



sure from the people, to prevent an explosion.

However, the aggravated contradictions, chained down for many years, quickly grew sharper and came out in the open with the resistance and protests of the Kurdish people, workers, students and peasants. Unrest has broken out even in the army where young officers began to send President Ozal letters declaring they could not get used to his style of government, his methods and various things taking place under his rule. The result was that 1,000 officers were dismissed from the army in May.

Ozal's Motherland Party (ANAP) had succeeded in winning 60% of the seats in the parliament even though it got only 26% of the votes, thanks to the electoral law it passed and revised to its own advantage. ANAP's support is now down to 14%, according to surveys made in April. Despite diminishing electoral support, ANAP uses its parliamentary majority to block early elections and to expand its grip on all posts of authority. Relying on this parliamentary majority, Ozal got himself elected as president. He continues to control ANAP, even though the president isn't supposed to be linked to political parties. He controls the ANAP government too. Scandals involving Ozal's critics keep mysteriously popping up. The political crisis has acquired dimensions which a «democratic» regime could no longer bear.

The authorities' premeditated plans had failed in the face of the rising tide of popular opposition. September 12th had no way out but to repeat itself. Early in April, the ruling ANAP and the opposition (Demirel's Right Way Party and Social Democratic Populist Party) left aside their differences and formed an anti-terror alliance in the face of the popular resistance; the target seemed to be the Kurdish intifada, but in effect it covered the whole of Turkey. The bourgeois opposition gave *a priori* consent to the measures the government would take against «terrorism.»

#### **Decree no. 413: Exile-censorship-special forces-free hand for torture and repression**

The 1981 constitution had created the conditions whereby martial law circumstances could be imposed without having to declare it, which would amount to a break for the «democratic regime.» Decree No. 413 did just this: —All publications carrying «false reports» concerning government activities in Kurdistan, disseminating «false» information or commentaries, or adversely affecting public order in the region, causing excitement among the masses, and/or preventing the security forces from carrying out their duties, would be banned or confiscated and destroyed in the whole of Turkey. —All printing houses publishing such

publications would be closed down. —«False» and insulting information about the authorities would be punished by very high fines.

—Radio programs concerning the region must be approved by the Ministry of Interior and National Security Council.

—Those suspected of supporting PKK or of carrying out «harmful» activities shall be sent into exile and will have to live in places designated by the Regional Governor.

—Government officials suspected of «harmful» activities shall be dismissed or transferred to other regions.

—The Governor will have the right to stop trade union activities. The Regional Governor is free to take all measures necessary to prevent activities violating the «freedom of work.»

—Governors, authorities and security forces will not be accountable before the law for their practices.

—All sentences have been doubled concerning supporting illegal activities and/or hiding those wanted by the authorities.

—The Regional Governor was given special authority to demand that cases be filed by the prosecutor in the National Security Court.

—The Regional Governor has the authority to evacuate the population from any region it considers necessary and/or to combine several areas into one.

—Applications for transfer out of the region are welcome; jobs will be provided.

Prime Minister Y. Akbulut announced that: «The threat levelled against the indivisible unity of the State as a country and a nation, shall be stopped by arms. There is no other way out. The basic principle is to face armed attacks with arms... They have supporters in the region, though few. This must be admitted. For these incidents have been going on since 1984... Those supporting them must be severely punished when caught... The work of the security forces is growing more and more difficult. Terrorists dress and behave like the people of the region; it is difficult to tell the difference between the two... Terror is not directed against the government but

