for four months from November 12, 1983. Even before polling day, General Evren had declared that despite the election of the Grand National Assembly, martial law would not be lifted. So it seems that even after March 19, 1984, the new legislators will be forced to prolong the martial law regime under the pressure of the military.

OFFICERS TO STAY AT THEIR POSTS: The military government of Retired Admiral Süleil Uluş announced that all army and navy officers who have replaced civil officials in the state apparatus, will

remain one more year at their posts after the military government has been formed. Besides, the Uluş government has made a number of appointments to vacant posts in the State administration and at the State economic enterprises, just after the general elections.

NEW PRESS LAW RATIFIED: The National Security Council, acting as legislative power, has ratified the new Press Law on November 10, four days after the polls, taking no heed of the suggestions of the press associations asking to entrust the elected legislative body with the task of enacting this important law. At the same time, the NSC has also ratified the Law on the Turkish Radio-Television Corporation (TRT), which places this institution under the control of the political authorities and empowers the Prime Minister to ban any broadcasting on the grounds that it is harmful to national security.

A PUPPET CONSTITUTIONAL COURT: The NSC ratified on November 12 the law on the foundation and functioning of the Constitutional Court. Whereas, until the coup of September 12, 1980, this

supreme court was fully independent, from now on all its members will be appointed by the President of the Republic and dependent on him. In accordance with a provisional article of the Law, all laws enacted by the NSC will never be made subject to an annulment suit.

OTHER REPRESSIVE LAWS: Before the general elections, in the course of October, the NSC ratified also three more repressive laws which had been endorsed in an earlier stage by the Consultative Assembly:

The Law on Associations, the Law on Rallies and March-pasts and the Emergency Law. While the first two laws are restricting the right to association and assembly, the third one authorizes the governors to use extensive powers in case of emergency and to suspend all basic rights and liberties. Emergency can be proclaimed by the President of the Republic in a certain region or throughout Turkey, whenever he deems it necessary.

In addition, on October 5, the military government issued a decree with force of law, stipulating for the establishment of supreme governorships. According to this decree, the territory of the Turkish State will be divided in nine regions and each of them will be administrated by a supreme governor attached directly to the President of the Republic.

CONDEMNATION OF PEACE ACTIVISTS

One of the most striking actions of the junta subsequent to the general elections, has been the condemnation of the leaders of the Turkish Peace Committee.

The military Court no 2 of the Istanbul Martial Law Command announced on November 14, 1983, exactly eight days after the polls, that 23 out of the 30 defendants at this trial had been sentenced to prison terms ranging from 5 up to 8 years, for having infringed Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code by carrying out activities aiming at enforcing the rule of one social class over the others. The military prosecutor accused them of "receiving orders from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through the World Council of Peace."

18 defendants sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment: Mahmut Dikerdem (ex-ambassador and chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee), Mrs Reha Isven (wife of the former Mayor of Istanbul), Dr Erdal Atabek (Chairman of the Turkish Doctors' Union), Aykut Göker (Chairman of the Technicians' Union), Cemal Tahsin Usoglu (engineer), Sefik Asan (teacher), Haluk Tosun (university professor), Aybars Ungan (engineer), Ali Erol Taygun (stage manager), Dr Metin Ozek (university professor), Ataul Echramoglu (poet, secretary general of the Turkish Writers' Union), Ali Sirmen (foreign desk editor of the daily Cumhuriyet), Gençay Saylan (university professor), Ergun Elgin (engineer), Orhan Taylan (painter), Nedim Tarhan (former member of Parliament, chairman of the Union of Peasant Cooperatives), Hüseyin Ras (journalist), Nurettin Yılmaz (former member of Parliament).

5 defendants sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment: Orhan Apaydın (lawyer, chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association), Niyazi Dalyancı (journalist), Ismail Pakkızı Ozturun (former member of Parliament), Gündoğan Görsev (publisher), Melih Tümer (university professor)

Five other defendants have been acquitted for lack of evidence to establish their "guilt".

Just after the pronouncement of the verdict, all defendants who were present at the trial, were immediately arrested and jailed. The Court also issued a warrant of arrest against the eight convicts who were absent during the pronouncement of the judgment.

OTHER CONDEMNATIONS

In the course of October, martial law courts continued to sentence political detainees to heavy prison terms for their opinions or actions.

7.10, in Gölcük, 25 people sentenced up to 11 years' imprisonment on the charge of being members of TDKP. On the same day, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul area announced that during the previous month, 100 persons had been sentenced to prison terms ranging from three years up to life imprisonment.

8.10, in Erzincan, 97 people sentenced to prison terms up to 36 years; in Ankara, 8 persons to various prison terms. All of them are accused of having worked for rightist organizations.

12.10, in Gölcük, 4 presumed members of TKP-ML sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment each.

14.10, in Izmir, 17 presumed members of TKP-ML sentenced to imprisonment up to 10 years; in Diyarbakır, 4 members of PKK sentenced to death and 17 other members to various prison terms.

15.10, in Izmir, six workers of the Taris plant sentenced to prison terms up to 6 years.

19.10, in Bandırma, three persons sentenced to prison terms for behaving contrary to the principle of secularity.

23.10, in Izmir, 20 presumed members of Dev-Yol sentenced to prison terms up to life imprisonment; in Ankara, one member of the same organization sentenced to death and 20 others to various prison terms.

27.10, in Izmir, 9 people sentenced to various prison terms for having worked in Dev-Yol and TDKP; in Ankara, eight rightist activists sentenced to imprisonment.

28.10, in Diyarbakır, the former mayor of this capital city of Turkish Kurdistan, Mehdi Zana, and 93 other people sentenced to prison terms up to 24 years.

30.10, in Diyarbakır, a member of PKK was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment.

NEW TRIALS

In October, a military prosecutor filed new suits against trade-union militants and activists of political organizations.

In Istanbul, 7 officials of the Maritime Arsenal Workers' Union (Limter-Is) and 11 officials of the Progressive Leather Workers' Union (Hlerici Deri Is) were brought before a military court with prison terms up to 15 years called for. The number of defendants at the Limter-Is trial rose consequently from 49 to 56.

In Ankara, a new mass trial was initiated on October 28 against 77 members of Dev-Yol, 41 of whom risk the death sentence. So, the number of defendants who are being tried at the main trial of this organization, rose to 683; 213 of whom risk the death sentence.

Other lately initiated trials:

2.10, in Istanbul, against 2 members of the Progressive Youth Association and 7 members of the Socialist Youth Association.

7.10, in Ankara, against 4 members of Dev-Yol.

9.10, in Izmir, 5 members of THKO/Path of the Revolution.

12.10, in Izmir, against 12 members of TKP/S.

22.10, in Ankara, against 5 members of Dev-Yol.

27.10, in Diyarbakır, against 88 presumed members of TKP.

So, since the military coup, the total number of defendants risking the death sentence rose to 6.430.

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MAN - HUNTINGS

5.10, in Tunceli, the security forces ambushed a group of TKP - ML militants, shot dead 3 of them and apprehended 13 others.

16.10, in Ankara, 5 presumed members of Kurtuluş were arrested.

17.10, in Fatsa, the armed forces launched a combing operation against some militants who were resisting, shot dead two of them and arrested two others. On the same day, 10 members of National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUEK) were arrested in Diyarbakır.

22.10, in Manisa, 9 presumed members of TKP were arrested.

29.10, in Corum, 46 right-wing activists arrested.

A VICTIM OF TORTURE AT THE E.P.

During a press conference organized by the Socialist Group on October 6 in the rooms of the European Parliament in Brussels, Ludwig Fellermaier, chairman of the EEC/Turkey Commission which has been suspended for some time, has presented to the press a victim of torture. His name is Sahabettin Buz, a Turkish citizen residing for the moment in West-Germany.

Buz went to Turkey in September 1982 in order to do his military service. Two weeks later he was arrested by the gendarmerie and ill-treated for several days. He was hanged up by his wrists, had his genitals injured, was forced to drink his urine and to eat his excrements. He was subjected to such brutal beatings that the skin of his feet burst.

On the one hand, Buz was blamed for being a member of a German trade union and, on the other, the Youth Center of the City of Hanover, where Buz was employed as an engineer, was accused of being Maoist or Leninist. In addition, they accused him of reading trade-union publications and of taking part in May Day demonstrations. As Buz refused to sign a bit of paper "proving" his adherence to an illegal left-wing organization of Turkey, he was tortured by means of electric shocks. Besides, the names of the state officials who tortured him, are known. As he was subjected to torture, Buz signed a confession, the content of which he did not know.

Though seriously injured, Buz got merely aspirins at Antakya hospital where he had been brought at his request. After 50 days spent in police custody, Buz was transferred into a military prison where all inmates used to be tortured by soldiers. The only charge against him was his "confession". On March 29, 1983, the Adana Military Court no 1 acquitted Buz. Notwithstanding this judgment, Buz was subsequently threatened several times, he was deprived of his pass and forbidden to leave Turkey. Yet, he managed to cross the border and to return to West-Germany.

PRESSURE ON THE PRESS

The Chairman of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), Kenneth B. Ashton, has participated in an international seminar on the effects produced by the development of the latest communication techniques on the press and the national cultures, which has been organized by the Turkish national Commission of UNESCO, in Istanbul from September 26 to 28, 1983.

According to the press release issued by the IFJ, "while there was, to some extent, a focus of attention on safeguarding Turkish Asiatic culture against the aggressiveness of modern technology, it became clear that the academic corps took up a very critical stance towards today's mass media and their dependance on

the state. After they had spoken with some reservation, two officials of the Turkish Journalists Association left for good. The personal attentions of the Press and Prime Minister's Public Relations general manager towards the IFJ chairman prevented practically the latter from having any informal contact with Turkish colleagues (afterwards he found out that the general manager was an Artillery officer!)"

"As he assumed the chairmanship of a part of the meeting, the IFJ chairman had been trying - not very successfully - to centre the discussion of the IFJ's current causes for concern: freedom of Turkish mass media, access to information sources, the responsibility of the Turkish Press, etc. He seized the occasion for reminding the audience that the IFJ would be happy to strengthen its relations with Turkish journalists interested in safeguarding Press freedom".

On the other hand, the International Press Institute (IPI) has expressed in a press release its concern on Turkish journalists who are prosecuted.

PRESS TRIALS

19.10, in Istanbul, the military prosecutor filed a lawsuit against Zafer Can Çiçekoglu for having muscassettes of two Turkish popular singers, Melike Demirgen Cem Karaca, who had been stripped of Turkish nationality for their activities abroad. Çiçekoglu risks a one-year of imprisonment.

22.10, in Izmir, Hikmet Güris, responsible editor of the weekly *Savas Yolu* banned by the military, was sentenced to 7,5 years' imprisonment for an article.

29.10, in Istanbul, Durmus Ali Aydın, responsible editor of the daily *Milli Gazete*, was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment for having published an article at variance with the principle of secularity of the State.

31.10, in Mustafa Kemal Pasa, three journalists were sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment each for an article published in their newspaper.

BAN ON PUBLICATIONS

With the purpose of preventing any propaganda inciting the voters not to participate in the elections, the junta decreed on October 31, 1983, that the introduction in Turkey of 204 newspapers and periodicals had been forbidden. All these papers are published by opposition groups abroad and the introduction of many of them had already been forbidden in preceding years.

On October 13, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul suspended the publication and distribution of the daily *Merhaba* for an indefinite time.

On October 30, in Istanbul, the publication and distribution of *Günaydın*, one of Turkey's high circulation dailies, was suspended for an indefinite time by the martial law authorities, for not having published on its front-page the photo of Kemal Atatürk on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic.

A GENERAL AT THE ACADEMIC COUNCIL

General Evren has appointed a chairman and 4 members to the newly established "Atatürk Culture, Language and History Supreme Council". The first chairman of the Council is the retired army commander, General Suat İlhan. Four members of the Council, Mehmet Kaplan, Hamza Eroglu, Resat Kaynak and Sükrül Elçin are known in Turkish academic circles as fervent advocates of reactionary views. The recently enacted law on the establishment of this new council provides that the former Turkish Language Association and the History Association will continue

their functions until 1984, but that these associations will become part of the newly established council in 1984 and at that time their functioning will be terminated. The new council is charged with the task of developing scientific research, producing publications and disseminating information on the thought, principles and reforms of Atatürk, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and the Turkish language. It will function under the supervision of the President of the Republic.

STATE TERROR ABROAD

According to the Greek daily *Eleftherotypia* of October 6, 1983, a 25-year-old worker who had been tracked by Evren's junta, had been deported from West-Germany two months before, along with some thousand other people. Early October, he was in Athens, where he had been hiding for 20 days, since the Immigration Office seemed not willing to grant him political asylum. His name is Duran Ekinçi from Istanbul. As soon as he arrived in Istanbul from Germany, policemen surrounded his house in order to capture him, but he succeeded in escaping. "In Turkey I escaped death," he admits, "Now, here in Athens my heart trembles as a fish on dry land. I fear that they may catch and deport me".

IMMIGRATION

"DISGUISED DEPORTATION" BILL PASSED

In the FRG, the Federal House of Deputies (Bundestag) has endorsed on November 13 the new bill which is to further the return in their home countries of a large number of foreign workers and their relatives. This law provides for granting an alien repatriation pay of 10,500 DM with an additional 1,500 DM per child, to those foreigners who are either fully unemployed or have been dismissed or shortly will, or who have been for a long time partially unemployed, provided 1984.

Contrary to the view expressed by the representatives of the governmental parties, the Opposition spokesmen declared that this law was designed to drive the foreigners out of the country, that it was imbued with the catch-phrase "Foreigners be off!" and that, besides, it had been called inadequate, xenophobic and ineffectual by all institutions actually caring for immigrants. Those who are opposed to these governmental measures, declared that they would be ineffectual, because the proposed alien repatriation pay is insufficient for ensuring the workers enough means to start another life in their home country.

A SURVEY PERTAINING TO THE MASS RETURN OF IMMIGRANTS

According to the Flemish daily *De Standaard* of October 8, 1983, the municipality of the City of Oüsseldorf has ordered that a scientific inquiry be initiated on the practical consequences which would result from the mass return of immigrant workers. From this survey which, according to the experts, is supposed to be representative for many other German cities, it emerges that garbage would heap up on the sidewalks, that the sick would be badly nursed and that some schools and shops may have to close. It also appears that it "is out of the question to engage again Germans for occupying the posts which accordingly will be set free". The myth which is repeatedly being heard, that the mass return of foreign workers may solve for the most part the problem of unemployment, has quickly had to yield to the findings that a lot of companies may have to slow down the production. Therefore, even more wage-earners may lose their jobs, and, consequently, the authorities would be faced with falling tax revenues. The West-German social security institution, which is already faced with a difficult situation, would have to face huge losses of billions due to falling contribution payments.

During a telephone call he had had a few days before with his parents living in Istanbul, he was been told that many of his friends who had been deported from Germany, had been arrested and jailed in Turkey.

On the other hand, a court in Dijon, France, has decided to extradite a candidate political refugee named Hüseyin Aker. In 1979 he had been sentenced to life imprisonment by a Turkish court. Three years later he succeeded in escaping and arrived in West-Germany. When he applied for political asylum, the West-German authorities arrested him for having used a forged pass. In 1982 he succeeded in escaping from his German prison and managed to enter France. Since August 29, he was in custody.

PURGES AT UNIVERSITIES

The liquidation operation at the Turkish universities has been stepped up prior to the opening of the new academic year. The Supreme Council of Higher Education (YÖK) announced on October 1st that the posts of 1961 university professors had been suppressed on the grounds that they were no more necessary, while, according to the data given by the same Council, 92 percent of all high school graduates are still deprived of the possibility to enter universities and other higher education institutions.

RIGHT OF VOTING TO GO AHEAD

That the right of voting should be granted to foreigners living in the 21 member countries of the Council of Europe for general elections in their own countries and for local and regional elections in each guest country - is one of the main conclusions of a conference held under the aegis of the Council of Europe, which took place at mid October in Funchal, on the Portuguese island of Madeira. In the final document it is stated that "political rights should be based on qualifications for residence and not exclusively on nationality criteria."

NEO-NAZIS IN THE STADIUM

The Neo-nazis, ranging from 2,000 to 3,000, who intended to "go Turk-smashing", on the occasion of the qualification game for the European football championship between the FRG and Turkey, on October 26 in West-Berlin, have flopped.

In the huge 80,000 seats stadium which was half occupied, it turned out that many potential spectators who were presumably afraid of possible scuffles, had preferred to watch the game on television; in the end, the "witch hunt against the Turks" caused only a few skirmishes.

In the presence of Chancellor Kohl, who had rejoined his "foreign fellow-citizens" as a mark of friendship, a few hundreds of neo-nazis, "skin heads", etc. started shouting "Ausländer raus!" (Foreigners be off!). After the most excited among them had been expelled, the atmosphere calmed down. But as soon as the Germans took the offensive and, even more, when they started scoring goals, these frantic supporters used to shout again and again "Ausländer Raus!" and to make the Hitlerian salute.

In view of these events, considerable police forces had been drawn up in the borough of Kreuzberg, where the vast majority of the 120,000 Turks of West-Berlin are living and which the Neo-nazis had threatened to set ablaze.

Besides, on October 4, in Kaiserslautern, FRG, some Neo-nazis had assaulted a Turkish shop and daubed swastikas on the walls.

On October 22, 1983, in Dicot, Belgium, a Turkish shop was assaulted by unidentified persons.

On October 7, 1983, a 42-year-old Turkish worker, Mustafa Kala, was found hanged in his cell in Darmstadt, FRG, where he had been detained by the police. Some witnesses declared that he might have been killed by his jailers and subsequently hanged in order to sham suicide.