

against the state itself. The basis of all measures is to be victorious in the field of arms against arms...» (April 9th, speaking before the meeting where the decree was adopted). Thus the government with the collaboration of the two main opposition parties, imposed a legally sanctioned regime of terror, censure, exile and repression - not only in Kurdistan, as it is designed to look, but throughout the whole of Turkey, as has been seen in practice.

Since the decree, most student unions have been closed and their leading activists arrested; several strikes involving tens of thousands of workers have been banned; editors-in-chief of 17 revolutionary magazines were arrested in mid-May; they have been on hunger strike since then; revolutionary magazines face great difficulty in finding printing houses to print their issues; May 1st demonstrations were attacked; journalists have been brutally harassed by the security forces; prisoners striking in protest of increased repression are under constant attack; a case has been filed against the newly founded United Communist Party in mid-June; 26 staff members of the 17 revolutionary magazines were arrested as they attempted to travel to Ankara to present the 500,000 signatures they had collected to the prime minister in protest of the situation.

Now that the opposition has quickly grown into one of unpredicted dimensions, all indications of resistance and struggle are fiercely attacked whereas all signs of trying to coexist with the regime or of repentance are rewarded. These developments indicate that after years of torture and repression, the peoples of Turkey and Kurdistan and their revolutionary forces are raising their heads once again. Struggle is advancing as revolutionaries at the same time continue to heal the wounds of the defeat and repression they have suffered. Revolutionary forces are now proceeding, putting to use the lessons of past struggle and defeats. The trends of unity are gaining in strength. Those forces putting their stakes in legal and parliamentary struggle have grouped together. There is also a new coalition of those forces who are determined to

achieve a coordination of the struggles of the peoples of Kurdistan and Turkey, and to radicalize the struggle of the masses in order to create revolutionary alternatives and overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. They have formed the Revolutionary Unity Platform.

### New regional role

Turkey has always been dependent on foreign economic and military aid, with this dependence increasing in leaps and bounds over the years. Its foreign debts totalling around \$15 billion in 1980, have climbed to over \$40 billion in 1989. Turkey ranks third after Israel and Egypt among US military aid recipients, with \$550 million in 1989. «From the Truman Doctrine of the late 40s to the Carter and Reagan doctrines of the 80s, Turkey has been part of every strategic doctrine devised by Washington» (MERIP, September-October 1989). As a NATO member constituting NATO's southeastern flank, Turkey has always coordinated its foreign policy with the overall policies of the imperialist system.

As the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe has collapsed and ceased to be regarded as a threat, NATO's focus on the Middle East has increased. This has given new strength to the standing US argument that NATO's sphere of involvement should include not only the territories of its member countries, but also those regions having direct influence on their interests, and especially the Middle East. This had been part of NATO rhetoric since 1982, but the West European countries had been reluctant to actually implement it. In line with this shift in focus, there has recently been much high-level US and NATO traffic to and from Turkey. The Turkish government has been informed that with the «Soviet threat» receding as a result of the recent international developments, Turkey must agree to play a more active role in the Middle East if it wants to keep its military aid at the present level.

This «more active role» evidently implies increased military and political activity, as Turkey's economic activity in the region is already quite high.

Turkey is expected to enter into firmer alliances with the reactionary

states of the region, and especially Israel, and has taken steps to fulfill those expectations. An agreement has been concluded whereby Turkey will sell water to Israel, which as *Jerusalem Post* reports, will greatly contribute to solving one of the Zionists' most vital problems: shortage of water resources. The *Jerusalem Post* also notes the coincidence between the deterioration of Syrian-Turkish relations and the development of the Israeli-Turkish relations. Discussions are being held to resume the full diplomatic relations that had been dropped to a lower level in 1981 (as part of an oil deal sought with the Saudis). The Israeli lobby in the US has recently cooperated closely with the Turkish government to undermine the discussions held in the US Congress on the 1915 Armenian massacre.

Recently, on the issue of the «giant Iraqi cannon,» Turkey has not hesitated to act in coordination with the imperialist states, confiscating and returning to Britain some iron pipes destined for Iraq. Moreover, the Turkish prime minister declared that the acquisition of sophisticated military technology by Iraq is a security threat for Turkey. The fact that Iraqi oil pipes pass through Turkey gives the Turkish regime a weapon that could always be used. Incidentally, Iraq is Turkey's biggest trade partner in the Middle East.

Water has been a weapon frequently used as a threat against Syria. Ozal has declared on several occasions that Turkey can always stop the flow of water to Syria if it continues to provide facilities for Turkish and Kurdish revolutionaries - an accusation categorically denied by Syria. It is a widely known fact that Turkey assists the Muslim Brotherhood organization. Starting in February and March, the possibility of cross-border operations into Syria and, for the first time, Lebanon have been publicly discussed in the Turkish press by ministers and military officers. There have been proposals to bomb bases in Lebanon; the responsible of the Special Forces has declared that with a 10-man team, they can easily carry out an operation in Lebanon and kill PKK's leader. As of this writing in mid-June, a Syrian delega-