



# INFO TÜRK INFO-TÜRK INFO-TÜRK

bulletin mensuel ◦ monthly bulletin ◦ maandelijks bulletin

# 98

9TH YEAR ◦ PUBLISHER: COLLECTIF TURC D'EDITION ET DE DIFFUSION ◦ INFO-TURK - 31 RUE DES EBURONS - 1040 BRUSSELS - BELGIUM ◦ TEL: (32-2) 230 34 72 ◦ ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: 500 BF ◦ CCP 000-1168701-45 ◦ ISSN 0770-9013



## **crazy arms race in turkey**

As repeatedly reminded in different publications of Info-Türk, the declared objective of the military junta who made the coup d'Etat of September 12, 1980, was not only "establishing law and order", but also strengthening the military power of Turkey. This was also the objective of the United States who had earlier lost, due to the islamic revolution in Iran, a very important strategic position in the Middle East. A Turkey to be politically stabilized and militarily strengthened was the only chance for the United States to maintain its control over the region.

After a 3-year military dictatorship, the first objective has already been attained at the expense of all fundamental human rights and freedoms. Imposing an anti-democratic constitution, the military has institutionalized the State Terror and turned its open dictatorship, from November 6, 1983 elections, into a militarist "democracy".

As for the aim of strengthening the military power of the country, within a 4-year period, the army chiefs have already reached "satisfactory and pleasing" levels by using all financial and material possibilities of the State and by exploiting a man-power deprived of the right to defend itself by the means of collective bargaining and strike.

Strengthening the military power of the country, in fact, was not only the affair of the army chiefs. Behind them were also the NATO, particularly its two major partners, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the big business looking for fabulous profits in the creation of a military-industrial complex in this under-developed country.

Prior to the military coup d'Etat, a study drawn up for the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives, issued on March 3, 1980, said: "In summary, Turkey and the United States still have important issues to resolve between themselves in the important area of defense cooperation. Turkey's value as a NATO ally and partner of the United States in helping stability and security in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East has been accentuated by the recent upheaval in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Successful resolution of these matters would

permit Turkey to assume once again an effective role in protecting the vital security interests of NATO and the free world."

The same survey foresaw a military coup in Turkey as the most probable means of protecting "the vital security interests" of NATO and the free world: "Against the backdrop of chronic political instability in Turkey, the military has been traditionally viewed as a force for order and stability. Twice in recent history, the military has intervened in the political system. The January 2 (1980) warning from the armed forces to the country's political parties again raised the prospect of a military coup. According to some observers, the prospects for such a development have increased because of the troubles in neighbouring Iran. The objectives of a military coup at this time would be to avert chaos similar to that of Iran, to stem Turkish separatism, and to respond to the impotence of the political parties." (See: Info-Türk, *US Interests in Turkey*, March 1982, Brussels).

(For further information on the US role in the preparation of the military coup d'Etat, See: *Bulletin Info-Türk*, September 1984, p. 4-6).

One of the immediate consequences of the military coup was the ratification, by the 5-man junta, of the Defense Cooperation Agreement between Turkey and the United States. This agreement which had been confronted with the opposition of the majority of the pre-coup Parliament laid down the basic principles of bilateral defense relations and assured continuing operation of the key US bases in Turkey.

Benefitting from the "stability" restored in Turkey, General Rogers, Commander of NATO Forces in Europe, visited two times Turkey and had talks with General Evren. The immediate result of these contacts was Greece's surprise return to the military wing of the NATO.

As for the war industry, the daily *Cumhuriyet* of September 17, 1980 reported that "after the military take-over, the efforts for creating a *military-industrial complex* with the participation of public and private sectors have been intensified. This complex aims to produce military equipments and also to export high quality steel, integrated circuits and castings."

What was the status of Turkey's military forces before the coup d'état? Whether or not these forces were capable to defend the country? If not, what were the reasons? And one more critical question: In the case of the rearmament of the Turkish Armed Forces who would be the real beneficiary: Turkey or the United States and NATO?

We can find the answer to this question again in the US survey mentioned above: "The Turkish Armed Forces are equipped almost totally with US equipment, they were and still are heavily dependent upon access to US spare parts and supplies. Much of the Turkish military hardware is of World War II and Korean War vintage. Increasingly, older items in the Turkish inventory are becoming difficult to support because US spare parts for these items are, or will be, unavailable. US officials have estimated that nearly 50 percent of Turkey's military equipment is badly in need of repair and is difficult to operate, making Turkish combat effectiveness fairly low. Cannibalization of some major weapons systems to keep others operational has become widespread, especially in the Turkish Air Force. Maintenance difficulties have become severe and training of crews has suffered, leading to additional losses of equipment through accidents. Currently, the Turkish Armed Forces have been weakened to the point that they would find it difficult to fulfill their NATO responsibilities.

"A remedy for Turkey's military problems noted

above have been outlined by former SACEUR, General Haig, by Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown and by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General David C. Jones. Turkey, they have argued, needs spare parts sufficient to maintain and improve the readiness of military equipment currently in its inventory and requires a modernization program to enable the Turkish Armed Forces to fulfill their NATO missions. The modernization program would include improvements to existing communications equipment, anti-aircraft ordnance, antiarmor weaponry, field artillery, munitions and mechanization. It would include some replacements of obsolete aircraft and qualitative improvements to the rest of the Turkish Air Force and Navy. The program would also involve expanded training in the use of the more modern types of weapons systems that have been introduced into Turkey, such as the UH-1H helicopter; RF-4E and F-4E aircrafts with their associated weapons, navigation, and EW equipment; Asroc and Harpoon missiles.

"The costs to the United States of providing military assistance to Turkey in order to upgrade her military forces have not been detailed by American officials. Gen. David C. Jones has noted that a figure of 4.5 billion dollars over a 5-year period has been discussed as a possible amount involved. Such an amount would not provide Turkey with 'large amounts of new equipment, the current generation,' but would mainly improve the equipment Turkey has at present. Although General Jones did not wish to speculate on what specific Defense Department requests might be made of Turkey in future years, he acknowledged that 'obviously, Turkey is going to require some continuing assistance.' It seems apparent that if history is guide the United States will be requested to provide the largest share of that assistance." (*US Interests in Turkey*, p.13)

Just after the military coup d'état, on October 17, 1980, a communiqué issued after the high level Turco-USA talks in Ankara said: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of Turkish defense industry through mutual efforts and that the progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as multilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO alliance." (See: *Info-Türk Bulletin*, October 1980).

#### TURCO-AMERICAN COOPERATION

The first step in the direction of developing Turco-American military cooperation was the establishment in December 1981 of a "Joint Defense Council" charged with defining the common military needs and finding solutions and also with deciding the US contribution to the Turkish war industry. On that occasion, US Defense Minister Caspar Weinberger, during his visit to Turkey on December 6, 1981, said: "The Turkish military government has fulfilled our highest expectations since assuming power. We particularly admire the way in which law and order have been restored in Turkey." That is to say, an admiration for mass arrests, tortures, life imprisonments, executions, press censorship, suppression of the right to collective bargaining and strikes etc...

Within the spirit of "cooperation", the military junta has permitted the flights of U-2 spy planes and of AWACS from air bases in Turkey.

On October 7, 1982, it is the first time that the US Rapid Deployment Force took part in the NATO manoeuvres code-named "Determination-82" carried out in Turkey and landed troops from the air in the area of Kesan of the Turkish Thrace.

On October 31, 1982, Turkey and the United States have reached an agreement to improve and modernize the facilities of an undisclosed number of Turkish air bases for use by US Forces "in time of major crisis or war." Turkish Defense Minister also disclosed that cooperation in the military field was being contemplated with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Tunisia. A few days later, on November 4, 1982, Egyptian Foreign Minister Kemal Hasan Ali, during his visit to Ankara, announced that Egypt was ready for a strategic cooperation with Turkey.

On November 15, 1982, US Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe told the Turkish Press that there were plans for stockpiling military equipment at Turkish airfields which were to be modernized under the new Turco-American agreement.

What is the most important, two big chiefs of the NATO Alliance, US President Reagan and Federal German Premier Helmut Kohl announced in a joint communiqué issued on November 17, 1982, in Washington that both countries would support the Turkish Government's efforts "to return to democracy".

The *New Statesman* of May 14, 1982 reported that the US Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force was to have new base facilities and headquarters in Eastern Turkey. A few weeks later, on June 10, 1982, the summit of NATO held in Bonn, declared a "common interest in the security, stability and sovereign independence of the countries outside the NATO area and readiness of the members of the alliance to contribute either directly or indirectly to ensuring them." So, having taken the US Rapid Deployment Force under its aegis, the NATO summit has authorized Turkey to open her territories to this force.

The issue of Turkish Support to the Rapid Deployment Force gained a new dimension with signing a new agreement between Turkey and the United States on November 29, 1982 in Brussels. This agreement stipulated building new airfields in Turkey, modernization of the existing ones and gave the US the right of military storage on Turkish soil. In the meantime, it was announced in Washington that the US set up a new military command in the Middle East for defending US interests in the Gulf Area and Indian Ocean.

In return for all these facilities, the United States firstly increased US "aid" to Turkey up to 547 million dollars in 1981, 703 million dollars in 1982.

Has it been sufficient for covering the military expenditures in Turkey?

On April 17, 1984, the Turkish daily *Hürriyet* reported that, for making them suitable to the NATO standards, the military airfields in Gaziantep and Dalaman were being enlarged while a new military airfield was being built in Erzurum. After having completed these works, the most sophisticated aircrafts of the NATO Alliance would be able to land in and take off from these airfields. All these works are estimated at 16 million dollars.

Another facility provided by the Turkish side is that the maintenance and reparation of AWACS planes flying over Turkey are carried out by the Turkish workshops of maintenance at the Yesilkoy Airport in Istanbul. These workshops are charged also with the maintenance of other military planes in the service of NATO such as C-5, C-141 and A-4. (*Hürriyet*, October 25, 1984)

First of all, we should remind that an underdeveloped country such as Turkey is obliged, due to her engagements in the NATO Alliance, to spend 11.68 percent of her Gross National Product, while this percentage was 4.54 percent for Greece, 3.57 percent for Portugal, 1.64 percent for the Great Britain, 1.20 percent for the United States and 0.79 for the FRG.

According to a report of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, appeared in the press on May 16, 1984, the total military spending of Turkey for 1982 was 3.4 billion dollars.

Turkey assigned 19.8 percent of her State budget to military expenditures in 1983, while this percentage was only 10.4 for education services and 3 percent for health services.

But neither Turkish military nor the United States do not consider sufficient this sacrifice for the armament of Turkey. Already in 1972 a special law had been adopted for an additional expenditure of 5 billion dollar for implementing the Army's reorganization and modernization program (REMO).

A Middle-East specialist in the United States estimated in his survey published by the *Orbis Magazine* that the Turkish Army needed at least 18 billion dollars over a 13-year period for reaching the minimum armament standards of NATO. (*Hürriyet*, December 24, 1983)

Although the United States has raised the sum of military "aid" to Turkey after the military coup d'état, it was very far from responding to the needs of modernization and rearmament of the Turkish Army. In order to persuade the United States for a higher contribution to the military expenditures of Turkey, the Turkish ambassador to Washington Sükrü Elekdag illustrated, the strategic importance at the Conference of Turkish and American Businessmen held on September 15, 1984 in Istanbul, as follows:

"Turkey is the only NATO country which shares a 1200-mile frontier with the Soviet Union (300 miles in the East and 900 miles at the Black Sea).

"The Turkish Straits are the only means to control the passage of the Soviet Navy from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea.

"Turkey constitutes the only barrier between the Communist world and the Arab Peninsula. She is in a position of preventing a Soviet penetration to the Eastern Mediterranean.

"Turkey defends 33 percent of the frontiers between NATO and Warsaw Pact.

"The US Forces in Turkey take advantage of using data gathering stations in this country.

"Turkey assures good relations of Arab countries with the United States and plays the role of shield protecting the State of Israel.

"The Turkish Army, with its available force of 820,000 men, is the second most powerful army of NATO behind the US Army. The force of the Turkish Army is superior to the total of the armed forces of Greece, Gr. Britain, Portugal, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Canada." (*Cumhuriyet*, September 16, 1984)

All these efforts of persuasion are still very far from leading to a substantial participation of the United States in the armament of Turkey. It is the Turkish people that is forced to pay the cost of the ambitious projects of the military. And it is the military-industrial complex made up of the Army generals and big business of the United States and Turkey that get the lion share from the investments made thanks to unbearable sacrifices of the Turkish population.

The leading one of the corporations of the military-industrial complex is no doubt the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund (OYAK) which was founded 22 years ago with the contributions of army officers and NCOs with the apparent purpose of providing them with supplementary social benefits. But the 5 percents cut off from the salaries of officers and NCOs totalling up 20 million dollar a year gave army chiefs the possibility to go beyond the social activities and the OYAK started to invest its enormous funds in industrial and

## DISCLOSURES ABOUT THE COUNTER-GUERILLA ORGANISATION

In the previous issues of our Bulletin we have been referring repeatedly to the existence of a covert organization within the Turkish army which over the past years used to provoke bloody incidents with the view of clearing the ground for a military coup. It is the Counter-guerrilla Organization which was set up by the Special War Department. Prior to the 12 September 1980 military coup, many democratic organizations in Turkey had called for disbanding this illegal organization, demanding an investigation into all its activities such as torture, provoking bloody incidents and supporting fascist groups (See, among others, the February 1978 and September 1980 issues of *Info-Türk Bulletin*). The very existence of such a covert organization has for the first time been admitted by a journalist known for his close links with the military, in a book recently published in Turkey. Even though several details on this subject have been censored by the military, the facts disclosed in this book are sufficient evidence confirming the baleful part played over the past years by this organization operating under the Turkish army's umbrella. Hereafter we have reprinted some excerpts of this book:

Another reason why relations (between Ecevit and the Army commanders) were deteriorating, was the controversy on the Counter-guerrilla Organization launched by the People's Republican Party (CHP) by the spring of 1978. For this reason the General Staff viewed Ecevit unfavorably. The Special War Department was charged with the task of commanding a special guerrilla force in order to send it, in case of war, behind the hostile forces.

Did such an organization really exist? If it existed, was it used in domestic affairs? The controversy focused on both these questions and the General Staff was very sensitive to it. Besides, its sensitivity to it was generally known. As these polemics developed the army commanders felt increasingly uneasy. They were convinced that Ecevit, as head of the government, had been long in intervening to halt this controversy... Moreover, they got the feeling that Ecevit deliberately delayed his intervention with the view of weakening the Army's prestige.

As a matter of fact, this gave Ecevit cause for anxiety. In 1974, after the People's Republican Party came into office, one day the General Staff asked for money belonging to secret state funds. On the other hand, as the Special War Department had its headquarters at JUSMATT (the US military aid mission), it was ordered by the Americans to move out.

The Prime Minister did not understand nothing at all. He had an investigation carried out. Officially, there was no such organization. In the state budget no expenses had been provided for to this end. He ordered his cabinet to hold a briefing on this subject. The briefing took place at the Prime Minister's office in the presence of Ecevit and Defense Minister Hasan Esat İslık. Prior to the meeting, the whole office had been checked with electronic devices in order to find out whether a microphone had been smuggled in.

The Special War Department had been set up under a bilateral military agreement concluded in 1959 between Turkey and the United States. Concerned by developments in Lebanon, the US had proposed to Turkey a special aid designed to prevent communist infiltration. The Special War Department, set up by that time, was an organization exclusively made up of civilians.

- *What is the role of this organization?*

- To fight against subversive activities. It is also charged with the task of organizing a resistance movement either against possible foreign occupation or against forces which might infiltrate into the country.

- *How does it fulfill this mission?*

- It is made up of patriots. They are in possession of a secret arms dump. They're not doing this job to earn their living. There is not a single military in uniform among them.

In Ecevit's view, such an organization was not consistent with the rules inherent to democracy. That day, the money that had been asked for was secured and handed over to the General Staff, but Ecevit kept on watching very closely this affair.

On May 6, 1977, he talked about this matter with President of the Republic Fahri Korutürk: "It is unacceptable that such an organization whose very existence is known to no one except for a few persons

at the General Staff, can go on operating in this way. Someone could infiltrate into this organization, initially with patriotic feelings, but afterwards use this organization to other ends. This organization should be put under control." Thereupon, Korutürk asked Ecevit to note down any subject giving him cause for anxiety. Subsequently he handed Ecevit's notes to Demirel, the then Prime Minister. The latter publicized this matter in an ambiguous way. But nothing changed.

After this talks with Korutürk, Ecevit, alluding to the Special War Department, had voiced the same remarks in a public speech delivered in Izmir on May 7, 1977: "If a handful of adventurers devoid of any sense of responsibility, were in a position to stage the Tendogan incidents in Ankara and the incidents at sim Square in Istanbul (1) and, subsequently, to get off, we'll come to the conclusion that in Turkey the state has no more authority. In my view, certain organizations which secured a place inside the state and which hold their positions thanks to the state - thus getting out of control of the democratic state -, are the instigators of these incidents. I'm convinced that each of the two wings of the Government (2) are trying to take advantage of these organizations instead of taking requisite measures against them.

"Concrete evidence of the existence of such organizations and plots had already been disclosed during the 12 March period (3). Today, as the election is drawing near, the evidence which is coming to light becomes more abundant and more ominous.

"An important task falls on the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior, and on the non-governmental members of the National Security Council whom I greatly trust. It is necessary to put under control, without delay, certain forces and organizations whose signs of existence came to light, for the first time, during the 12 March period and which are today out of control of the democratic state. During the short period we've been in charge of government affairs we have proven that such a control is possible. But nowadays both wings of the Government are making efforts to take advantage of these organizations and forces instead of putting them under control.

When he came back into office in 1978, Ecevit discussed this problem with the Chief of Staff as well: "I'm very worried at it; suppress this civilian organization or turn it into a body consistent with the criteria inherent to a democratic state. No one can guess what a youth who is relied upon now, might do in 20 years."

Evren replied just saying: "There's nothing to worry about. Take it easy!" (Mehmet Ali Birant, 12 Eylül-Seat 04.00, Karacan Yayınları, İstanbul 1984, p.88)

- 1) *On May Day 1977, about forty people had been killed during disturbances caused by gun shots fired by unidentified agents-provocateurs (See: Info-Türk Bulletin, May 1977).*
- 2) *The then coalition government was made up of four right-wing parties, the Justice Party (AP), the National Salvation Party (MSP), the Republican Confidence Party (CGP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP).*
- 3) *The period following the March 1971 military coup.*

commercial ventures. Thanks to its collaboration with foreign companies such as Renault, International Harvester, Good-Year and Mobil Oil in automobile, petrochemical, tires and canned food industries and in tourism, OYAK has turned in a very short time in a mammoth finance-holding. According to a survey issued by the Industrials' Chamber of Istanbul (ISO), the OYAK holds 15th rank among the 500 biggest companies of Turkey in 1983 with an annual turnover of 31.8 billion TL and an annual profit of 3.8 billion TL. The daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 18, 1984 reported that both the turnover and profits of the 500 major firms including the OYAK reached a mind-boggling peak in 1983.

Besides the OYAK, the military-industrial complex has also three foundations, set up through a military and civilian cooperation with the purpose of attracting donations from the public and using them at the war industry.

## TURKISH AIR FORCES

The leading among them is the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force (THKGV). The assets of this foundation had already reached 2 billion TL by the end of 1980. It owns 34 percent of the shares of the Turkish Aeronautic Industries (TUSAS), founded with the task of modernising the Turkish Air Force and manufacturing war planes. The Turkish aeronautic industry cooperates with more than 170 local firms for the production of different pieces.

The THKGV itself is also contemplating the production of photographic film and paper to be used at reconnaissance activities of the Air Force.

The major step towards the realization of the Turkish aeronautic industries has been the foundation of the aircraft factory, on November 30, 1984, with the purpose of assembling and co-manufacturing Turkey's first F-16 fighters.

"We will be overwhelmed in the near future when these planes start flying through our skies," a jubilant Evren told the guests at a special ceremony at Murted Air Base only a few kilometers outside the capital.

The initial accord had been signed on May 2, 1984, after US aviation company General Dynamics won the stiff competition against F-18 aircraft of another US aviation company, Northrop.

According to this initial accord, the Turco-American joint venture for the assembly and co-manufacture of F-16 fighter is to be carried out by "TUSAS Aerospace Industries Incorporated". This new corporation was set up by the Turkish parent company, TUSAS (Turkish Aeronautic Industries) on the one hand, and on the other by the General Dynamics. TUSAS has a 49 percent share in the new company. The Turkish Aviation Institute (THK) has a 0.1 percent share and the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Force (THKGV) 1.9 percent. The remaining 42 percent of the share go to General Dynamics and 7 percent to the engine supplier, another US company, General Electric.

Under another agreement signed on May 12, General Dynamics will meet through the offset arrangements 1.5 billion dollars of the 4.5 billion dollars estimated total cost of the aircraft project. Turkey is to provide one billion dollars from its own resources and the rest is to be met by US military grants and credits.

Turkey plans to buy eight F-16 aircraft to start with and then assemble and later co-produce 152 more planes over a period of 10 years at the Murted plant.

On November 9, 1984, Turkey and General Dy-

namics concluded a new accord for financing the project. Besides its direct participation of 1.5 billion dollars, General Dynamics promised to assure an offset deal including export of spare parts produced in Turkey as well as other Turkish products of 1.27 billion dollars.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of 31.10.1984, in the plants of aerospace industries, 1,500 qualified personnel will be employed. These plants will however produce only 5,000 out of 120 thousand parts of a F-16 plane, the rest will be imported from the United States and assembled in Turkey.

As for the engines of the aircraft, General Electric will furnish F-110 motors which will be assembled in another plant to be set up in Eskischir.

For the electronic parts of the aircraft, another Turco-American company has already been founded in Turkey. 51 percent of the shares of this company named Havelsan-Aydin belong to the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Turkish Air Force (THKGV), 38 percent to the US company Aydın Corporation and the rest to another Turkish company, TESTAS.

If there will be any unexpected obstacle, the aircraft factory will start to assemble first F-16 planes at the end of 1986. From January 1987 on, the Turkish aerospace industry will start to produce certain parts of the aircraft. And in January 1988, the first co-produced F-16 will fly over the skies of Turkey.

As expecting the realisation of this project, the Turkish military have decided to replace the aging Korean War F-100 jet fighters of the Turkish Air Force by more advanced aircraft.

According to the daily *Milliyet* of August 22, Turkey plans to buy as soon as possible 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt, 15 Phantoms and five F-5 from the United States, 170 F-104 fighters from the Federal Republic of Germany. The Turkish Defence Minister, Mr. Yavuztürk announced that until the production of F-16 in Turkey, the Turkish Air Force will be equipped with at least 100 Phantoms and 170 F-104.

On November 24, Pentagon announced that the United States decided to grant 12 F-5 jet fighters to Turkey despite the objection of Greece.

The FRG promised to hand over to Turkey 75 F-104 aircraft until the end of 1984, 45 fighters in 1985 and 50 fighters in 1986. All these F-104 fighters are being replaced in the German Air Force by Tornado jet fighters, manufactured by a British, German and Italian Consortium.

Canada too has announced that it would grant secondhand F-104 fighters to Turkey. 20 out of these fighters will be delivered after being repaired at a cost of 6 million dollars, the rest, 34 other F-104 will be used by the Turkish Air Force as the spare parts for the reparation of 20 fighters.

The initial agreement for the purchase of 34 Phantom fighters from Egypt has been suspended by Cairo on the Greek objection. Nevertheless, Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk claimed on September 9 that this deal would be concluded in May 1985 when Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak visits Turkey.

Great Britain proposed to Turkey, during the visit of Yavuztürk to London, sale of 40 Tornado jet fighters, each costs 22 million dollars. But the proposal of British Defence Minister Michael Haseltine was later deadlocked by the veto of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson. British Prime Minister Thatcher also announced on December 13 that she does not believe Turkey is a suitable market for Tornado planes.

Another new project of the Turkish military as Air Force is the replacement of the aging World War II

vintage C-47 transport planes by modern planes. Turkish officials announced that they also aim to secure a deal whereby Turkey will be able to co-manufacture the transport planes and their spare parts. Thereupon, transport aircraft manufacturers and officials from Canada, Spain and Italy have invaded the Turkish capital for this half a billion dollar plane deal. The Canadians have offered their DCH-5-Buffalo or Gash-8 or Twin Atter planes, while the Spaniards were proposing their CN-235 and the Italians their GG-222. The unit price of the 52 new transport planes to replace the C-47 varies between 5,5 to 12 million dollars. Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk said on September 12: "We are looking for a partner. Any of the planes of Spain, Italy and Canada is acceptable to us. But our condition is to set up a joint venture."

Turkey has concluded another accord with the US with the view of co-manufacturing UH-1H helicopters in Ankara under the licence of US Textron. 10 out of 27 helicopters will be delivered immediately by the United States, the rest will be assembled in Turkey.

The Turkish military also aim to reinforce the Turkish Armed Forces with the installation of new missiles. During the Spring meeting of the NATO Defence ministers, Turkish minister Yavuztürk called his colleagues to support the Turkish project of buying Harpoon missiles to be deployed in Turkey's Aegean region. Despite the fact that this demand was considered acceptable by NATO circles, the deal has been suspended due to the opposition of Greek side which claims that the installation of these missiles of 90 kilometer-range in Turkish territory will upset the balance of forces in the region, because the french-made EXOCET missiles in the possession of the Greek Army have only a 50-kilometer range.

Thereupon, Turkish Ministers have started a new bargaining with the British Minister Haseltine for the installation in Turkey of the British anti-air missiles RAPIER. According to the daily *Milliyet* of August 22, Turkey has ordered 36 Rappier missiles to Great Britain.

Besides, Turkey ordered also to the United States Super Side Winder and Sparrow missiles. The United States announced also its intention to deliver to Turkey Maverick missiles which are used from air to land.

Another Turco-american joint venture project concerns co-production of land based anti-aircraft radars in Turkey. The US company Westinghouse offered an immediate cash inflow of 2.5 million dollars and another 1.5 million dollars in equipment, parts and technical know-how. Westinghouse has also offered to modernize the radars currently in use in the Turkish Air Force's F-4 Phantom fighters. The Corporation is also the manufacturer of the radars for the F-16s which Turkey will co-manufacture in the future.

## LAND FORCES

The first step towards the building up of a war industry to produce materials and equipment for the Land Forces has been the establishment of the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Land Forces (KKGV) which has registered a very rapid development after the military coup d'état of 1980. The KKGV owns investments in many enterprises and founded ASELSAN (Military Electronics Industry) to produce electronic pieces and wireless equipment, and later ASPILSAN to produce batteries for military equipment.

At present, the main objective of the Land Forces is to modernize 600 M-48 tanks with more powerful guns and better engines. Modernization of 170 M-48 tanks (transforming in diesel) was already realiz-

ed at the end of 1983. The US Defence Department announced on August 4, 1984 that the Turkish Army plans to buy "conversion kits" to upgrade its more than 30-year-old M-48 tanks at a cost of 129 million dollars. They will be re-equipped with 105-millimeter guns, replacing 90-millimeter weapons.

In addition to the modernization of these tanks, Turkey concluded an agreement in 1980 with the Federal Republic of Germany for the co-production of 77 Leopard tanks in Turkey. Profiting from a 600-million DM Special Military Assistance, this project also envisages the supply of other types of weapons including 2500 Milan missiles.

These talks turned also on the co-production of a more advanced type of tanks, Leopard-2. But the realization of this project has been suspended by the FRG for financial reasons. But the press reports that the real reason of this suspension was rather the objection of Israel which considers the production of these tanks in Turkey as a menace for its security. The Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk said on September 12 that "This argument is not serious. If the Arabs can't buy the tanks produced in Turkey, they will buy them from Great Britain or from the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact there are claims that in some Arab countries there are also Israeli made tanks." He expressed the hope that the talks with the FRG will be resumed in a near future.

Turkey has concluded another agreement with the United States for co-producing anti-tank missiles in Turkey. US General Defence Corporation participates in this joint venture with 30.8 million dollars. It is reported that the co-production of these FP-105 missiles will start at the end of 1985.

On the other hand, within the framework of NATO Projects, a tank palet factory was opened on November 9 in the province of Adapazarı (Arifiye) in Turkey. The FRG granted Turkey 29.5 million DM for the financment of this project.

As for the Machinery and Chemical Industry Corporation of the Armed Forces (MKE), its Cankırı plant will start from the spring of 1985 producing twin-barrel 20 mm anti-aircraft field guns with the corporation of the Swiss Oerlikon Company.

The Kırıkkale plant of the MKE too has concluded an accord with the FRG for co-producing from 1986 onwards, 105-mm cannons. The Leopard-I tanks will be equipped with this cannons.

## NAVAL FORCES

The parent company aiming the creation of naval industry has been the Foundation for Strengthening the Navy (DKGV). Thanks to the donations collected from Turkish mmigrant workers abroad, this foundation first constructed two speedboats named "Gurbet-I" and "Gurbet-II" (Exile-I and Exile-II).

According to a survey of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, reported by the daily *Hürriyet* of August 23, 1984, among 24 countries which are capable to produce their own submarines is also Turkey.

The Golcuk dockyards of the Turkish Navy have been developed since the coup d'état for producing Dogan (Lurssen) class missiles armed gunboats, landing craft and even tankers.

In fact, one of the six submarines of the type 209 given by the FRG is being assembled at Golcuk dockyards. It is reported that Turkey will be able to assemble 8 or more submarines at the same dockyards.

The Turkish Navy has bought from the FRG 4 "MEKO-200" escort boats. The first two will be delivered in 1986, the two others will be assembled at Turkish dockyards.

## INVENTORY OF THE ARMAMENTS OF THE TURKISH ARMY

The Turkish Armed Forces constitute today the second of the most powerful armies of the NATO. Their strength rise to 711,000 (of which 80,000 are permanent). In the case of a military mobilisation, 833,000 reservists can be called to arms. For the conscripts the duration of service is 18 months.

### LAND FORCES

They are composed of 4 armies which have their headquarters in Istanbul, Malatya, Erzincan and Izmir.

- The First Army is responsible —on the operational plan— for Eastern Thrace and mainly composed of armoured units and those of mobil operations.

- The Second Army is responsible for Central and Northern Anatolia, the Dardanelles and furnishes the Turkish forces in Cyprus with supplies.

The Third Army controls the Eastern Anatolia and is integrated, like the First and Second Armies, in the operational command of NATO.

- The Fourth Army is responsible for the Aegean region. It was created in 1975 and is not incorporated into the operational command of NATO.

The four armies comprise of 10 corps, 2 mechanized infantry divisions, 6 armoured brigades, 4 mechanized brigades, 14 infantry divisions and 11 infantry brigades, 1 brigade of paratroopers and 1 brigade of commandos. There are also 4 battalions equipped with 54 "Honest John" sol-sol missiles and 48 independent units (8 of Reconnaissance, 32 of artillery and 8 anti-air artillery).

The strength of the Land Forces rises to 470,000 (of which 60,000 are permanent). In the case of military mobilisation, 700,000 reservists can be called to arms.

The armament of the Land Forces in different sectors:

**ARMoured FORCES:** 100 M-26; 50 Leopard 1A3; 600 M-47; 3,000 M-48 MBT; 2,000 M-113; 1,200 Commando APC.

**ARTILLERY:** 95 guns M-116A1 of 75 mm; 140 M-101A1 of 105 mm; 150 M-59 and 400 M-114A1 of 155 mm; 116 M-115 of 203 mm; 400 M-7/M-108 of 105 mm; 210 M-48 of 155 mm; 48 M-100 of 203 mm. The artillery has at its disposal also 1,750 guns of 60, 81 and 107 mm; howitzers of 120 mm; 18 "Honest John" sol-sol missiles and M-44 guns of 155 mm.

**ANTI-TANK ARMS:** 1,200 guns of 57 mm; 390 of 75 mm; 800 of 106 mm; also 85 Cobra missiles, SS-SS-11 missiles, TOW guided missiles. Besides, 2,500 Milan guided missiles have been ordered.

**ANTI-AIR ARMS:** 300 twins of 20 mm; 900 guns of 40 mm as well as M-51 guns and 75 mm and M-117/8 guns of 90 mm.

**AIRCRAFTS OF THE ARMY:** 18 U-17; 2 DHC-2; 6 Cessna-206; 3 Cessna 421; 15 Dornier-27; 9 Dornier-28; 20 Baron; 5 T-42; 40 Citabria 150S training planes; 156 Augusta-Bell 204/5 helicopters; 20 Bell 47G; 48 UH-1D and 30 TH-300G. Besides, 27 UH-1H helicopters have already been ordered.

### AIR FORCES

Their strength is of 53,000 men (of which 20,000 are permanent). 66,000 reservists can be called to arms in the case of mobilization.

The Air Force is composed of 4 commands (2 tactical, 1 administrative and 1 training).

**13 SQUADRONS OF BOMBARDIER,** of which 2 are equipped with 42 F-5A and 12 F-5b, 2 with 40 F-100c-DF, 6 with 82 F-4E and 6 RF-4E, and 3 squadrons with 50 F/TF-104G.

**2 SQUADRONS OF CONTAINMENT,** equipped with 30 F-104S.

**1 RECONNAISSANCE SQUADRON,** equipped with 20 RF-5A and F-5B.

**6 TRANSPORT SQUADRONS:** 2 equipped with

7 C-130 E and 20 C-160D, 3 squadrons equipped with 30 C-47A and one squadron with 3 "VIP", 2 Islander, 12 helicopters UH-1D/H and 5 UH-19D.

**9 BASIC FLIGHTS SQUADRONS:** They have at their disposal 40 T-33A, 2 C-47A and 2 UH-1H helicopters.

**3 TRAINING SQUADRONS:** Equipped with 24 T-34, 25 T-37, 60 T-38 and 30 T-41.

There are also **SPECIAL MISSION SQUADRONS** which have at their disposal 36 F-100C/F and 20 F/TF-104 and another VIP fleet with 2-C47A.

**AIR-AIR MISSILES:** 750 Super Sidewinder AIM-9P3 as well as Sidewinder, Sparrow, Falcon and Shafrir missiles.

**AIR-SOL MISSILES:** AS-12, Bullpup and Maverick.

There are also 8 SOL-AIR squadrons equipped with 36 Nike-Hercules and 36 Nike Ajax.

### NAVAL FORCES

The strength of the Navy is of 46,000 men (of which 10,000 are permanent). 70,000 reservists can be called to arms in the case of war.

There are 5 naval bases in Turkey: Gölçük, Izmir, Istanbul, Ereğli and Iskenderun.

**SUBMARINES:** 5 type 209, 10 ex-US Guppy, 1 Tang, 1 ex-US Balao.

**DESTROYERS:** 9 Gearing (2 leased, 5 with 1x8 ASROC), 4 Fletcher, 2 Sumer, 2 Carpenter and 2 frigates Berk (each carrying 1 helicopter).

**PATROL BOATS:** There are 13 patrol boats with missiles and 8 with torpedos. In detail: 4 type Dogan (Lurssen FPB-57) with 2x4 Harpoon SSM; 9 Kartal (T 141 Jaguar) with 4 Penguin-2 SSM; 7 boats with Jaguar torpedos and one with type Girne.

**MINELAYERS:** 1 Type Nusret and 9 coastal minelayers.

**MINESWEEPERS:** 12 Type US Adjutant, 4 ex-Can MCB, 6 ex-Vegesack coastal, 4 ex-US Cape.

There are also 72 landing ships of different types, 66 auxiliary ships (of which 9 tankers) and 25 patrol boats.

Some other ships have already been ordered: One submarine Type 209, 4 frigates Meko-200, 2 Lurssen carrying missiles, 13 landing ships as well as Harpoon missiles.

The fleet comprises also one anti-submarine unity, equipped with 18 S-2E aircraft and 7 AB-204B and AB-212 helicopters.

The Marines Brigade is a 5,000-man unity which is composed of a headquarter, 3 operation battalions, an artillery battalion and a unity of support.

### FORCES IN CYPRUS

To the list above it should be added a Corps comprising 2 infantry divisions (total strength: 17,000) which is charged with maintaining occupation regime in the northern part of Cyprus. This corps has at its disposal 150 armoured tanks and vehicles (M-47/48 and M-113) as well as 212 guns of 105 and 155 mm. It has also Howitzers of 203 mm and anti-air guns of 40 mm.

(Sources: *Turkey Almanac 1983*, Ankara; IISS, *The Military Balance 1983-1984*, London, 1984. It must be underlined that the data given above do not comprise the last orders of arms which are explained in the principal article of this issue).

On the other hand, 13 LCT landing boats are being constructed in the dockyards of Taskızak with the collaboration of the FRG. Three of these boats and one coast-guard boat have already been launched on July 27, 1984. A few weeks later, on September 9, the first tank landing boat, equipped with two 20-mm Orligon guns and 12.7-mm Vikera guns, were launched at the naval dockyards in Izmir.

It was recently announced that, the Turkish Navy decided to build a new naval base in the zone of Aksaz in the region of Marmaris of the Aegean Coast. This new installation to be named "SouthWestern Anatolian Naval Base" costs about 2,772 million Turkish Liras.

#### TURKEY, A NUCLEAR POWER?

The level attained by the Turkish war industry, though very far from the minimum standards of the NATO, is already being observed with anxiety by Turkey's neighbours. The Turkish military occupation of the northern part of Cyprus and the Turkish Army's penetration into the territory of Iraq in 1983 and 1984 have already been alarming for Greece and Islamic countries of the Middle East, even for Israel.

On February 27, 1984, a Greek newspaper, *Idisis*, reported that Turkey was planning the construction of a giant military base in Corlu, 75 miles far from Bulgaria and 85 miles from Greece. The US sources claimed that this base which costs about 16 million dollars would be under NATO control. But both of these western neighbours of Turkey see this new base as a menace to their security.

Another Greek newspaper, *To Vima*, announced in its issue of May 13, 1984 that Turkey would have nuclear arms as well within a 10-year period. The origin of this alarm cry is the fact that Turkey is still bargaining with some countries for building her first nuclear power plant at Akkuyu in the province of Mersin. The three foreign companies which have given

their letter of intent for this project were the U.S. based Westinghouse Company, the Canadian AECL and the West German Krafwerke Union. The Turkish Government announced that it will sign the contract with the one that accepts to transfer the power plant to Turkey after having constructed it.

What are the real perspectives of the Turkish war industry? Can it attain to the level of the war industries of other NATO countries? It has already been disclosed that European countries set up consortiums to manufacture jointly new arms. And there is a project that has been going on for years to standardize NATO arms. Can Turkey take part in this process?

Turkish Defence Minister Yavuztürk replied to these questions in an interview to the *Turkish Daily News* of September 13, 1984:

"Turkey has an established capacity in regard to the defence industry. We need to properly utilise this capacity. Today we have a good foundation even working only in single shifts. We can increase the shifts and boost our capacity. This could also help ease the unemployment problem. Turkey has to break away from the tradition of being a country that always buys arms. We have the know how and the necessary technology. We should not be regarded as underdeveloped in this field. The NATO defense ministers discuss the new generation of weapons for the 1990s. With the current pace of technological developments, the arms in use today become outdated very quickly. We want to have a part in the manufacture of new weapons systems and modernizing air forces. Turkey should be able to sell arms while also buying them."

At what price?

At the cost of respectively 11.68 and 19.8 pc of Turkey's GNP and state budget being wasted in a country which suffers from high unemployment and lack of education and health services, not to mention malnutrition. That is the bitter gift this 48 million population of a country belonging to the NATO Alliance, has been given by the military.

TO THE ATTENTION OF OUR READERS: This number of *Bulletin Info-Türk* is completely devoted to one subject: Crazy Arms Race in Turkey... Information concerning State terror, political and social life in Turkey as well as Turkish immigration will be given in the coming issue which will appear within a few weeks.