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(20)



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State Information Organization
Ankara - Turkey



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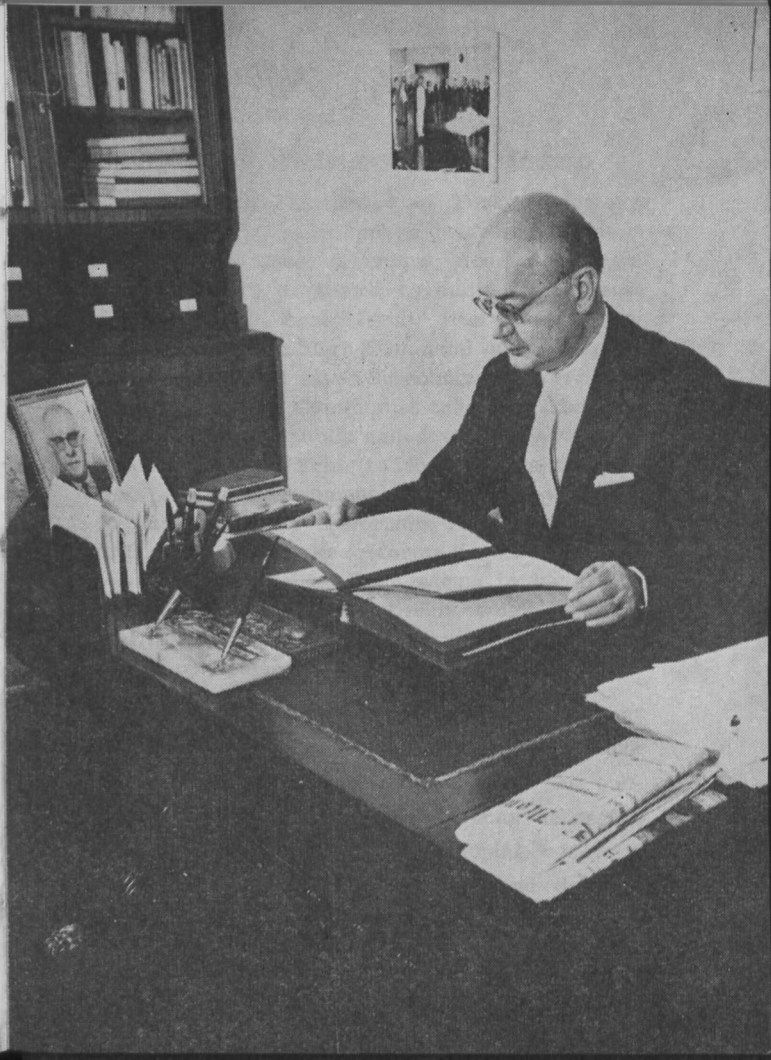
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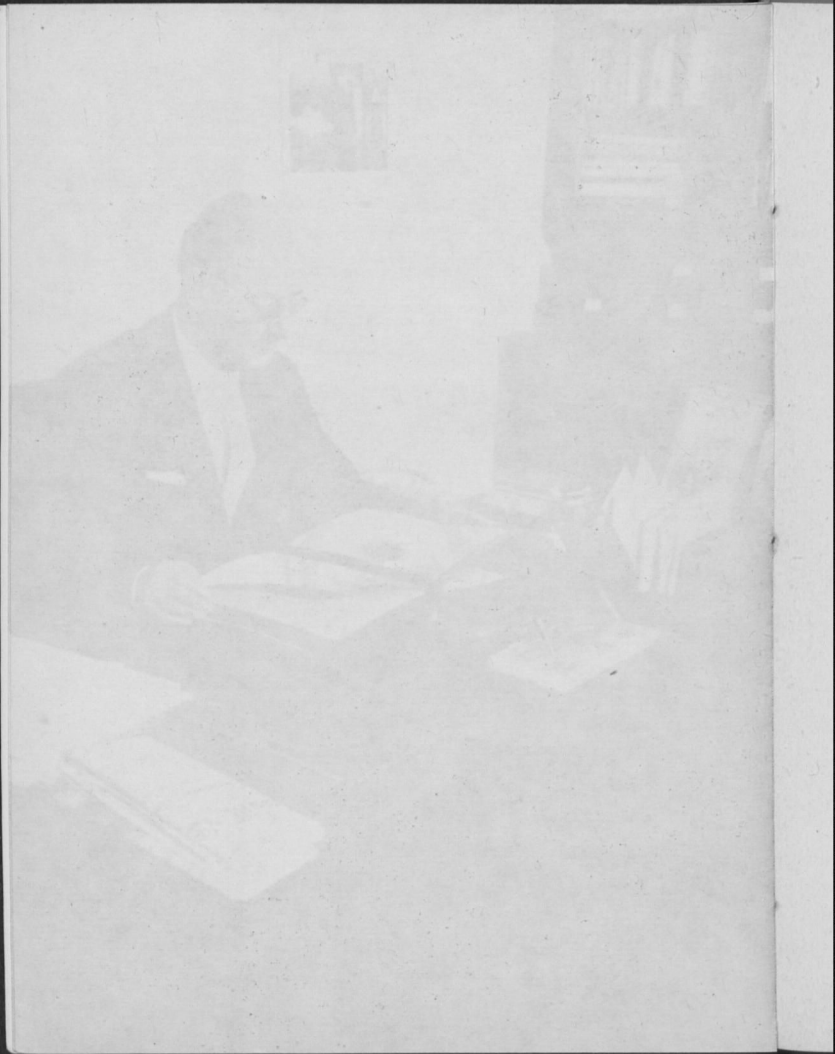


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A Prime Minister and his Mission

At a crucial period in Turkey's history, a self-effacing, quiet-spoken professor of international law heads a unique, non-partisan government with a mission to make Turkey safe for democracy. Last March, after a timely intervention by the High Command of the Turkish armed forces had saved the country from civil war and prevented a Communist take-over, the President of the Republic called the sixty-year old Professor Nihat Erim to form an «above-parties» reform government. His mission would be to put an end to terrorism, establish law and order and undertake reforms in all fields. A year later, Professor Erim seems to be approaching the goals of his mission, which he summarizes as «ensuring the survival of constitutional parliamentary democracy in Turkey».

In order to understand fully the current situation in Turkey and to comprehend the task of Professor Erim, a brief review of the political evolution of the country may be useful. Although considered a «developing country», Turkey, in its political heritage and develop-

ment, has very little in common with the other developing countries of the world. A nation which over the centuries has established seventeen independent states, Turks are heirs to a rich tradition of statecraft, especially in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The roots of the struggle for a constitutional government and democracy lie in the events going back at least 140 years in the history of the nation. This struggle was given a more organised form by the Young Turks in the nineteenth century. It culminated first in the overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of the Republic by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and later, in 1945, in the establishment of a multi-party democratic regime. Loopholes in the Constitution led to excesses by the majority party, which in turn brought about the Revolution of May 1960.

The armed forces, however, turned over the administration of the country in a short time to a civilian government, once a new Constitution was adopted. Free general elections were held in 1961.

Reasons for deterioration of the internal situation to near anarchy forcing the armed forces to intervene once again on 12 March 1971 are too complex to be summarized within the scope of this article. However it would be safe to point out that writers of the Constitution of 1961, in their zeal to counteract the excesses of the previous regime, failed to establish proper safeguards against abuses of the rights and freedoms provided by the Constitution and created autonomous institutions without proper matching responsibilities. For example, the Constitution did not contain a provision similar to Article 17 (*) of the European Human Rights Convention, a safeguard which exists in all modern Constitutions; as a result government authority was weakened. Extremists were able

(*) *Article 17 : «Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein or their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the Convention.»*

to operate freely; in effect openly trying to bring down the constitutional regime benefiting from the rights and freedoms accorded to them by the Constitution.

The situation which had worsened gradually after 1963, entered a new phase in 1968 when student protests degenerated into armed fights between rightist and leftist extremists. Professional agents, trained, armed and directed from outside Turkey were able to transform leftist student organisations into urban guerrilla units which carried on kidnappings, bombings and political killings. Openly proclaiming that they were Leninist - Marxist - Maoist, young terrorists, with the support of some Professors had turned some of the Universities into Communist arsenals and strongholds, preparing for the establishment of a Communist People's Republic in Turkey. With extreme rightists forming para-military organisations modelled after Hitler's storm-troopers and preparing for a Holy War against «Communists» and the Government unable to control the situation, the country was on the brink of civil war and/or a Communist take-over. It was at

this point that the High Command of the armed forces reluctantly intervened once again.

Through the Memorandum of 12 March, presented to the President of the Republic, to Parliament and the Government, the armed forces drew the attention of all concerned to the dangerous situation and called for the formation of an «above-parties» government, supported by the Parliament and acting within the framework of the Constitution, which would re-establish law and order, put an end to terrorism and undertake at once the implementation of reforms stipulated in the Constitution.

In effect the armed forces were not taking over the administration of the country and putting an end to the parliamentary constitutional democracy. They were warning the politicians to make the country safe for democracy.

At this point one has to understand that the Turkish armed forces are different in composition, spirit and orientation from other armed forces of the world. Traditionally Turkish officers have been leaders in the struggle for progress and democracy in Turkey. Most of the

Young Turks were officers; the founders of the modern Turkish Republic were officers. The Spirit of Ataturk, that of progress and Westernization, is imbued in all Turkish officers. The Turkish army is not a caste by itself but a cross section of the nation. Officers consider themselves the trustees of Ataturk's Republic and Reforms. Therefore, it is natural that when the Republic is in danger the army steps in to defend it. Thus, once again, in 1971 the armed forces intervened to save constitutional democracy in Turkey.

Professor Erim formed his two succeeding governments by democratic processes, in consultation with the political parties. He drew members of his cabinet from the three leading parties, the Justice Party, the People's Republican Party and the Reliance Party, representing 85 % of the electorate. Although his governments cannot be termed coalition governments in the normal sense of the term, he has depended on the support and consensus of opinion of these parties.

He governs with all the democratic institutions operating freely under the Constitution. (Parliament gave a vote of confidence of 321

votes for, 48 against and 5 abstentions for the first Erim Government; 301 votes for, 45 against and 3 abstention for the second Erim Government.)

The major achievement of Professor Erim has been the establishment of law and order. This was mainly possible through proclamation of Martial law in six provinces - a measure stipulated in the Constitution. Some of the terrorists have gone underground and the main leaders are still at large. But terrorism has been stopped and many urban guerrillas have been arrested and brought to trial.

Another important achievement has been the adoption by Parliament of important amendments to the Constitution. The too-liberal provisions of the Constitution which permitted extremists to benefit from Constitutional guarantees in order to undermine the Constitution itself have been amended. A new article, based on Article 17 of the European Human Rights Convention, is intended as a check against abuses of rights and freedoms.

Amendments to the Penal Code and the Associations Law will fill other loopholes which



have helped the extremists. These are similar to measures adopted in Canada against terrorism. Amendments to the Law for Political Parties and to the Electoral Law are designed to ensure true representative democracy and prevent abuses of party machines.

But Professor Erim considers bills to bring about reforms in education, in universities, in fiscal administration, in civil administration, in the judiciary and in agriculture the main aim of his Government. These reforms, envisaged by the late Atatürk and stipulated in the Constitution, would cure ills in the social and political structure of the country and take the wind out of the sails of extremists. Most of the bills are now ready and about to be presented to Parliament. They will be freely debated in both Houses, but Professor Erim has, through consultation and discussion, been able to muster a consensus for the support of these crucial bills.

Erim will consider his mission completed when the main reform bills have been adopted and legal safeguards for the survival of a parliamentary regime have been made.

This achievement will be a fitting climax to a brilliant academic and political career. Born

in 1912 at Kandıra near Istanbul, Erim graduated from the élite Galatasaray College and later studied law at the University of Istanbul. He obtained his Ph. D. in International Law from the University of Paris where he also received the certificate and diploma of the Institute for Advanced International Studies.

He started teaching at Ankara University in 1939 and became a full professor in 1942. He was also at that time named Legal Adviser of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In that capacity he took part as a member of the Turkish Delegation in the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945. During the same year he was drafted into politics and elected a member of Parliament from his home province. Later he joined the ranks of the People's Republican Party.

In 1948 he was appointed Minister of Public Works, in which capacity he was responsible for the establishment of the Turkish Highways Administration along the lines of the U.S. Public Roads Administration and with the assistance of American experts. In 1949 he was named Deputy Prime Minister and was responsible for the preparation of the new electoral law providing ground rules for universal suffrage and free



elections supervised by independent judges. As the results of the first free elections in Turkey's history in 1950 started pouring in, Erim and other members of the Government stoically accepted the fall of their party power after nearly thirty years.

Erim was a member of the Turkish Delegation to the London Conference on Cyprus which in 1956 worked for a Constitution for that island. He also represented Turkey on the European Commission for Human Rights.

In 1961 he was elected once again to Parliament. When President Sunay called on him to form the new Government in March 1971, Erim resigned from the People's Republican Party to confirm his non-partisan stand.

A respected personality, known for his statesmanship and common sense, the choice was well received throughout Turkey. The fact that he has been an uncompromising follower of Atatürk and at the same time a defender of parliamentary democracy were considered adequate guarantees. Erim has reiterated on several occasions that «he would never govern without the support of Parliament».

Erim has acted with courage, in presenting various bills to Parliament and in other decisions. One such decision has been his ban on opium poppy cultivation. Involving more than a million people and affecting the social and economic structure of seven provinces, this decision was bound to provoke bitter political opposition. But Erim is sticking to his guns. He says, «Our decision was motivated purely by humanitarian considerations. We could not have remained indifferent to the sufferings caused by drug addiction. We had to do our share in combatting this evil. We cannot make this a bargaining matter.»

In his private life, Erim is a devoted family man: He has a son and a daughter and three grandchildren. «I have a personal stake in Turkish democracy», he says, «I must make sure that my grandchildren will grow up to live in a truly democratic country».

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 and in this case I am not at all
 in his private life I am a devoted
 wife, I have a son and a daughter and
 three grandchildren. I have a personal stake in
 British democracy, for if that must give
 that my grandchildren will grow up to live in a
 democratic and just society.



Prime Minister Erim Speaks Out...

Principles of Atatürk

«Our aim is to raise Turkey to the level of contemporary civilisation on the road traced by Atatürk.»

(Book of Honour of the Atatürk Mausoleum, March 27, 1971)

«Our confidence is absolute in the attachment of the Turkish youth to the principles of Atatürk, as well as in its constructive and creative power.»

(Declaration on Government Programme in the National Assembly, April 2, 1971)

«Together with secularism which we consider as one of the most important among Atatürk's reforms, development in economic and political independence is a principle which we cannot renounce.»

(Declaration on Government Programme in the Senate, April 6, 1971)

«The Government has made a definition of Atatürk's principles in its own programme, and has prepared this programme according to his own understanding. For us, Atatürk's principles

are those embodied in this programme, and they should be interpreted as they are redacted in this programme.»

(Debate on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Atatürk's policy is an honourable policy. As of the very start, we consider it a duty for ourselves to march on the road traced by Atatürk. If we succeed within our own means, to help Turkey take a few steps toward the target and ideal foreseen by Atatürk, we shall consider ourselves as having rendered service to our country.»

(Debate on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«We have witnessed considerable divergences from Atatürk's principles, and more especially from secularism. It is most deplorable that this is a fact.»

(Interview with the correspondent of La Tribune de Genève, June 18, 1971)

International Relations

«The fact that we look upon certain problems from a different angle (than the United States) should be considered as a normal conse-

quence of our friendship based on mutual understanding and sincerity, as the best proof of its stability, and as the result of the political concept of the western world to which the two countries belong.»

(Government Programme presented to the National Assembly, April 2, 1971)

«As a member of the United Nations we shall conform with the decisions of this Organization (concerning the Middle East conflict). We are in favour of impartiality).»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 23, 1971)

«I am convinced that Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic as a State directed toward western civilisation. Turkey must take part in the unification movement of Europe. In my opinion, the political aspect of the problem is as important as, and perhaps more so than, its economic aspect.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 23, 1971)

«Turkey will continue its membership in the NATO. Under its existing conditions, the best means of assuring the security of Turkey

is to remain in a common defence system. For the moment, Turkey cannot adopt a policy of non-alignment.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 23, 1971)

«International security rests today on two groupings of States. There exists an inevitable mutual tie among the nations. Turkey today is as independent as a nation can be.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Figaro, May 29, 1971)

«I have always made the following point clear: In the Middle East conflict. Turkey should always remain neutral, and strictly so, between the two parties; such an attitude on her part should contribute to finding a solution to this conflict.»

(Interview with the correspondent of La Tribune de Genève, June 18, 1971)

Cyprus Problem

«Turkey is determined today, as ever, to defend her own security and that of her brethren in Cyprus with all the means at her disposal, in case of new aggression by the Greek Cypriot Administration against the rights of the Turkish

Cypriot Community established through agreements.»

(Government Programme presented to the National Assembly, April 2, 1971)

«We shall support our brethren in Cyprus. Every kind of fait accompli against their rights will immediately receive from us the reply it deserves.»

(Declaration on Government Programme in the Senate, April 4, 1971)

«Greece, as well as the Greeks in Cyprus are perfectly aware that offence against the rights of Turkish Cypriots and all acts of violence directed against them will move 36 million Turks into action.»

(Declaration on Government Programme in the Senate, April 4, 1971)

«We shall continue with our policy of supporting our brothers in Cyprus and protecting them against all aggression on their rights.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 23, 1971)

Opium Problem

«Indeed, Turkey has not remained a stranger to the development of the problem of narcotic drugs, to the international agreements made in

this matter since the beginning of the 20th century, and to the work of the United Nations. On the contrary, she has joined in the agreements and has taken decisions to end this disaster.»

(Statement, June 30, 1971)

«It is certain that a smuggler's gang organized on an international scale, constitutes a political and economic problem for Turkey. They will not be permitted to play around with the prestige of our country any further.»

(Statement, June 30, 1971)

«The Turkish villager also naturally feels bitter against this problem created by the smugglers who make millions from the back of our farmers. All Turkish citizens also feel a moral pain because our country is blamed for the smuggling which is poisoning world youth.»

(Statement, June 30, 1971)

«We cannot allow Turkey's supreme interests and the prestige of our nation to be further shaken. Our Government has decided to apply a clear and firm solution. It forbids completely the planting of poppies.»

(Statement, June 30, 1971)

«Furthermore, in order to replace the income lost by farmers, and to provide them other means of earning a living, long-term investments will be made in the region. Until these investments give fruit, villagers will continue to be given compensation.»

(Statement, June 30, 1971)

Economy

«We consider mixed economy as the best means for the development of Turkey. We strongly reject the mentality that considers private enterprise and private gain a theft. We do not dwell on the ownership of an enterprise. What we lay greater emphasis on is in whose hands the enterprise can prove most productive.»

(Talk with businessmen, August 21, 1971)

«A country will continue to develop as long as it can establish a balance between labour, capital, and enterprise.»

(Talk with labour representatives, August 22, 1971)

«As a government, we would like to reach a point whereby we will be able to solve the economic problems of our country not only to

the satisfaction of workers and employers, by regulating relations between the Government and the workers or through a tripartite agreement among Government, workers and employers, if we succeed later in realizing it, but also to benefit national interests as a whole, and to cooperate in the conduct of affairs for this purpose. We have to start from this point in order to achieve our ultimate aim.»

(Talk with labour representatives, August 22, 1971)

«In a country like ours which is governed by a democratic system, we should exercise mutual support before our national problems are determined by the Government alone; and the results we reach should not represent the interests of one class or one group, but those providing for the balanced order of our national interests.»

(Talk with labour representatives, August 22, 1971)

Terrorist Actions

«... because these organisations do not really want democratic order to reign in Turkey, and that human rights and freedoms to survive in

this country. They do not want the basic principles mentioned in the preamble of the 1961 Constitution to be implemented, and Turkey to exist in a free democratic order. No, they do not want it. They openly declare it, and say that they will reverse it, and replace it with a Marxist, Leninist, Maoist order. Whatever reform I may bring in shall not suffice to stop it.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«Everyone should understand once and for all that there is no question of returning to the period before March 12; that is over. This Turkey will be a different one, looking forward. Free democratic order will continue, the secular Republic will survive, and we shall not fall again into a situation like the 12th of March.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«The Turkish State is an indivisible entity with its land and people. We say : «You can not use the recognized rights and freedoms in order to destroy it.» I believe no one who calls himself a Turk will refute this.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«To carry out continuous and systematic insinuations, to undermine or to help undermine the integrity of the Turkish Republic and the free democratic order on which our State is based will eventually bear the consequence of wearing out the foundation of this State.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«We should always think thus : The essential point is the survival of the Turkish State, the indivisibility of the Turkish Nation, and, above all, not to permit a tiny handful of the minority to lay their hands on the rights recognized for all citizens through this fair Constitution.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 13, 1971)

«Democracy, too, has the right to defend itself against attacks directed toward it, not only in words, but also in action.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution June 13, 1971)

«Those responsible for the fate of a State shall prevent the dismemberment and destruction of this State, and will never allow it.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 13, 1971)

«In any case, we shall not allow Turkey to become a country where anarchists and terrorists will play havoc freely. We are determined to prevent it.»

(Declaration following the murder of the Consul General of Israel in Istanbul, May 21, 1971)

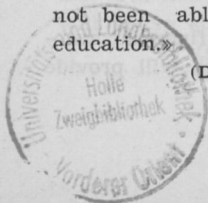
«Those who indulge in terrorist activities in Turkey do not hide their aim of demolishing the regime by use of force, and establishing a Marxist, Leninist, Maoist system. Our attitude towards them is inspired by article 17 of the European Convention of Human Rights. This Convention declares that no one may trample these rights under foot.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 23, 1971)

Education, Universities

«I believe that the reason why Turkey could somehow not complete her modernization since the days of Selim III, is because she has not been able to choose the right path in education.»

(Declaration in the Senate, April 7, 1971)



«In countries like ours equality in education on a vast scale could only be established by providing a profession for young people at the utmost within eight years.»

(Declaration in the Senate, April 7, 1971)

«One of the special drawbacks of Turkey that needs to be corrected today is the belief that culture, science and art are somehow limited to the cities of Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. It is only through extending them to different parts of the country that we can achieve widespread development.»

(Radio-TV talk, on the Constitution, June 12, 1971)

«The students and members of the teaching staff in the universities in Turkey are, when compared with other countries, composed in the great majority of people with high regard for the national interests of the country, aloof toward extremist currents, and fully aware of the requirements of their responsibilities.»

(Radio-TV talk, on the Constitution, June 12, 1971)

«I want us, in this field of financial autonomy, to think of measures which will provide

greater freedom of action for our universities. This point has already been taken in hand in the reforms concerning National Education and Higher Education, the preparation of which is underway.»

(Radio-TV talk, on the Constitution, June 12, 1971)

«A member of the teaching staff occupying a chair in the University can analyze objectively all doctrines and all thoughts from a scientific angle; but he cannot use the university chair as a means of brainwashing the 22 to 23 year-old young people. Our universities are State universities. Because they are State universities, one should always keep in view the basic principles of our Constitution.»

(Radio-TV talk, on the Constitution. June 12, 1971)

«To safeguard the freedom of the Universities, it is essential to re-enforce the organs of the Universities by appropriate measures. Otherwise, measures taken outside the University will not yield the expected results, and they will cause strong reactions.»

(Radio-TV talk, on the Constitution, June 20, 1971)

«The fact that Turkey has not been able to solve her education problem is, in my opinion, the main reason for her tardiness in economic and social progress.»

(Declaration at the Burdur Garrison,
July 29, 1971)

Reforms

«If, for example, I am faced in Parliament with obstruction against reforms, I will follow the course prescribed in the Constitution, and retire from office.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 29, 1971)

«We are obliged to speed up reforms, because there is not much time left, but as the Turkish proverb goes, this is not a dyeing bowl into which we can dip cloth and take it out already dyed, thus solving the problem. We need a little time for it.»

(Interview with the Publik, March 1971)

«Do you want me to summarize my programme for you? It is to set up and to make reforms.»

(Interview with the Publik, March 1971)

«We have to keep pace with progress. Industrialization is an absolute necessity. We have to build our heavy industry and get rid of assembling practice. We must, in any case, lay the foundations for heavy industry.»

(Talk with journalists, March 23, 1971)

«We cannot give up land reform. Land reform is one of the most important problems of Turkey. But no one thinks depriving a person of his property at almost no cost for the sake of achieving reform.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 9, 1971)

«In our country land reform, the agricultural reform, is not solely a question of increasing production. Even more, it is not only a social question either. In other words, it is not simply a matter of giving land to the landless. There are some regions of our country where two or three thousand hectares of land, together with villages and people within its boundary belong to one person. In the age in which we live, this is, above all, a situation contrary to human rights. It must necessarily be eliminated.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Our Government may not have time to carry these reforms to the end. But we would like to initiate and plan them in such a way that the Governments which will succeed us can find no other alternative than to carry on, and not to draw back, or stop them.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«We shall implement land reform in the direction designated by the 1961 Constitution and under guarantee of the said Constitution... We shall realize it by pooling our endeavours with the efforts of our experts, and those of foreign experts who have been successful in this field.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Social problems are never one-sided. They cannot be solved by a single measure. But there are certain measures which will bring a solution to the core of the question; the rest is only the detail. We look upon reforms from this point of view.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«I am convinced that if, while maintaining peace and tranquility through martial law and



legal measures, we implement these reforms fully and without concession, our country will never again be driven to the brink of such a dangerous precipice and our armed forces will never again be obliged to save the country from such a fate.»

(Declaration at the Burdur Garrison,
July 29, 1971)

«If we do not want to see Turkey return to the days before March 12, we must not delay for one day, not even for one hour, in the realization of reforms.»

(Declaration in Parliament, September 23,
1971)

Constitution, Parliament, Administration

«We are convinced that the aim of law, the Constitution, and legislation is not to demolish a State or a society, but to make it live in peace and tranquility.»

(Radio-TV talk on Children's Day, April 22,
1971)

«It is high time, as much for the Government as for Parliament, to overhaul themselves

and to realize, in a joint effort, what the nation and the country expect from the Government and Parliament.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Persons and organs under no control commit errors; these errors grow larger as long as such an uncontrolled state continues, and they transform into offences. Therefore, as long as Parliament will establish close control over us, we shall be all the more happy.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«The fact that the President of the Republic has entrusted me with the duty of forming the Government is in line with democracy and the Constitution.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Our women are, in effect, brought up in such a way as to compete with, even to surpass men in every field. As Atatürk has declared, a society where women do not take part in the social and economic life is bound to remain incomplete.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«Everyone should acquire the right of speech in politics from the first year of primary school.»

(Interview with the correspondent of the Publik, March 1971)

«The changes that we hope to introduce are of a nature to re-enforce and maintain the 1961 Constitution in order perpetuate our secular and democratic Republic based on human rights.»

(Declaration on vote of confidence in the National Assembly, April 7, 1971)

«No one should have the right or the possibility to establish a class dictatorship in Turkey by using the provisions of the Constitution as a stepping-stone, or to drive it back into the depths of the Middle Ages.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, May 27, 1971)

«Our Republic is a secular Republic. If therefore, you introduce a religious or sectarian quarrel to it, its secular character will be spoilt and, in addition, the integrity of the State as a nation will be exposed to danger.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«Everyone is bound by loyalty to the Constitution, and when we say «everyone», this includes the man in private business, the professor, the judge, the employee in the radio-television, the politician, etc...»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«In our view, the right to form unions belongs to the employers and to the employees. Officials who are not qualified as workers may form professional associations. There is nothing to hinder them, but they cannot form unions.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«It is imperative to keep the supreme interests of the State in view, to furnish true information, and to apply the principle of impartiality toward all associations and organizations whether public or private.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«It is essential, naturally, that TRT (Turkish Radio-Television Organization) should remain over and above all inter-party disputes,



observe objectivity, and bring the occurrences to the attention of the public opinion and the citizens with complete impartiality.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«TRT is the voice of the Turkish State, of the Turkish nation. It should observe strict impartiality in its broadcasts, but it should also accomplish its duty of enhancing the development of Turkish culture and art. This, in my opinion, is the principal task of TRT.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«The Turkish TRT, in the service of the Turkish State and nation, must work in the direction of the supreme interests of the country.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«Democracies today are democracies based on public opinion. No matter what you inscribe in the laws and the Constitution, if public opinion does not own and control them, they are bound to remain on paper. If in a country, the public opinion claims ownership over rights, if it

controls responsible people, all will work well and without difficulty.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«Constitutions are not inanimated systems. They live together with the nation which constitutes the State whose basic principles they regulate. They are not dogmatic and do not retain their initial form during the course of happy and unhappy stages through which this nation has passed and will pass for years. In every country amendments are made in the Constitution when such is deemed necessary, articles are added or deleted, certain measures are softened, and others are re-enforced.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, July 20, 1971)

«The common sense of our citizens and the national conscience shall be the sole judge. For future developments, it is useful to clarify the present thoughts and attitudes of all those concerned and responsible. This is a good practice of democracy.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, July 20, 1971)

«A State in which laws are fearlessly trampled under foot cannot be called a State in the true sense of the word. The Turkish nation is one that has always known how to form strong and organized States and to make them survive throughout the ages of history.»

(Reading of the Government Programme in the National Assembly, April 2, 1971)

«It is because we have not known how to lubricate the machine, that the ball-bearings of the engine of democracy have been burnt. My aim is to establish regular contact and solidarity with the party leaders in order to protect the engine from burning.»

(Interview with the Editor of Milliyet, April 4, 1971)

«When speaking of the «left» in Turkey, one should always make a distinction. The left of the centre, the social democracy, is under the guarantee of the Constitution and the law today, as ever. But both the Constitution and the law prohibit communism and the extreme left.»

(Declaration to the French Radio-TV, June 6, 1971)

«People talk differently when they are in the opposition than when they are in power.»

(Declaration on Government Programme in Parliament, April 5, 1971)

«It is not right to claim that Turkey is governed by the Army, because there cannot exist a Parliament freely elected and composed of different parties in a State governed by the Army.»

(Declaration to the French Radio-TV, May 30, 1971)

«I am in favour of a Parliamentary system, and that is all. But if a country is faced with an extraordinary situation, a serious crisis, there will naturally be need for exceptional measures.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Monde, April 24, 1971)

«It will be sufficient if our political parties show as much understanding as our ordinary citizens do; we ask for no more.»

(Talk with journalists, July 1, 1971)

«I would like to point out as well that in modern democracies the hand of the statesman should always feel the pulse of the public opinion. Our greatest force will be to see conscientious,

responsible, distinguished, and intelligent people by our side.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution,
July 15, 1971)

«I do not think either, that there will be a Parliament which will dare to offer communism.»

(Declaration in the Senate, September 13,
1971)

«If supposing I have fallen under the influence of certain circles, have all the four political groups and Parliament also been under influence? Have the four big parties lost their minds? We must give up such criticism and such attitudes.»

(Declaration in the Senate, September 13,
1971)

«Modification in the Constitution will not solve everything. Amendment of the Constitution will lead the way to the promulgation of a series of new laws. The Government will now exert all its effort to prepare these laws.»

(Talk with businessmen, August 21, 1971)

«Our Constitution is open to social democracy and democratic socialism. But this should not be against free democratic order, Kemalist

nationalism, and private enterprise. Our Constitution is closed to Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism, under the name of scientific socialism. It also interdicts fascism.»

(Declaration on the Constitution in Parliament, September 5, 1971)

«Constitutions are not rigid and frozen things. They live together with the nation, and lead a dynamic existence like the nation, like the life of a nation.»

(Declaration in Parliament, September 6, 1971)

«The basis of our Constitution is free democratic order, Kemalist nationalism, mixed economy, private ownership, and private enterprise. Social State, social democracy, and democratic socialism not in contradiction with these principles will certainly survive in Turkey. What is prohibited is an attitude which leads to Marxism, Leninism, Maoism or anarchy, under the name of scientific socialism with a view to establishing the domination of one class over the other.»

(Declaration in the National Assembly, September 6, 1971)

«The extreme left is revolutionist. For example, it refuses to accept the Parliamentary democracy established by free election and based on the European Declaration on Human Rights.»

(Interview with the correspondent of Le Figaro, May 29, 1971)

«I will not be the head of a Government in contradiction to the desire of Parliament.»

(Interview with the correspondent of La Tribune de Genève, June 18, 1971)

«Democracy never comes too early...; this is a lesser evil. And now that we have owned democracy, what can we replace it with?... In spite of all, Turkey of 1971, with all her difficulties, is in a situation preferable to that of 1945.»

(Interview with the correspondent of La Tribune de Genève, June 18, 1971)

«March 12 has provided us the opportunity to ward off the excesses of one extreme as well as the other, or of both.»

(Interview with the correspondent of La Tribune de Genève, June 18, 1971)

«Turkey can be modernized by the support of a Parliament in working order. But we shall be an inseparable part of the European Com-

munity only when we create a contemporary Turkey.»

(Interview with the Publik, March 1971)

«Meanwhile, there is a limit to autonomy, just as there is a limit to everything.»

(Declaration in the Senate, September 14, 1971)

«In some of our institutions autonomy is murdered in the name of autonomy.»

(Declaration in the Senate, September 14, 1971)

«I am not a narrow-minded person like some people, I am not a man who persists, until the end of his life, on what he has once said, because he considers it as a doctrine.»

(Declaration in the Senate, September 14, 1971)

«The Government has only one desire, and that is to leave the conditions of March 12 behind, in order to return to the normal and to see the State continue on its way.»

(Declaration in the National Assembly, September 23, 1971)

Armed Forces

«We are determined to eliminate all extra-structural factors that cause uneasiness to the Turkish Armed Forces, the principal guarantee of our independent Republic and of our national existence and integrity, and the basic element of our national defence power.»

(Reading of the Government Programme in the National Assembly, April 2, 1971)

«As you know, our Government has assumed power as a result of action taken by the Turkish Armed Forces, emerging out of the heart of the Turkish nation and reflecting the desire of all our citizens. This desire will save our country from anarchy and fraternal quarrel.»

(Radio-TV talk on Children's Day, April 22, 1971)

«Turkish soldiers, Turkish commanders do not like to mix in politics. Although there have been times when they intervened in politics, these have always been for adjusting deviations and for reminding us of the need to return to the right path. The right path for Turkey is the one outlined by Atatürk, and the reforms envisaged by him.»

(Declaration to French Radio-TV, June 6, 1971)

«Turkey cannot live under martial law forever. It should not. This is not the main task of the army; it is to prepare the defence of the country, and to direct its efforts to that end.»

(Radio-TV talk on the Constitution, June 8, 1971)

«Our country is really going through a test and a new stage. Today, as in the past, our success in going through this stage will depend in great measure and above all on the vigilance of our army, and more specially of our officers of all ranks, toward the course of civilisation and Kemalist nationalism, and on their sense of duty.»

(Declaration at the Gülhane Military Medical Academy, June 19, 1971)

«The victory of Turkey in the civilisation contest, in the struggle for liberation depends, above all and in the first place, on the vigilance of the Turkish officers.»

(Declaration at the Gülhane Military Medical Academy, June 19, 1971)

«No matter from where the danger may come, it will certainly be faced at the last minute, by the Turkish armed forces. So long as the Turkish armed forces, and particularly our offi-

cers, remain as nationalists and conscientious intellectuals, loyal to their country and to the Kemalist régime, interlocked in friendship and under a faultlessly functioning chain of command, I am convinced that no danger from within or without can find any occasion to cause destruction to Turkey.»

(Declaration to Officers in the Burdur Garrison, July 29, 1971)

BAŞBAKANLIK KÜTÜPHANESİ — 1972



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«Our country's good-governed officers are
the backbone of our army. Their vigilance and
loyalty are the guarantee of our success in
going through the difficult stages of our
great mission and above all on the eve of
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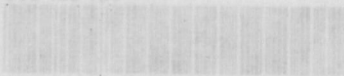
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