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# TURKEY

from 12 September 1980 to 12 September 1981

KENAN EVREN

General

The Head of State

Chief of the National Security Council  
and General Staff





## ATTENTION:

- Embargoed until 19.00 hrs on September 12 th, 1981

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THE HEAD OF STATE GENERAL KENAN EVREN'S  
SEPTEMBER 12 SPEECH

My fellow countrymen,

As you all know today is the first anniversary of the September 12 military intervention that saved the Turkish Republic, founded and entrusted to the Turkish Youth 57 years ago by our great leader Atatürk, from the periphery of chaos as a result of the collaboration of enemies both from within and outside the country. I have prepared this speech not to celebrate the first anniversary of the September 12 intervention, but to refreshen your minds to recall the accomplishments that have been realised during this past year which went so quickly and to give you a

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Ever since 1923, Turkey has regained its political and economic autonomy as a result of the War of Independence that it fought under the leadership of Atatürk, and began to become a free and a powerful country. Turkey occasionally became the target of ideological, destructive and subversive assaults. These subversive activities were effective in undermining the unity and solidarity of the Turkish people and the Turkish Republic.

## KENAN EVREN

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The Head of State

Chief of the National Security Council  
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ATTENTION:  
to be returned on 19.00 hrs on  
September 12th 1981

TURKEY

from 12 September 1981



03SA 8000 (22)

KENNAN EVREN  
General  
The Head of State  
Chief of the National Security Council  
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## THE HEAD OF STATE GENERAL KENAN EVREN'S SEPTEMBER 12 SPEECH

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As you all know today is the first anniversary of the September 12 military intervention that saved the Turkish Republic, founded and entrusted to the Turkish Youth 57 years ago by our great leader Atatürk, from the periphery of chaos as a result of the collobration of enemies both from within and outside the country. I have prepared this speech not to celebrate the first anniversary of the September 12 intervention, but to refreshen your minds to recall the accomplishments that have been realised during this past year which went so quickly and to give you a brief account of the year. First of all, in order not to forget, in time the bleak period that had been experienced before September 12, and to keep in mind the lessons that had been learnt from those days so they can guide our endeavour in the future, I find it beneficial to portray those days in brief.

Ever since Turkey gained its political and economic autonomy as a result of the War of Independence that it fought under the leadership of Atatürk, and began to become a free and a powerful country, Turkey occasionally became the target of ideological, destructive and subversive assaults. These subversive activities were effective at times, when Turkey was weakened from within and trapped in the ploy of foreign propoganda and finally when it forgot the importance of unity and solidarity.

Regardless of the tendencies of terror and anarchy that is conducted in Turkey its aim has always been to establish an order in line with their degenerate opinions and beliefs by destroying the Turkish State, the free and secu-

lar democratic system, attempted to dismember the country especially through the youth by degenerating their volvestor the basic principles of our Republic and our national unity, such as loyalty to one's nation, flag, national anthem, norms traditions, ancestors, national history respect for the State, and civic duties

In order to reach this aim, the religious beliefs, professions, political opinions and regional particularities of the Turkish people, who lived in full bonds of brotherhood for centuries and struggled against the enemy and all hardships in one body and soul during and after the War of Independence, were merely used as a tool to make Turkey vulnerable by dividing, the Turkish society into enemy groups and classes:

This sensitive state of affairs was further exacerbated by filling the void with degenerate ideologies which came into being as a result of progressive deviation from the precepts of Ataturk during the parliamentary democracy of the 1950's. In this way, the Turkish society was dragged near the brink of disintegration, with intense subversive efforts and propaganda, which were undoubtedly masterminded and conducted from foreign countries; and during this process, attempts have been made to create so-called leaders at various levels. Such so-called leaders who came into being overtly or secretly, have dared to form certain terrorist organizations, and to direct and bend our country according to their own ideological opinions and beliefs by infiltrating certain associations, schools, trade unions political parties, and public institutions. They resorted to every sort of immoral means in order to include certain districts, streets or even certain cities in their zone of influence, and did not hesitate to indulge in armed struggles.



Thus, Turkey had become an arena where such subversive and ideological destructive struggles were fought during the 1960's and 1970's and our country was brought to the edge of a civil war before September 12. Certain foreign factors besides others in Turkey have also played an important role in the escalation of anarchy and terror to these known dimensions. Turkey has considered the continuation of amicable relations with all the countries as the basic aim of its foreign policy, in line with Atatürk's principles of independence, laicism, democracy and the motto: "Peace at home and Peace in the world".

However, certain states did not reciprocate with the same sincere attitude as it is understood now. Worse, they evidently helped to spread terrorism in Turkey.

Meanwhile, it is also observed that certain countries are helping the development of the Turkish terrorism under the guise of friendship, economic and cultural agreements.

It is also seen that terrorism which is known to be aided and supported by alien sources, has become a part of international terrorism in time, and especially after September 12.

Both the 1971-1973 trials and the investigations and trials after September 12 have proven with documents that terrorism in Turkey has been supported and encouraged to a great extent by certain foreign countries.

Within the light of the documents and the present situation the foreign support extended to Turkey may be summarized as follows :

Until now, the amount of light weapons captured is 605.280, and the number of weapons submitted by people is 160.170, leading to a total of 765.450.

This total amount is capable enough to equip an entire army larger than our Armed Forces, worth approximately 30 Billion TL. (240 million dollars). This number excludes the anti aircrafts, rocket launchers, anti-tank missiles, wirelesses and other weapons and military equipment.

The amount of money seized by terrorists, during the bank robberies since the beginning of 1979 lead up to a sum of 494 million TL. It is impossible for them to purchase such a wide range of weapons, ammunition and military equipment solely by the money acquired from the robberies. In fact, the terrorists have spent most of the money they have robbed on investments for ideological support as well as for their leisure and furnishing luxurious apartments.

It is clear that the the terrorists have received both financial and arms support from abroad. This is proven both by the reasons stated above, and by the confessions of the captured terrorists.

The terrorists aided either directly by the countries through sending weapons and equipment, or through smuggling with connivance and encouragement of the countries concerned.

It is beyond doubt that smuggling is done through our land and sea routes. Our citizens who suffered from default of authority, receiving no protection from the state and were harrassed by foci of terror, felt the need of acquiring weapons from abroad to protect their lives. Cousequently the country was turned into a depot of arsenal.

Today, the publications issued by the terrorist organizations abroad and smuggled into Turkey reach 30 different sorts, and there exists 22 radio stations

abroad engaged in anti-Turkish broadcasts, directing and conditioning the terrorists in Turkey.

One million leaflets issued from more than 60 publication centers, and over 15.000 newspapers are published and distributed.

The traitors who have become evil enough to collaborate with the Armenian organizations abroad, are being trained in the same camps with such people and are able to indulge in activities at times in Turkey under their leadership.

Those who have received abroad political and ideological training, especially, those with a higher education while masterminding plans for brain washing in Turkey at the same time direct the activities of the terrorist organizations and determine their tactics and strategies.

Geographically, Turkey is situated at the crossroads and a passage way where all interests and ambitions, from east to west, and the north to south crisscross. The September 12 Operation has taken place, in such a geographical location, just before certain foreign enemies succeeded to fulfill their ambitions. Following this, it was expected that there would be a shift in the implementation of plans. Therefore, the encouragement and provocation of the terrorist acts in Turkey had begun among the Turks living abroad and the extentions of the centers of terror focused their activities abroad.

The aim of the extentions of the centers of terror in Turkey had been to isolate Turkey from its alliances and the countries with which Turkey had formed pacts, and to pressure and dominate Turkey through certain subversive organizations calling themselves "democratic masses."

To achieve this aim an intensified propaganda campaign has been launched and continued against the new administration by exploiting to the greatest extent possible the restrictions, detention and arrests and the methods of the security forces.

The target of this negative propaganda which has been guided by traitors who fled to foreign countries, is to eliminate the efficiency of the security forces who have been successfully fighting against focuses of terror and thus degrading the administration in the eyes of the world.

The figures exaggerated by hundreds of thousands are in fact 3731 for those under detention, 24,300 for those under arrest and 1898 for those who are already convicted.

In this connection, I would like to indicate that the remnants of these armed gangs, which have committed ruthless crimes, armed raids, and which are disintegrating and isolating the country and thus destroying the state, have now started their acts of international terrorism in countries giving them shelter, as was observed in the case of the attempt on the Pope's life. The countries which have been supporting the aforementioned anarchic and terrorist activities may be seen in two categories.

The first of these two categories include the countries which have malicious historical and ideological aims and interests towards Turkey and which aim at dividing and disintegrating Turkey. It is a known fact that countries included in this group, are rendering every possible support to the movements of anarchy and terror in Turkey and their purpose is understood.

It is very difficult for us to understand, however, the tolerance displayed by friendly and allied countries

which we consider in the second group, in giving shelter to the terrorists active in Turkey, who are nothing but a part of international terrorism it is difficult to understand their blindness to diagnosing the destructive activities of international terrorism.

It is our sincere desire and hope that our European friends see as soon as possible the real faces of these harmful persons and groups which are in fact the enemies of humanity; and take necessary measures, not only for humanity, but in order to preserve and protect their own social orders.

Dear citizens,

Undoubtedly, conditions prevailing in the country have played the main role in bringing the terror fed by foreign sources to the present dimensions.

The main issues exploited by the terrorists in the interests of their own ideological aims have been the near-collapse of the economy, the social and economic problems created by the population explosion, the uncontrolled migration and urbanization, the inadequate living conditions of the simple and honest peasants of Anatolia.

In educational institutions, certain teachers affiliated to the so-called associations, and lecturers who are members of sympathisers or terrorist movements, have replaced knowledge by ideologies as educational standards and have thus brain washed young people with these ideological standards. Both teachers and students at schools were divided into camps, boycotts, illegal occupations and clashes which obstructed education.

At this moment, legal and administrative prosecution is under way for several thousand teachers and lecturers. While hundreds of thousands of teachers and lec-

turers have been accomplishing their duties filled with the love of their fatherland and in the steps of Atatürk, a group, unfortunately, even though it was a small one, deviated to the extent of collaborating with armed gangs in conducting robberies and committing bloody crimes.

While the country was being dragged into the floods of anarchy and terror, governments and political parties responsible for bringing an end to this dangerous development and for taking necessary measures to stop it, were either ineffective or indifferent, or they even supported these illegal acts.

As a result of this deterioration of the situation, the state apparatus which was supposed to be impartial, either became a tool of political interests or fell into a position of impotence, completely unable to keep abreast of the modern age. It is very surprising to see that high-ranking executives from those days who ought to have been responsible for what they had done and what they were supposed to do but had not done, are now inclined towards certain undertakings in fear of their personal future, as if they are yearning for those days.

State Economic Enterprises which have an important place in the national economy, were turned into a source of serving the interests of political parties or became shelters of various terrorist groups, thereby losing their ability of functioning. Local administrations, particularly municipalities, were completely politicised, some formed sources of support for terrorist movements, while some were the scene for all kinds of corruption.

So far, investigations conducted into the municipalities, have resulted in the discovery of irregularities in bidings, bribery, the utilisation of municipal assets just like party properties, rendering service to the sympathisers of their parties instead of serving the people, illegal employment and many other abuses, which are now before the courts.

At present 160 cases involving some TL 701 million of abuses in funds by 85 municipalities have been brought before the courts while investigation is under way in many other municipalities.

The municipalities of big cities like Ankara, Istanbul and İzmir which used to apply every month for state subsidies, are now self-sufficient. Irregularities and abuses in the State Economic Enterprises and in many other public establishments are also being investigated and brought before the courts.

In such circumstances, the state machinery was shaken by cases of corruption. Since September 12 hundreds of cases of corruption in public establishments, as in local administration, have been investigated and brought before the judicial authorities. Just as we did against anarchy, we have waged a merciless struggle against corruption and as investigations are concluded, the cases are proceeding. Civil servants as well as the people have a great contribution in the success achieved in this field.

Since September 12, the activities of certain trade unions engaged in destructive and ideological activities, have been suspended.

Only trade unions which are not politicised and which are not involved in ideological activities are allowed to function. There is not any trade union which is closed down because of its trade unionist activities. Trade unions whose activities have been suspended are those who exceeded the limits of trade unionism, exploiting workers and provoking ideological strikes, boycotts or even riots. As a result of the weaknesses of the governments as explained above, and the impotence of their administrations, certain unofficial organizations or ideological interest groups, emerged as sources of authority in ruling the country. The influence of these ideological

organizations and separatist groups within legal bodies such as trade unions, associations, chambers and cooperatives has grown in such a way that some of these bodies were transformed into the source of finance and personnel for the subversive organizations.

The constant escalation of anarchy and terror, weakness and inefficiency of governments and political parties and partisan administrations pushed the mass of impartial citizens into fear, horror and apathy. This deprived the security forces of help from the people, which in fact furnishes great help and support the security forces, leaving terrorism wide room to manouver at will.

Thank God, despite this flood of anarchy and terror, there were still forces in Turkey determined to preserve the identity, integrity and efficiency of the country and the state. Above these stands the unshakable faith of the great majority of the Turkish nation in the Turkish Republic, the state and in the armed forces. This faith and the centuries-old orderly, healthy and powerful structure of the Turkish family were not damaged despite so many troubles suffered by our country and they have provided the sole basis for our survival.

Following the examination of the documents seized and the confessions of the captured terrorists, the strategy of the terrorist organizations in Turkey has been revealed in all its nakedness. This strategy may be summarized thus :

The destructive factors implement two types of strategies in general :

**Horror and fear strategy**

**Penetration strategy**



### HORROR AND FEAR STRATEGY

This type of strategy comprises acts in accordance with modes of behaviour that aim to create a milieu suitable for a revolution, and envisages a people's revolution as soon as possible. This strategy forces the people to remain in their homes, and includes massacres, robberies, illegal strikes and meetings that support such activities and is attempted to be implemented in our country as witnessed in the cases of Fatsa, Kahramanmaraş, Çorum, and certain south-eastern provinces. It aims to create enmity among the people, and includes major clashes between large numbers of people.

### THE PENETRATION STRATEGY

It comprises the modes of behaviour of members of established destructive institutions to penetrate into political and social organizations and to take them over.

Priority in this type of strategy is given to the control of the party, the control of the associations, the establishment of coalitions conforming with their targets, predetermined activities of the unions, forcing the social order, and the takeover of the state administration. Penetration into the institution of National Education through the associations of TÖB DER and ÜLKÜ BİR, penetration into the police, through POL-DER and POL-BİR; and penetration into business circles and municipalities through associations such as DİSK and MİSK can be given as examples of this type of strategy.

Both the extreme right and the extreme left have adopted and applied such strategies in order to takeover power within the country.

It is observed that all the destructive organizations belonging both to the right and the left have implemented the horror and penetration strategies. A majority of

these organizations who have wished to exploit the atmosphere of chaos, disintegration and desperation before September 12 for their own ideological purposes, are now in the position to give in front of the Judiciary on account of what they have committed

The trial of certain terrorists who say "We would have hanged you without any trial had we come to power", under the guarantee of the Justice, without any prejudice constitutes a proof of the rooted traditions of our people and our State, their supreme virtues and their faith in Justice and Democracy.

The number of the extreme leftist, communist and terrorist organizations before September 12 had reached 40 and a majority of such organizations had become networks of murder, and gangs organising armed assaults. The secessionist factors whose numbers had reached 11 were continuing their activities in forms of legal or illegal organizations.

All these secessionist factors were under the delusion that they could tear away from the mainland, the piece of land that they have dream about. The extreme rightist terrorist organizations, whose number reach about 12 under the guise of helping the powers of the state, yet in reality with the motive of proving that the powers of the state were helpless, had become one of the parties and the elements of the escalating terror. Religious fundamentalism gradually increased its impudence, the calls for a Holy War (Cihad) were mingled with the gun shots, and the pure faith of our people were exploited in an attempt to give rebirth to an outdated system.

In addition to all this, the robbers, hired murderers, those who carry on the vendetta, all have attempted

to wear the mask of an ideological cause, and at this point, even common crimes began to be factors supporting terrorism.

#### MY COUNTRYMEN :

The increasing anarchy and terror also gave birth to the disintegration of the social structure, collapse of the economic life and the rise of various social and psychological problems. In fact, terrorist activities and especially the activities of the extremist powers have profoundly influenced the country from the economic point of view. With the impact of the anarchic incidents a considerable decrease was observed in production and many companies even came to a standstill. The entrepreneurs who became anxious about their future, began to refrain from making even short-termed investments. The investments of the state failed to reach the desired level. Exports and imports had decreased, and the foreign currency received from the workers' remittances had recorded a considerable decrease. Also, income from tourism had fallen much below the expected level. In these circumstances, inflation had reached its maximum and most destructive level, and almost began to feed terrorism.

As the social and psychological result of terror, the national values were left aside, the ties began to loosen, the sensibility in thought and reaction disappeared, and confidence in the state institutions decreased. Such a level was reached that a neutral citizen was unable to help another person who had been wounded right by his side, furthermore, he would not be able to inform the security forces about the incident. In addition, the natural reaction against the committing of murder almost ceased to exist.



In these circumstances, the Turkish Armed Forces fulfilled its historical task in the power and belief it derived from the nation on September 12 1980. I had explained the objectives of this operation on 16 September with the following words :

1. To safeguard the national unity
- 2 To establish security of life und property by curbing anarchy and terror.
- 3 To establish and safeguard the authority of the state.
4. To establish social peace, national understanding and unity.
5. To secure the functioning of the republican regime based on social justice, the individual's rights, and freedom and human rights.

6. And lastly to establish a civil administration after completing the legal arrangements within a reasonable period. I have pointed out earlier that the only light leading us towards these aims will be the principles of Atatürk. Now I would like to dwell on what has been done in the last year to reach these aims.

Amongst the aims set and declared by ourselves we have given priority to combatting anarchy and terrorism and consequently to the establishment of an atmosphere of tranquility and security. This struggle was going to be furthered under the conditions of an undclared civil war conducted by destructive and separatist traitors most of whom were trained abroad who planned and rehearsed the armed rebellion, secretly organised against the State and the nation. Because of this, the necessary amendments were made to Martial Law No: 1402 and as a result the authority and the responsibility of the martial law commanders were widened and consequently

a relentless and brave struggle against the forces of anarchy and terror was started.

This struggle attempted to eradicate the terrorist organisations, and with the administrative and legal measures taken, the anarchic incidents dropped rapidly in number and also in the scale of violence within a very short period.

Turkey has become a country of strength, tranquility and stability which are rarely seen not only in the region but also in Europe. Our people now possess a zest for living, enjoy their freedom and tranquility day in day out and going about their business in safety.

In comparison with the 22.500 ideological incidents during the year before 12 th of September, only 5.800 ideological incidents were recorded in the year after the 12 th of September, showing a numerical drop 75 percent.

If it is kept in mind that of these 5.800 incidents, 4.590 (80 %) were recorded in the first half of the period up to March 1981, then the real drop will be seen to be much higher. Furthermore if the March 1981-12 September 1981 period is compared with the same period last year, the decrease in the incidents will be seen to be 90 %. If the 12 th of September operation had not been realised, if the same trend had continued, the number of terrorist incidents would have reached the 86.400 today and consequently the force of the incidents would have increased as well. In other terms Turkey would have disintegrated and been plunged into a relentless civil war.

If we compare the lives lost in two periods; in the year before the 12 th of September 2.812 people lost their lives whereas after the 12 th of September a tenth

of that number (282 people) were killed. Thus a drop of 90 % has been realised in killings.

In the period between March 1980 and 12 September 1980, in six months the average loss of life per day was 11, whereas in the same period in 1981 this number has dropped to one loss of life in every three days.

The drop in incidents resulting in woundings is also about 90 percent. In the three years when martial law was in force, 219 security men lost their lives in the war against the traitors and internal enemies. To these children of the homeland, and the children of the people who unhesitatingly gave their lives for the tranquillity and security of the people, I pray for God's forgiveness and grace, and to their grieving families I pray for forbearance and tenacity.

Now I would like to give some information on the machinery of justice.

Today 73 illegal organisation cases have been sent to the courts, of which 55 are extreme left, 15 are separatist, and 5 extreme rightist.

Of the 16 death sentences passed and approved by the Military Supreme Court 10 were carried out, and four sentences could not be because the persons are on the run.

In order that justice could be done, the executions are not stopped for political considerations as was earlier, the case.

Since the declaration of martial law on 26 December 1978 until today 23.775 cases have been sent to the Martial Law Military Courts, of which 14.472 have been completed and determined. This amounts to 60 percent of all the cases. Proceedings on 9.303 cases are still going on in the Courts.

As a result of the new Statutes and additional appointments of judges and prosecutors, a 75 percent increase in the functioning of the Courts has been realised.

At this point I would like to praise the contributions of the esteemed judges and prosecutors of our judicial system who have always won the appreciation of our nation by their just decisions and by their extraordinary efforts day and night, putting up a tremendous struggle, side by side with the security forces, to curb anarchy and terror.

Esteemed citizens,

Since the 12 th of September, the National Security Council has taken over the legislative function and the control of the executive and has formed a civilian government for the administrative functioning always with respect for the principle of the independence of judiciary. Increasing the period of custody to 90 days was imperative in order to let the independent judiciary deal with the very high number of dossiers and reach sound decisions on them in the fight to eradicate anarchy and terror. This is the reason why authority to hold suspects in custody for 90 days has been brought in.

Now because the numbers of terrorists and their actions have dropped and consequently because the number arrested has decreased greatly, an opportunity of shortening the period of custody has arisen and this period has been decreased to 45 days.

The main principle of the Armed Forces which have intervened in a limited way after the 12 th of September to safeguard the Republic has been: to try and punish those people before independent courts who had committed deeds considered as offences in accordance with the Statutes in force in the Republic of Turkey,

regardless of when they were done, where they were done and by whom they were done, in what way and against whom they were done... This main principle has been applied until the present time without discriminating against anybody or any group and without being influenced by any consideration. This principle will be applied in the future with the same care.

While our country was sinking into a dark abyss before the 12 th of September, some authorities who were obliged to stop this shirked their responsibilities by hiding behind such notions as democracy and freedom, and watched the destruction of the state and in certain cases became the incitors themselves.

Today the trials of those people who created those incidents are going on. No one should have the slightest doubt that those persons who are judged as having had a role in the affairs which have brought Turkey to the state it is in today will be taken to independent courts.

It has been one of the principles of our new administration, to try equally in accordance with our laws those people who formed organisations to save the state in their fashion, and thereby committed offences, by intending to bring a communist, theocratic, or fascist administration to our country.

The Turkish Army is a force which has its roots in our people and which believes in Atatürk's nationalism. It is the one and only army of our nation and is formed almost entirely by the workers, peasants and simple people. It is impossible to think of a people's army as put forward by subversive and separatist elements, and it is equally impossible to consider a different notion of nationalism from Atatürk's nationalism.



My beloved citizens,

Despite all this the deed is not complete, the struggle goes on. The purging of society of all those persons who have been conditioned and made the focal points of external ideologies and interests for years is not easy and it takes time.

Amongst the security forces who are in a relentless war with the forces who declared war against the state and who aimed to destroy it, there may be those - as may happen in any society - doing certain things wrong. And it did happen. Even before the 12 th of September these wrong doings existed on an increasing scale. Despite the fact that we have come a long way in eradicating the anarchy and terror, we have not achieved the final result yet.

Turkey is a strong country of 45 millions, which connects three continents, has ties with the Middle East which owns a large portion of the world's oil resources, and is the last and the most important link of the western defence and democratic system. The strategy of recent years, i.e. to divide the country from within and win it through internal destruction, was chosen in view of the difficulty of direct invasion which would constitute a threat to world peace since our nation is a developing country with a very important geo-political position in the balance of world power.

The anarchy and terror will not end as long as intentions of certain countries towards Turkey remain unchanged. The crux of the matter is to be strong and unified as state and as a nation, as it is today, and to prevent the reorganisation of anarchy and terror reaching the scale it had before the 12 th of September.

Towards this aim we carry on working to strengthen the security forces so as to let them take the place of the Armed Forces, to make our Institutions function impartially and efficiently, to reclaim the offenders for society, to end legal cases as soon as possible to render impotent those traitors anarchists and terrorists collaborating with the Armenians abroad, and to establish peace and fraternity at all levels.

#### Honoured citizens

In order to achieve the other aims we set ourselves on 12 September 1980, to let the National Security Council and the government reach effective decisions and to realise the necessary reforms in every field, until the new Constitution comes into effect, a law has been passed on the Constitutional order. By Statute No: 2324 in addition to basing administrative actions on legal foundations, in order to reestablish the state authority the stay of execution requests and decisions were blocked, but the way of opening administrative legal cases was kept open. The aim was to remove the hindering effect of the separation of powers which was brought about by the 1961 Constitution and which has degenerated into a conflict between different powers and subsequent anarchy. It is within this framework that reform movements in every field have been started.

One of the subjects which concerned our people was the delay in the realisation of justice. In order to remove this problem, amendments were brought to the Statutes governing the principles of trials in the courts; thus the speedy and efficient functioning of the judiciary has been realised. By putting into effect the law governing the formation of the Supreme Council of Judges and Prosecutors and the law amending the law about judges,

without doing harm to the existing guarantee for judges and to the independence of the judiciary, a clarity has been brought to the shortcomings arising from application. The discrimination between the judges and public prosecutors in application - despite the fact that they are equal in front of the Constitution and the laws - has been stopped and any discontent removed.

Another important matter which I want to dwell upon is this:

Our administration has not given an order for the prosecution of this or that party. By providing the independent judiciary with the opportunity of functioning again, and as a result of objective investigations, the real culprits have been brought to light and their trials are proceeding. The only thing we did was to remove various pressures and influences and speed up the functioning of the judiciary. We have not established special courts. We observe as a nation that the application of the laws after the 12 th of September - which were not applied before - is creating uneasiness in people with ulterior motives.

It is our target to restructure our national educational system and organisation in the direction of Atatürk's revolution and principles. We further our studies to plan our educational activities and to link them with a programme in the direction of Atatürk's nationalism which unifies and exalts our nation. In the meantime studies have been started for the betterment of the social conditions of our teachers and new possibilities have been provided for them. The 1980-81 educational year has passed with success and without boycotts, sit-ins and interruptions.

For the first time in years our students have happily received their diplomas in ceremonies they longed for. Reading and writing campaigns started by Atatürk himself has been revitalised; and more than a million of our citizens have learnt to read and write. The religious education which the individuals, families and the society needs, will be included in the educational programs of primary and secondary schools and Lycees as a compulsory subject starting from the educational year 1982-83.

We have nationally witnessed how our academies, and universities were neglected and exploited in the past. The Law concerning higher education aims to turn these centers of science and culture into institutions that are in conformity with our social structure and our contemporary aims. The draft law concerning this issue will soon be taken up and will be enacted.

Legislation on the realisation of the housing complex projects is put into effect as a remedy that will increase to a great extent the possibility of owning a house for our citizens with low incomes.

The law envisaging obligatory service for medical personnel aims to meet the demands, complaints and requirements encountered every day and to provide the health services to our citizens who live in the developing regions. In every part of the country it is the most natural right of our citizens to benefit from the health services. This law has to be evaluated and appreciated as a call to the young Turkish doctor to make a possible contribution to the implementation of health services on the road to the development of our country.

The Municipality Act has been enacted in order to strengthen the local administrations from the financial point of view and to enable them to fulfil the tasks that

fall to them by law. I here give you some examples that reflect the circumstances of the municipalities of Istanbul and Ankara:

Between January 1 and September 12 the Ankara Municipality received 370 million TL, and the Istanbul Municipality received 490 million TL in support from the government. Neither of the Municipalities has received any aid since September 12.

When the two municipalities were taken over by the new administration following the 12 September Operation, the Ankara Municipality had a debt of 8 billion 770 million TL, and the debt of the Istanbul Municipality totalled 6 billion 523 million TL. The Ankara Municipality paid 850 million TL, of its debt, and the Istanbul Municipality paid 865 million TL.

On the other hand, within the year before September 12, while the Ankara Municipality had received 4 billion 972 million TL income, and the Istanbul Municipality had received 5 billion 271 million from their own resources. The income of the Ankara Municipality rose to 8 billion 248 million, TL, and the income of the Istanbul Municipality reached 8 billion 655 million TL, as a result of the impartial rule and the measures adopted after September 12. The difference between the two periods represents their abuses, neglect, and their support of the organizations.

The positions of the other municipalities were not much different from the ones we have just mentioned. As understood from the above-mentioned examples, the administrators of the municipalities will both avoid to become a burden to the government from the financial point of view and will provide excellent services to the people as long as they act honestly and impartially, wit-



hout giving any concessions to destructive ideologies and as long as they are capable of evaluating their own resources in the most appropriate manner.

Esteemed citizens,

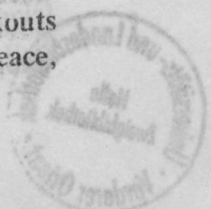
Also, one of our declared aims is to ensure social peace and national unity. Before 12 September, the syndical rights were not properly used and attempts were made to lure patriotic Turkish workers, towards various ideologies. This degenerate syndical rivalry, with its effect on both worker and employer alike, has destroyed social peace, and our system of collective contract has been in conflict with the economic and social benefits of the country. It is essential to carry out the syndical activities, to an acceptable degree, and to reconcile the interests of the individuals and the country. However, before the 12 th September, illegal practices did not bring any advantage to either our country or our workers.

We will never permit the degeneration of the syndicalism whose target is to provide better living conditions to its members.

While striving to get rid of the difficulties experienced in the economy on the other hand, a series of measures is being considered which will prevent the increase of unemployment by the dismissal of workers for economical reasons. The aim of these measures is to provide the necessary resilience for the workers and the enterprises concerned during the period before economical difficulties have been overcome.

Dear citizens,

I want to take this opportunity to deal briefly with the problem of our workers' payments. You know, after the 12 th of September Operation, strikes and lockouts have been forbidden in order to establish social peace,



and to improve production. Great responsibilities lie with the Supreme Arbitration Council, that has been founded, to carry out and conclude the discussion of Collective Contracts which have been suspended. This council provides the completion of the collective contracts, keeping in mind the economy of the country and the realities of social life. On another subject, we sincerely wish to have the position of people on fixed incomes strengthened. But, this can be realized not only by wishing, but by working hard on a national scale.

For this reason, it is necessary not to be influenced by stories of exploitation. For the safety of the country we have to think this: How will all of our factories, each of the sectors producing goods, work profitably and compete in the world? How we will make new investments? If we cannot answer these questions, we cannot open new areas of work for the 1 million people added to our population each year. Our economy cannot develop, open up abroad and we would remain powerless in spite of our exceptional geopolitical situation in the world.

My dear countrymen,

One of the objectives of the 12 september operation is to be socio-economically powerful. In order to achieve this, the paths chosen are to improve the social peace and tranquility by realizing the social justice and security within the possibilities of the country's economy, and, to develop the country, by means of balanced economic policy.

In fact, our great leader Atatürk had shown that the military victories would be meaningless, if not crowned by economic victories. Turkey, with the 12 September operation, while trying to combat anarchy and

terrorism, must also strengthen the economy and give it a sound basis and healthy structure that can compete easily with other countries. In this respect, it can be seen that certain developments and efficacy has been achieved in the social-economical field in the last one year.

The determined application of the economic measures has played the main role in this achievement. By saying this, I do not mean that every thing is rosy in the social and economic life of Turkey. Those socio-economic measures will have their final effects in the mid term period.

A picture is beginning to emerge showing how correct we were in taking these measures. In this respect, the words fail to express the appreciation for the great sacrifices of our nation.

The fight against inflation is succeeding.

After 12 September a specific increase has been achieved in industrial production. To invigorate our economy we must act in a balanced way. Our main economic objective is to increase production by maximum use of the existing economic capacity. In parallel with the increase in production, a balanced money-credit policy is being implemented. This policy has led to a decrease in inflation and curbing of the blackmarkets, hoarding, and easy ways of earning money. The new amendments in the tax laws, gave birth to a just distribution of the tax burden and alleviated the load on fixed incomes. The stronger, our economy gets, the easier it will be to deal with this burden. The utmost use of our own resources, will render Turkey richer and prosperous and will help to eliminate the bottlenecks pertaining to foreign exchange.



As a matter of fact, when we observe the progress of our foreign economic relations in spite of the consistent strengthening of the U.S. dollar and adverse conditions in the world, our exports has increased by 50 % in the first half of 1981. This means a jump and a healthy improvement in exports.

Our economic relations with the brotherly Arab states in the Middle-East, to whom we are linked with historical and cultural ties and with Iran, are improving and will continue to improve. Today with our qualified labor force and with our developed technology we can cooperate in many sectors with these countries, and we are doing so. These developments will benefit all those who want peace, stability and security in the region. The remittances sent by the Turkish workers working abroad have increased tremendously... We are indebted to them for their contribution to our national economy. It is our duty to deal with all the problems facing our fellow citizens working abroad. Under the guidance and control of the state as a part of our efforts for development, comprehensive studies are being conducted to utilise the remittances of our citizens working abroad. Measures envisaged, will rapidly be put into effect.

I want to stress a point in this respect: Turkish citizens, should they have the appropriate conditions, become the most industrious and productive workers of the world. We witness this, not only in Western Europe but in the brotherly Arab states also.. They become the preferred workers. But we want our citizens to work in our country and to contribute to the development of our country. We are aware of the problems and the difficulties they face while they are living in foreign countries in conditions that they cannot get accustomed to. One of

our main objectives should be to provide our labor force with a high standard of living, that befits human pride, by creating new fields for employment and by utilising our sources in a productive and proper way.

To increase our hard currency earnings, special emphasis has been given to transit transportation and to increase the inputs of our harbors. As a matter of fact, during a seven month period, our hard currency earnings in this field has exceeded 150 million dollars. Our efforts are continuing to increase the capacities of our harbors and to strengthen our merchant and highway transportation fleets.

Despite increases in the revenues in the field of tourism 1981, these increases did not reach the expected level. Further improvements can be expected in this field during the coming year if social peace in the country is maintained and if conscious and planned efforts continue.

In 1981, our imports have also increased. Our main imports comprise mainly oil, investment goods, industrial and agricultural processing equipment. The share of consumer goods and luxury items among our imports decreased considerably. Also, we attach special importance to controlling the import of such goods produced in the country in sufficient quantities. So, our foreign payments are comfortably transferred despite the fact that we used fewer foreign loans compared with 1980.

In 1981 increases have been witnessed in bank accounts and bank loans. Savings are encouraged. Capital Market Law has been adopted to increase these savings by organised establishments in a national and controllable manner. The credit system is organized in a way to protect the citizens who have savings accounts. With the free

interest rates, the objective is to control inflation, to limit consumption and to apply a policy which will encourage saving. During the planned development period we are passing through, measures must be taken to encourage production and investments. It is a fact, that this economic policy will force the businessmen to work in a more productive way and it will force them to use their own sources in a sufficient manner. Industrialists and commercial businessmen are under an obligation to export, to increase the productivity of their establishments, and manufacture standardized and quality goods. As such, our workers should also work productively and produce more. And this is a duty they owe to their country. Countries economically powerful have reached their present levels by moving along these paths. It is impossible for the economic situation to recover without working and without extraordinary efforts. This is a rule which is essential for every country regardless of their regimes.

The year 1981, with regard to domestic and foreign conditions and investments, is taken as a year of recovery and reorganisation.

The national utilisation of resources, and the utilisation of investments in a planned manner, within the boundaries of the rules of market economy and free enterprise, are vitally important for Turkey to achieve a balanced socio-economic development and growth.

With a balanced appropriation for the economic and agricultural sectors, we shall in the future carry on with efforts to increase our level of self sufficiency in agriculture on one hand, and to develop infrastructure and industrialisation on the other. We have to accept the great role played by industrialisation and a developed infrast-

of (peace at home, peace in the world) of our great leader

ructure in reaching the present civilisation level. It is an obligation to direct our natural resources to production, to reorganise our present industrial structure, and to carry on with our basic industrial investments commensurate with the priorities of our country. Mass transportation systems must also be improved, and within this context further possibilities must be provided for railroad and marine transportation.

For the industrialisation of Turkey and Turkish society and the extension of services so as to create a social welfare state, both state and private sectors should be considered as a whole around the basic development plans, and long term economic policies must be drawn to enable them to support and to complement each other on common ground, and not to destroy each other. To this end, the wasting of resources must be prevented by taking into consideration the issue of physical planning in land utilization, agriculture, industry and habitation.

While mentioning investments, I turn to the State Economic Enterprises: we all know that the State Economic Enterprises are establishments born from the facts and necessities of Turkish life. This model has given way to large investments for the industrialisation and development of Turkey and thus the State Economic Enterprises became pioneers in supplying basic goods and services. We have inherited the State Economic Enterprises from our great leader Atatürk. The State Economic Enterprises are owned by the State and by the nation; they are establishments serving the country and the nation. But, especially during recent years, improprieties observed in many of the government offices also passed on to these establishments, and as a result of reckless economic policies, partisanship, and a desire for expenditure and in-

vestment without proper sources, a great number of them became costly for the nation and for treasury of the nation.

For the State Economic Enterprises to function effectively and to function to create resources, it is necessary to take a series of corrective measures in their administrative and financial structure and management. We have started these. As a matter of fact, following September 12, 1980, it has been observed that those enterprises, even in the present system, increased their productions and their exports, and that they managed to function with savings.

In the realisation of investments, the contribution of foreign capital is an important factor. Appropriate conditions are present in our country for the foreign capital, harmonious with our development plans, directed to exports, bringing new technologies to be invested in our country. Encouragement measures are being taken in this field. As indicated by the Great Atatürk, our doors are open to foreign capital which respects our laws and rules, and which takes into consideration mutual benefits.

Continuing improvements in investments will also bring solutions to employment problems. We are all aware, that unemployment in our country has grown to serious dimensions as seen in many of the countries of the world. The basic objectives of the economic policies being conducted are to stop inflation, to speed up production and investments and thus to create new fields for employment.

Dear countrymen.

Now I want to touch upon the foreign policy. When we came to power on 12 th September 1980, we had declared our decision that we will be loyal to the principle of (Peace at home, peace in the world) of our great leader

Atatürk, who laid down the fundamental precepts of our foreign policy and that including NATO we will remain true to all our agreements. We also stated that we will conduct our relations foremost with our neighbours, with all nations on the basis of sovereignty and the reciprocity of mutual respect and that these relations would be furthered on equal footing and with non-interference in internal affairs.

During the past year, these promises have been fulfilled with the utmost sensitivity and determination, and great care has been taken in the best and most peaceful protection of our national interests without changing the basis of national foreign policy, founded by Atatürk.

Great care has been taken in following a foreign policy that protects the needs of our national security and economic interests, which also contributes to international and regional peace, security and cooperation. Having returned from the brink of civil war, Turkey is now in a position to solve her problems by safe and peaceful means. By showing her determination to uphold national consciousness and unity, Turkey has once more allowed foreign opinion to assess her actions as a subject for exploitation. On the other hand, our contributions of continuity, clarity and consistency to our policy by freeing our foreign policy from internal, political conflicts and disputes, indecisiveness and prejudice has built up Turkey's prestige in the eyes of foreign countries.

Since 12 th September while attributing great importance to the solidarity within NATO, endeavours for the full membership of the European Economic Community have continued.

Because of our belief and devotion to the populist parliamentary democratic system, we have attached a

particular value to preserving and maintaining our relations with the western parliamentary institutions.

The latest developments in our region, have shown again the value and the importance of Turkey in regional security and stability, Thus, we have to be strong in all respects in our region and within the alliance. We must not be left alone in our struggles to supply the needs of our Armed Forces and for the realization of our economic development. I believe that our friends and allies, and the states in the region will receive Turkey's disposition with understanding.

Since the 12 th of September our relations with the Middle East and Islamic Countries have gained a special political and economic significance. We are encouraging efforts to promote our relations to the highest level by strengthening our present historical, cultural and moral ties and realizing a productive cooperation that serve mutual interests in every field. We have been witnessing the favourable results of various contacts which we have accelerated multilaterally, both on a bilateral scene as well as within the framework of the Islamic Conference.

We believe that developing relations among Moslem countries by eliminating the existing disputes will be to their common interest. Turkey, which exercises care to avoid taking sides in the conflicts among friendly Moslem countries, has maintained this attitude with particular attention during the past year.

Our country which has limited her relations with Israel is of the conviction that stability cannot be established in the region unless a just and comprehensive solution is found to the Middle Eastern conflict. Therefore Turkey believes in the need for refraining from unilateral actions which may compromise peace, and sincerely desires the resolution of the problem through peaceful means in the shortest time.

Since September 12<sup>th</sup> our relations with Socialist countries have been maintained smoothly within the framework of respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and equality of rights. Turkey attributes particular attention to the furthering of her relations with Socialist countries on the basis of good-neighbourliness and cooperation.

As to Turkey's problem with her neighbour, Greece, and as to the Cyprus problem, our approach is based on the principle of resolving problems through peaceful means. Therefore we believe in the need for countries concerned to act in a sense of complete responsibility.

With this approach we have received with contentment the return of Greece to the military wing of NATO. We continue to act in the same sense of responsibility to carry out the duty which befalls us in the endeavour of eliminating the lack of trust between the two countries, of resolving the existing problems and of further developing cooperation.

Turkey, which hopes for the attainment of a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem through the inter-communal talks, has well received the realization of a new phase in these developments. The Turkish Cypriot Community has made a highly constructive contribution to the resolution of the Cyprus problem with the proposals it presented early in August. We are hoping that the other side will reciprocate in the same constructive mentality.

Dear citizens, in statements I have issued on various occasions and during interviews, I have explained our plan aimed at setting up democracy on sound foundations. The outlines of this plan are as follows:



In the first phase a Constituent Assembly would be formed and the main function of this assembly would be to revise the 1961 Constitution all of whose discrepancies and shortcomings long been realized by the nation. After preparing the draft of the new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly, it would be presented to public vote, and following public approval the Political Parties Law and Election Law would be prepared according to this Constitution. Following the resumption of activity by political parties general elections would be held within a reasonable period of time and transition into the democratic parliamentary system and the establishment of a civilian administration would be realized. Certain people and some circles at home and abroad, who have doubts about our good-will and our determination for the interests of the country and nation, have persistently kept up a chorus about a time-table. We have patiently explained to them that we can only give them the date of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly will hold its first meeting on 23 October 1981. Since the dates of subsequent steps will be dependent upon the time to be consumed by the work of the Constituent Assembly, it is not possible to make any estimate at this time. There is no doubt that the Constituent Assembly will exert efforts towards performing the tasks expected of it at maximum speed. As a matter of fact the articles of the Consultative-Assembly Law pertaining to the operating procedure of the Assembly, have been included for that purpose. More than 10.000 applications have been made for membership of the Consultative Assembly. Their assessment is under way and the names of members will be announced after a short time. Those known circles at home and abroad have even made subject to speculation the methods of selecting the members of the

Consultative Assembly. At all events, it would have been inconceivable to let free the political parties made up of cadres who had brought Turkey to the situation before 12-September, and to re-create a medium so as to let them resume their old quarrels. Therefore we had to elect a group or an assembly. It is natural for the National Security Council who have openly stated their objectives and who have proven them with their actions, to assume the task of elector. Nevertheless, an objective system has been founded on a larger base by including the Governors in this decision-making mechanism. Another important point is to keep in mind that the formation of the Constituent Assembly comprises not the entire operation of restoring democracy, but only the first step of a systematic approach.

My esteemed citizens

I would also like to touch briefly upon our legislative activity during the past year. By taking into consideration the priorities of the objectives which I declared during the press conference I held on 16 September 1980, bills which should definitely be passed – but which the self-crippled parliament had become incapable of legislating in recent years– and other draft bills and proposed bills considered necessary, have been taken up, adopted, and passed into effect by the National Security Council. Since September 12, 159 draft bills and 55 proposed bills have been debated and 214 bills have been passed in one year. As is known, following the formation of the Constituent Assembly all files pertaining to draft bills and proposed bills on hand in the office of the Secretary General of the National Security Council will be turned over to the Constituent Assembly and subsequent legislative activity will be conducted by the Constituent Assembly. Currently work on 78-draft bills and proposals is

under way, and will be placed on the agenda in time. Some of the subjects which we want to take up in the coming period are as follows: The Emergency-State Bill; the Traffic Law, which will put an end to the traffic disorder and confusion which sits as heavily on the nation as anarchy and terror did, will be passed. Bills designed to preclude the exploitation of the workers by either the feudal-lords of trade unions or by employers - but to provide for regulating worker-employer relations on the basis of just and realistic foundations, to ensure that organisations such as trade unions and associations will operate strictly within the bounds of the intended purpose of their establishment, and to develop the social-security system, will be passed. Particular emphasis is placed and work is being carried out on the such topics as the State Personnel Law, the National Education Fundamental Law, the Customs Law, the Land-and- Agrarian-reform Law, preclusion of unemployment, increasing production, resolving the energy problem, and combatting inflation. The medium of peace and safety reestablished through the joint efforts and sacrifices of our armed forces and security forces, has become clearly visible all over the country. Yet, the probability that the former environment of domestic political strife and anarchy may recur when the transition to normal conditions is made, is a source of common concern disturbing our people who have endured the economic difficulties with patience and self-denial. Therefore, before passing on to a period of normal government, legislative preparations are being made to prevent the recurrence of the former environment, and long-term and radical measures are being taken.

Dear countrymen, this administration which accomplished the 12-September Operation in a faith motivated by Atatürk's principles, has proclaimed 1981 as

ATATÜRK's YEAR, and intensive celebrations and activities have been held –and are being held– on this occasion in Turkey and abroad. I have briefly described the activities made or planned in the year marking Atatürk's centennial on the path pointed out by him and in loyalty to his reforms and principles. One point I would like to mention in this connection is the sensitive attention manifested by the honorable Turkish press in acting objective and with the patriotism expected of it in making assessments of the performance of this administration since 12 September 1980. Paying particular attention, in general, to remain impartial and unbiased without requiring any restriction, our press has been a great support for us in reflecting the sentiments of the people as well as in criticising the performance of the administration. I would like to express my gratitude to them. In this connection I want to touch upon Decree No. 52. The reason for issuing this decree has been due to activities, far removed from serving the interests of the country, undertaken by certain, though extremely few, people who have never been able to realize the extraordinary period our country is passing through, and who have tried to carry on with their sterile political habits of the pre-12-September period, by means of the press. On the other hand, I salute with admiration, the members of the Turkish Armed Forces and security forces who have made an extraordinary effort to enable Turkey to live on forever in a state of well-being. Again, I thank the great Turkish nation which - with a firmness and nobility that have constituted a model for the world throughout history - has endured all hardships and difficulties in this period of transition, and which has displayed the virtue of appreciating what has been correctly done; and I salute all of you with love and respect.



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