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6 April 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE

No. 1049

PERSPECTIVES ON EARLY ELECTIONS IN TURKEY  
ELECTORAL ACTIVITY 24 JANUARY-17 MARCH 1977

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GENERAL

DISCUSSIONS ON EARLY ELECTIONS AND GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 1 Feb 77 pp 1, 5

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET) - With 8 months left until the national deputy elections, the question of early elections is gathering steam and some of the parties, including primarily the JP [Justice Party] and the RPP, have begun to speak out frequently of their desire for early elections. There is, however, between the JP and the RPP a "debate of the conditions." For early elections, the RPP wants an "elected government under an independent presidency," while the JP says that it "would accept going ahead with early elections with the present government."

In recent meetings of the RPP General Executive Board, it has been stressed that General Chairman Bulent Ecevit has expressed anxieties that "democracy is being endangered." According to reports from RPP sources, Bulent Ecevit has made statements in the general board meetings about the threats to individual safety and his concern over certain activities in the country.

The RPP General Executive Board held a joint meeting yesterday with the executive boards of the groups in which they discussed early elections.

Moreover, it was stated by JP sources that Prime Minister and JP General Chairman Suleyman Demirel also favors early elections and would accept immediately a proposal for early elections from the RPP. These sources say definitely, however, that the RPP condition of a "government under an independent presidency" would not be accepted, that early elections would have to be held with the present government.

In response to the RPP's call for early elections under an independent presidency, the names of "independent candidates for president" have begun to be heard in the political halls of the capital. These candidates are quota senators Sadi Irmak, Zeyyat Baykara, and Serif Tuten. It has been learned that Sadi Irmak has been in discussion of the matter with Bulent Ecevit in the past week. It was suggested that Irmak make a speech off the agenda about it in the Senate in the days ahead.

## Ecevit Calls for Unity of All Democratic Groups

RPP General Chairman Bulent Ecevit said that Turkey is suffering one of the worst crises in the history of our republic and called on democratic groups to unite for public safety and domestic peace in the country.

The RPP General Executive Board, the Senate, and the executive boards of the National Assembly groups held a meeting yesterday chaired by General Chairman Bulent Ecevit and began discussions of recent terrorist incidents and the general climate of crisis in Turkey. Ecevit announced that these meetings would continue for some time. Speaking of statements by JP leaders about early elections, Ecevit said, "We proposed early elections at a time when it was necessary and valid. They opposed it at that time. Now they are coming forward with a lot of proposals. These proposals are more related to the JP's special concern in the coalition than to us, I think."

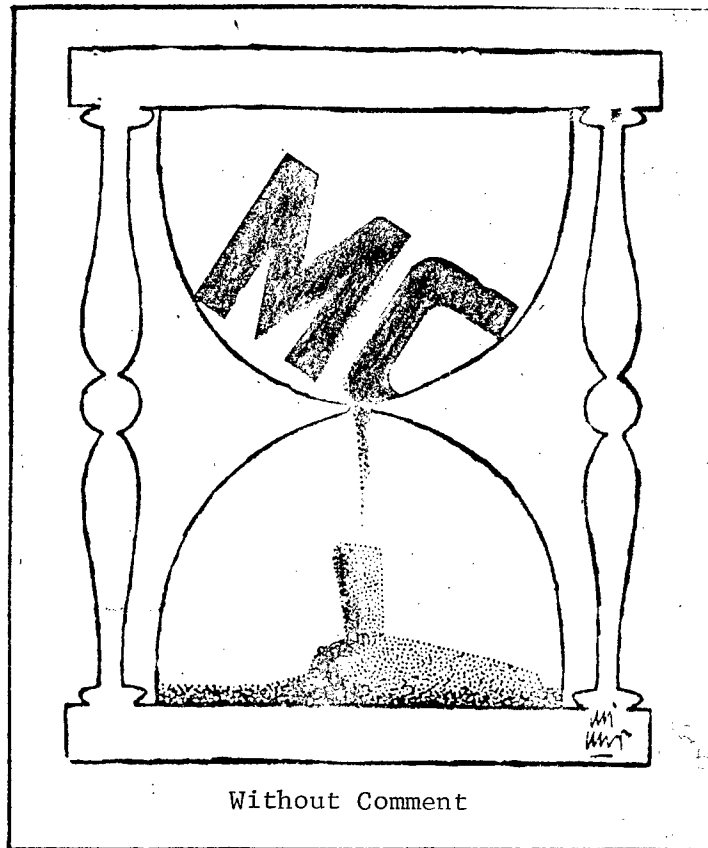
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THE NATIONAL FRONT GOVERNMENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 19 Feb 77 p 1



CSO: 4807

## AILING MEMBERS OF SICK COALITION

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 2 Feb 77 p 1

[Article by Abdi Ipekci]

[Text] The Republican Reliance Party [RRP] is clearly beginning to suffer from its partnership in the present coalition. The illness seems to have progressed gradually to the point where the RRP will have to make a decision. In fact, the party's officers called a meeting for this purpose and at the end of two days of discussion agreed to make new initiatives to its partners and to take action according to the outcome of those initiatives. It was announced that this action may be withdrawal from the coalition if necessary and that the general chairman has already been empowered to this effect.

The RRP ministers serving in the present government seem to be the ones suffering most. Their reactions have intensified so that -- if one is to believe the leaked reports -- they supported an immediate split with the coalition. On the other hand, there are those who consider immediate implementation of such a decision risky at this time. They prevailed, and it was decided to make a final initiative before taking this route.

Now Chairman Feyzioglu has to make these initiatives.

Feyzioglu has already made statements expressing his discomfiture. The RRP leader is the complainer among the partners, even more so than the NSP [National Salvation Party]. Once he complained about the application of coalition protocol. He contended that the requisites of protocol could never be properly employed, whether in foreign or domestic policy. He especially believes that the terrorist acts, which are burgeoning out of control, are not being met with the necessary activism and impartiality and that this is gradually coming to rest largely on the government. He also thinks that actions that violate the principles of Ataturk are being pushed to the extreme in every field, primarily national education.

Feyzioglu's greatest point of contention is the pettiness, discord, and conflict within the coalition. It is totally discomfiting to him and his

colleagues in the government to bear the responsibility of partnership in a coalition in which each partner goes its own way, everybody accuses each other, and nobody feels compelled to consult with anyone else.

Perhaps other reasons may be added to these apparent ones. For instance, it may be that the failure of the JP [Justice Party] so far to give attention to certain drafts prepared when the coalition was formed to provide security for RRP members' positions in the next elections was a catalyst for these discomfitures. It comes to mind that now with elections approaching he is beginning to feel stronger. Moreover, he most likely has realized that the future of the RRP could not be served by bearing responsibility for such a government and that freedom from that responsibility would be more in keeping with the interests of the RRP.

Will Feyzioglu be able to get quickly the results he wants from the overtures he will make?

One essentially compelling fact is valid for all the coalition partners. Feyzioglu's initiative may be the catalyst for discussion of this fact. Perhaps "rescuing the image" will provide some compensation. But the obvious discomfitures are bound to grow as elections approach. It is doubtful that those discomfitures can be avoided. Rapidly developing events will continue to buffet this coalition from without and within.

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OYMEN REVIEWS WHY JP, RPP WANT EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Feb 77 p 7

[Article by Orsan Oymen in his column "The Political Cauldron": "Early Elections"]

[Text] Ozer Olcmen of the DP is known as a politician who avoids exaggerations. All the same, Mr Olcmen says:

"I will kiss the hand of any leader who can persuade his parliamentary group to agree to early elections."

The current agenda in Ankara revolves around early elections.

Ozer Olcmen, nevertheless, refuses to budge:

"The groups won't agree to it," he insists.

Be that as it may, Suleyman Demirel seems to have persuaded his group to agree to elections on 12 June.

All four of the JP [Justice Party] men who spoke--must have been instructed by Demirel to speak--stressed in those speeches the other day the "inevitability of early elections," and for the first time in its history, the group conference room resounded with cheers.

Demirel, delighted with the result of the opinion survey among his groups, set out to make some preparations.

So far, he has held on to the election ball, anticipating an offensive move from the RPP.

He was planning to exploit in every way possible the speechlessness of the major opposition party which, heretofore, has been the loudest advocate of early elections.

From all indications, the RPP's procrastination will encourage Demirel to take the initiative again and have his group place an early elections proposal on the assembly agenda, and he, in his capacity as the deputy from Isparta, will be the first to sign the proposal.

If Demirel's calculations turn out to be accurate, it will disprove distinguished Olcmen's argument, and he will have to kiss Demirel's hand.

#### JP's Viewpoint

Why does Demirel want early elections?

Major reasons are the pressure of inflation, the price floor issue, and more important than either of the above, the pressure of the "street [incidents]," which have not done much harm to the streets, but have inflicted damage upon Demirel's authority.

Moreover, he knows, by previous experience, which forces those incidents may bring on to the scene.

His apprehension on this matter was discernable in the speech he made at the Hearth of the Intelligentsia. He said:

"If there are people who feel authorized to pronounce rules and regulations which carry the force of the constitution, or constitutional provisions, and if these people's words are impacting the nation, and if these people feel free to tag on to their pronouncements warnings to the effect that we should take care, because certain forces are coming, or about to come, I would say the situation indicates the existence of problems that go far beyond the constitutional issue."

"Beware, they are coming," for Demirel, these are very disturbing words. He would love to erase this "invisible authority" from everyone's mind and get rid of all the "anxiety."

But wishing won't make it so.

Demirel was pressured by such "fears" and "rumors" once before in the days before 12 March. In his words, he would have called for early elections, if it were solely up to him.

There is another motive behind the prime minister's position in favor of early elections, and that is his party's interests.

He already has achieved his goal of splitting the DP.

He successfully has pulled DP big shots over to his camp.

His second objective was to divide the National Salvation Party [NSP]. He could not do it.

No matter how hard he tried, his efforts went so far, but beyond that, they were fruitless.

There was a fragmentation in the NSP along "sectarian" lines, but Demirel could not rally the dissidents around the JP flag.

As things stand now, his chances of getting them over to his side are very slim.

Actually, Demirel looks upon early elections as his next opportunity on this matter.

If elections are set for an early date, "a struggle of life or death" is bound to begin among parliamentarians. The dissidents in the NSP, their chances of success in the primaries greatly diminished on account of their opposition to the party hierarchy, will grow apprehensive. This is the time, Demirel believes, he can make a final attempt.

His divide-and-conquer scheme, of course, applies to the RRP [Republican Reliance Party] also.

His opinion of Feyzioglu's enterprise came to the surface a few days ago when, at a group meeting, he retorted, "Whoever wants to go, goes. Whoever remains is ours."

#### RPP's Position

As for the RPP . . .

The major opposition party, initially, ignored the "early elections" proposal. Later on, growing weary under the pressure of the "street [incidents]," began to edge towards early elections, but stipulated that there should be "an above-party prime minister and a caretaker government." There is, now, a readily discernable stirring in the RPP.

People who argue, "Let's not give the ball to Demirel. Let's make an effort and get ahead," are in the majority now in the RPP.

Deputy leaders of the RPP groups, reportedly, conducted an opinion survey in the assembly group, and came up with 60 to 40. In other words, about 60 percent are for early elections and 40 percent are against.

The members who favor early elections reason:

The bridges between the party administration and the assembly group collapsed altogether after the latest party congress.

The group is out of control, we are losing points every passing day.

Take the issue of salaries for parliamentarians and the [village] aldermen.

The party's general headquarters, inevitably, will take a stand against a majority of the people in the group in the battle for the primaries, because the assembly group showed its color during the congress when it took sides with the opposition.

Under the circumstances, no one will be left in the assembly once the budget passes. Everyone will rush out to begin his "do-or-die" struggle.

It won't be easy to get on the RPP candidates list in the coming elections. It will be as difficult as taking the meat from the lion's mouth.

The best thing to do would be to vote for early elections, and then, go out and see what we can do for ourselves before the replacement units are mobilized and the general headquarters people step up internal operations.

This is the gist of the feelings nursed by the anti-general headquarters faction in the RPP group.

To be frank about it, they are not entirely "unjustified."

#### Parliamentary Opposition

Actually, there isn't much of a chance of finding points in favor of "the parliamentary opposition."

The opposition's criticism of the budget is bland, at best.

I eavesdropped on the senate deliberations on the Ministry of Tourism budget. They were still arguing about "the Leleouch Film" of 2 years ago, and the "82 frank meal ticket."

An RPP senator thanked a JP cabinet minister, saying "words were inadequate to express his appreciation and gratitude for the exceptional success of the folklore team" which the cabinet minister had organized.

"However," the senator added, "I do have a bit of criticism. The Erzurum team was not as successful as all that . . ."

That was how it was in the senate.

What about the National Assembly?

The opposition's budget spokesmen, as their counterparts in the Joint Budget Planning Committee, looked like advance guards without a back-up unit. They were asking everybody they could find--including reporters--for material. "Give me some ammunition, I have to be the spokesman during the debate on the budget of the Ministry of . . ."

That's how the budget deliberations went. The debate on the village aldermen salaries was not much different.

They supported the government's salary proposal and alienated the aldermen.

"What are you trying to do to us?" asked a village alderman from Gevas to an RPP parliamentarian. "Are you trying to get us killed by giving us 2,500 liras a month out there in the village?"

Isn't it a fact though! If you pay so much to village aldermen, every village will turn into a blood-splattered battleground on each election day.

#### The Parliament's Point of View

Looking at the early elections issue in the perspective of the parliament-- rather, parliamentary customs-- this is what you'll see:

Once the budget clears the parliament, you won't find anyone in that building. Whether the elections are held in June or October, every national representative will disappear to his election district.

In fact, Demirel gave them the signal the other day.

"I want the parliamentarians to comb the country in March," he said.

It means, we can count on the JP people's absence.

RPP people won't be there either because, for them, this is a matter of life or death.

How are you going to have an assembly meeting? With NSP members?

By the way, what does the NSP--rather the Hoca--have to say about all these? What else would he say except, "Let them go brothers, services will continue."

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NADIR NADI CALLS FOR AN ELECTION GOVERNMENT

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 14 Feb 77 pp 1, 9

[Article by Nadir Nadi: "While We Argued Whether Early, or Late . . . "]

[Text] We are, finally, in the homestretch. We have no less than 4, or no more than 8 months before the elections. Comments by the leaders of the two major parties create the impression that there is a "tacit" understanding between them on the election issue. The head of the Justice Party [JP], in reply to a reporter's question, said that the elections can be held in June, if that is what the National Assembly wants. Meanwhile, the RPP leader announced that his party is ready for the elections whenever they are held.

Frankly, at this point, it is immaterial when the elections are held. The mathematical makeup of the parliament after the 1973 elections led to a governmental crisis. The shortest way, and from the viewpoint of democracy, the best way out of that crisis would have been to renew the elections as soon as possible. It was obvious that coalition governments would be either superficial and short-lived alliances, or administrations riddled with internal bickering, and doomed to failure either way. We wrote about it many times. We brought it up again when the RPP-NSP [National Salvation Party] partnership broke up. No one listened. Four parties, counting on the support of interest groups, held on to each other for dear life, and thanks to the few votes they got from the independents, were able to form the so-called "nationalist" front. Look what they have done to the country in 2 years. Ministries are parceled out and partisan politics are running rampant in all of them; Ataturk's principles are messed up; our youths in universities--high schools even--are set at each other's throat; academic activity is at a virtual standstill; Court of Cassation rulings are ignored; the rate of inflation is rising faster than anyone can catch up with, and security of life is seriously threatened.

Under these circumstances, what difference would it make if we held elections 4 months early, or 4 months late?

They have harassed and oppressed the nation under the pretext of "representing the national mandate." The Nationalist Front government, only 2 years old, is coming apart at the seams, contrived props are keeping it on its shaky feet.

What matters today is not when, but how the elections should be held. Voters, who have had their fill of the current broken down government, want above all assurances that the elections will be held under secure conditions. The Nationalist Front government does not have the power to ensure security.

We believe that the government should step down soon after the budget goes into effect. It should be replaced by an interim election government under the leadership of a nonpartisan parliamentarian. The sooner we take this step, the better it would be for the country. The administrative machinery is by and large broken down. Underground, or semi-underground, groups, accustomed to getting the green light from the Nationalist Front government, are taking full advantage of the murky atmosphere to continue their terrorist operations. How can we talk of the honesty of elections while the TRT [Turkish Radio and Television Corp.], under the command of an illegal director general, continues its Nationalist Front-oriented brainwashing day and night?

Still, the head of the JP seems intent on being in office when the elections are held. "Find the 226 [votes in the assembly], and topple the government." is the formula he grabs on to every time he finds himself cornered. He will do the same this time also. He will not step down unless the Moslems of the NSP decide to follow the most sensible course and abandon Suleyman Demirel for the sake of secure elections.

We think we are at the homestretch, but we have this uneasy feeling that our troubles are far from over.

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'YANKI' DISCUSSES EARLY ELECTIONS, FUTURE OF NSP

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 14-20 Feb 77 p 34

[Text] As the reasons compelling the Justice Party [JP] to consider early elections multiply, interpretations of the future of the National Salvation Party [NSP] may be colored by this.

Touching on religious subjects in a speech before the Enlightenment Club in Istanbul, Prime Minister Demirel indicated that the JP supports the Nurcisi and hopes that the Naksibendi group, whose administration is today under the control of the NSP, will lose strength. RRP [Republican Reliance Party] General Chairman Prof Feyzioglu has taken issue primarily with the NSP in all of his statements, with hardly a mention of the NAP [National Action Party]. This is taken as an indication of an important role for the RRP in the JP's pressure campaign against the NSP. Some think Feyzioglu's secret talks with Turkes mean that he favors an enlarged role for the NAP should a move for martial law fail.

Other suggestions include that the NSP leaders are aware of all these developments aimed against the NSP and because of this are planning to pass the organization as it is to the new Order Party if the NSP is banned.

It is no longer a secret that the new Carter administration does not want the Turkish-American defense agreement to pass Congress if no solution is found to the Cyprus problem. An assistant of American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance openly criticized Ford for taking the matter to Congress before he left office. This development also puts Demirel in an extremely difficult position, because the agreement will not be approved until 31 March, and advance foreign exchange payments will have to be made for the weapons the Turkish Armed Forces plan to purchase. Then if the purchase does not go through, the Turkish treasury will suffer great loss. It will not be easy to proceed under these circumstances. The National Defense Ministry, therefore, will be affected directly by this, the RRP also.

Even if the Mobil and Lockheed investigations in parliament have not been pressing forward lately, some activity is noticeable. According to the RPP leaders, Demirel is in a very difficult position because of the second-party purchase of aircraft from Lockheed. Committee chairman Yilmaz Alpaslan will announce these matters soon. The Mobil committee is continuing its efforts in spite of suppression attempts by JP members. Holding elections early may help to push all this into the background.

Something that has come up recently between the Common Market and Turkey looks as though it has persuaded the JP that elections ought to be held early. The EEC wants to eliminate the tax rebate applied to Turkish cotton thread and has allowed some time for this to take place. Now the government has until that time to find a formula. The suggested solution is to eliminate the tax rebate and hold down the base price of cotton. Thus they can export cotton thread and still be competitive. And the only answer to holding down the base price of cotton is thought to lie in moving up the elections.

The increased likelihood of early elections and the growing campaigns of various sorts against the NSP make it more likely every day that some government will be formed to replace the present one. There is an intense effort to exclude the NSP from the government that would be formed in this eventuality. There are also indications of mounting pressure on the RPP in this regard. Some quarters continue to blame the RPP for the NSP's inclusion in the government in the first place and are trying to preclude such an eventuality for the future.

There are indications, however, that the RPP finds it easy to cooperate with the NSP. RPP leaders are saying that it is clear now how right the RPP general chairman was in 1974 in the effort to dismantle the government. RPP members who deny earlier NSP statements that, "We agree with the RPP, we could work with them if this government fails," are saying, "We had agreed only on the 'municipal revenues bill.' We did our part, but the NSP deceived us on this. It proved once more how unreliable they are."

Despite the signals Demirel is passing on early elections, there is not a full consensus within the RPP. Looking at it purely from an RPP point of view, there would be no need for early elections. It seems that the RPP would say yes to early elections only if it would be "beneficial to the country." The authoritative organs of the RPP have not established what would constitute "benefit to the country." However, they have begun to deliberate on how elections could be held in complete safety. Revealing the details of this will depend on a thorough understanding of whether Demirel intends to use early elections as a sword of Damocles against the NSP.

Now that the climate for early elections is being created, the Justice Party is seen to have begun testing the ground within the RPP in connection with the changes desired in the election law. The RPP is not yet giving

serious consideration to the proposals for voting changes that would probably favor the large parties and be detrimental to the small ones. Confronted by all these developments, the RPP has only looked into what its national deputies think about early elections and it seems that the result will generally be positive.

While JP pressure on the NSP, assisted by certain other circles, and conditions propelling the government toward early elections are developing, the RPP seems to be the only ones showing any concern over the disorders. It is not necessary to take a stance until the budget is out, anyway.

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ECEVIT, DEMIREL EXCHANGE ON EARLY ELECTIONS REPORTED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 Feb 77 p 7

[Article by Orsan Oymen in his column "The Political Cauldron": "Early Elections"]

[Text] The National Assembly's deliberation of the national budget is a process whereby the assembly passes judgement on the "performance" of the government during a given year.

Each political party's spokesman is allotted 2 hours to deliver a critique of the budget as a whole.

This year, however, it looks like 2 hours will not be long enough to review the "trickery" performed by the Nationalist government in the past 12 months.

Ozer Olcmen, the spokesman for the Democratic Party group, ran out of time before he could finish his prepared statement. "How can I list in 2 hours all the stupid things you did in 2 years," he remarked, as he tossed his papers away and stepped down from the podium.

Ecevit's opening statement was a different version of Olcmen's closing remarks.

"This is a mirror that reflects the government's absurdities, oddities," he began. "However, it's like the type of mirror you find at carnivals. How can we take this budget seriously? Nothing in it makes sense."

The first day of the budget deliberations at the National Assembly was very interesting, but not because of the nature of criticism directed at the budget. Positions on "early elections" were revealed on that day.

The "early elections" game that started soon after the 1973 elections when the governmental crisis set in has been the leading item on the February agenda.

At the beginning, Demirel had the ball, and he had the RPP in a corner. "Come on and play," he was saying.

Ecevit accepted the challenge, but with a stipulation.

"All right," he said, "but not under this government."

It was not yes, and it was not no. It was an "a la Demirel" answer.

When the budget reached the National Assembly, the attitudes changed.

Ecevit, in a speech the other day, took up the challenge, and what's more, he moved the elections even closer. He made "early elections," "immediate elections."

"We called for elections 2 years ago, you held off," he said. "You may call for elections in 2 months, we will not shy away." This time, Ecevit had the "early elections" ball in his corner.

Now, Ecevit was in a position to score. Ears strained to hear Demirel's reply.

Demirel was scheduled to address the assembly late in the evening 2 days ago. He postponed it to the following morning. Meanwhile, he held a 1-hour meeting in his office with one of his coalition partners, Necmettin Erbakan. According to the grapevine, the topic was "early elections."

Finally, yesterday morning, Demirel came to the podium to answer Ecevit. He said, in essence, if you want elections right away--and you say you will change the political group in power--you should present a motion.

Demirel was certain that the RPP group will not make a motion, and that Ecevit's challenge was after all "a bluff."

RPP members, however, got on the offensive. Now that they had Demirel at the podium, they were ready to press on.

Ecevit got up.

"Is it yes, or no, to early elections?" he asked. "Please state your answer clearly."

Demirel faltered.

"Let us see you make a motion," he came back.

Orhan Birgit took out a sheet of paper from his pocket. It very well could have been his electricity and gas bill.

"Here is your motion," he said. "Will you vote for it?"

"That piece of paper is not a motion," Demirel replied.

In the midst of the growing noise, Ecevit, Gunes, and Birgit pressed on.

"Will you support the motion, or not? Give us a definite yes, or no." they said.

Demirel crooked his head to a side and put an end to the early elections debate.

"We are discussing the budget now, gentlemen," he said.

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'MILLIYET' STAFF WRITER COMMENTS ON EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 Feb 77 pp 1, 15

[Article by Cuneyt Arcayurek : "Is the Early Elections Idea Dead?"]

[Text] Ankara--Budget deliberations give a reading on a nation's pulse. They light up the road to the future. Domestic issues are dissected and discussed in detail, which may open up heretofore untried approaches to problems. Budget discussions may also serve as a means to seek common grounds of agreement between the government and the opposition. This does not happen in our country, but it happens in many foreign lands. Demirel refuses to yield on a certain matter. He will not allow himself to be dragged into a public debate on sensitive problems, such as foreign relations issues. It may be the right thing to do. Nevertheless, a government should brief the assembly extensively on external issues vital to the country's future. It did not happen. We know nothing more about the recent developments in Cyprus except what was reported in the press. We do not have any official explanation. What are the U.S. objectives in Turkey? What have we accomplished in the Aegean? What is the latest on Common Market issues? They remain in the dark.

Ecevit offered his hand, in a manner of speaking, to the government on the crucial issue of national security. In a spirit of national responsibility, he proposed "a joint search for a solution" to our security problem. Prime Minister Demirel would have none of it. The budget discussions turned into a battle, fought with election slogans, on whether investments were made or not. Ecevit, in fact, could not comment on any of the foreign relations-oriented developments--possibly because he does not have any formal information. How can this be done? What kind of budget deliberations are these? How are the people ever going to find out what is really happening? What will the talks behind closed doors produce? No one will ever know.

The other major topic in the war of words between Demirel and Ecevit was the early elections issue. But, as we witnessed, in response to the RPP's straightforward approach, Demirel was "unable to say anything definite on early elections" on behalf of the JP [Justice Party]. Both sides were talking of--at least, in their respective statement--moving towards early elections. The

fact that the assembly debate took a different turn is an indication that early elections are not, at this time, a clear-cut objective. Ecevit says, "We called for elections 2 years ago. You evaded it. We will not run away from it, if you call for elections in 2 months."

In his speech yesterday, Demirel saw Ecevit's open card in a different light and sort of pushed it aside. "We are not discussing early elections here," he said, "we are discussing the budget." To RPP deputies who chanted "early elections, early elections," Demirel said, "Elections are not the government's business, you should make the move," and tried to rid himself of the problem for the time being.

Does that kill the early elections idea? In our judgement, and according to informed sources behind the scenes, it does not. Holding early elections, the JP thinks, is not a good idea at this time. The JP believes that the time is not ripe for early elections. Demirel is not ready to commit himself to early elections before he can assess his party's strength, and besides, he does not want to scare off the NSP [National Salvation Party]. Meanwhile, Ecevit, having discarded the preconditions he had attached to early elections, has stepped forward, put the RPP over the JP by scoring a point for his party. Ecevit appears to be leaning towards dropping the "government under an above-party prime minister" precondition also.

When will the early elections idea receive serious consideration? This is the question now. The JP is planning to develop the early elections idea in March and put it on the table in early April. A decision at the beginning of April will permit us, under the constitution, to hold elections in the first half of June.

In his speech yesterday, Demirel also defended--although in a veiled manner--the NSP's fabricated, misleading cornerstones. It is very unfortunate that the prime minister has taken a position in defense of a party just because it has the potential to split JP votes. According to Demirel, none of the foundations that were dug up were filled with rainwater; buildings were rising over them. No, distinguished Demirel, no. You may be the NSP's coalition partner, but you did not have to act as its defense attorney. You should not have defended the NSP, not even in an implied manner, when the cornerstones the NSP claims to have laid have been already publicly exposed, and proven by documents, as lies.

We should, nonetheless, underline a point, and that is, the RPP made a mistake in charging that none of the promised investments and projects have materialized. The RPP gave Demirel an opportunity to talk on a subject he knows best. Demirel, from the assembly podium, brought everyone up to date on all 103 of his projects.

The discussions on the budget as a whole were held in an atmosphere of election hysteria, and for all practical purposes, the discussions are over. Not all issues, external and internal problems, however, have been cleared up. The undisclosed developments remain in the dark. The scene on the first day of the budget deliberations was disappointing, and from all indications, nothing will come out of it in the future either.

POLITICIANS SPECULATE ON DATE FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 27 Feb 77 p 10

[Text] President Carter's special envoy Clifford was unable to learn in his talks in Ankara how the Cyprus and Aegean problems or the Turkish-Greek dispute might be resolved, but he must have learned very well that no problem can be resolved until elections are held in Turkey.

One wonders if he will pass this on in the report he makes to President Carter?

Clifford's question to his Turkish friends about early elections at the dinner given by U.S. Ambassador Macomber in honor of Caglayangil is being interpreted as a chance remark. His speaking of early elections at a dinner attended by Haluk Ulman and Deniz Baykal is being interpreted differently by the RPP. Capitalites have a bad habit of looking in the wrong places for answers. They even had some interesting comments on Turan Gunes' prediction in Izmir that elections would be held on 5 June. However, Father Turan asserted that what he had said was his personal opinion.

RPP General Chairman Ecevit and Hasan Isik also were invited to dinner at the American embassy.

But they were entertaining their Norwegian guests that evening. They were not involved in the election conversations with Clifford. Foreign Minister Caglayangil must be thoroughly weary of coming to dead ends with the National Salvation Party on questions of foreign policy; he told Clifford that many bottlenecks could be eliminated by early elections. Justice Party Group Vice Chairman Cihat Bilgehan, meanwhile, explains that this parliament has become a lost force and that early elections would be a democratic way out. He predicts elections for 12 June.

Bilgehan says 12 June, Turan Gunes says 5 June. Both of them say that they are speaking apart from the official bodies of their parties. Let us see what the official bodies have to say about this.

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## 'YANKI' STUDIES SIGNS OF EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul YANKI in Turkish 28 Feb-6 Mar 77 p 8

[Text] Hard evidence has come to light of a plan being prepared for early elections to take place in conjunction with passage of the 1977 budget.

It is interesting that a poll of RPP national deputies reveals a gradually strengthening trend, that Demirel is throwing out hints but avoids further clarification because of budget-related concerns, but that JP [Justice Party] officers are the ones openly calling for early elections.

For Demirel, getting out the budget has top priority, and when the RPP asked if he wanted early elections to head off any negative eventualities before it was put to a vote, Demirel replied, "We are talking about the budget now." To us, this has the ring of sincerity. Anyway, it is pretty much known that Demirel wants elections in June.

There are indications that RPP leader Ecevit is slowly coming round to the view that Demirel wants early elections. Ecevit believes that Demirel must want early elections "unless he has given up hope on the democratic system." He has indicated as much in Assembly discussions, giving a list of reasons. One reason, and a most compelling one, that Ecevit did not cite, for reasons of delicacy or political ramifications, is the NSP [National Salvation Party]'s developing opposition to the JP. Demirel knows that the NSP will gain strength towards October both from the buildings that will be rising on the foundations they have laid and from the atmosphere of the month of Ramazan. And because of this, he does not want to wait too long.

It should not be thought that the RPP would give the JP much trouble from what we understand about the bases for early elections. The RPP does not even think it necessary for the present government to resign and would probably be happy with something like a JP statement of good intentions on one or two specific issues. Among these may be such matters as adoption of a somewhat more open attitude toward the crimes committed by persons belonging to the NAP [National Action Party], reducing tension by removing the rector of the Middle East Technical University, and, in the case of the Turkish Radio and TV Administration director which should be concluded any day now, to remove Karatas without appointing a replacement.

There is no suspicion over security at the polls on election day which will be without the strict internal party discipline practiced by the RPP. But it is certain that reassurance would be sought that the country would not suffer a bloodbath during election campaigns. Anxieties have been stimulated by the suggestion in a certain NAP newspaper that bloody disorders would make it difficult for nonmilitant supporters of the large parties to go to the polls and that the militant cadres of the small parties would be encouraged by this. It would probably satisfy the RPP if Demirel were to make a symbolic gesture or two to alleviate these anxieties. It is thought that if such a climate were created between the two large parties, changes in the elections law favoring the large parties would be possible.

In spite of the clear indications and the threat posed by Erbakan, who seems to have usurped all economic vitality, the RPP still has one fear. And that is the fear of being instrumental in a JP effort to use the RPP to get rid of its coalition partners. But we think that the open attitude Demirel has adopted recently should eliminate that concern.

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ABDI IPEKCI DISCUSSES JP, EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Mar 77 p 1

[Article by Abdi Ipekci: "JP Has Two Options"]

[Text] The situation is quite clear. The JP [Justice Party] will either reach an agreement with the RPP to hold elections on an earlier date, or try to remain in power with its current partners until next October.

If the JP wants early elections, it would have to win the RPP's support, because the NSP [National Salvation Party] is dead set against moving elections to an earlier date. The JP cannot pass an early elections resolution through the National Assembly, even if it got all the votes outside the NSP and the RPP. An agreement with the RPP, however, will eliminate the need for others' support.

Numerical realities in the assembly present only two options to the JP:

1. Reach an agreement with the RPP and go to early elections.
2. Put up with the NSP and try to remain in power until October.

The second road is risky, as well as difficult. It is risky because it may wear down the JP on the eve of elections. The first option, on the other hand, would require the JP to agree to specific terms and give certain guarantees that the RPP is demanding.

Now, the JP leader and his general staff have to put on their thinking caps and decide on one of those alternatives open to them. JP spokesmen have been saying all along that they are in favor of early elections, but they do not give out any indication as to how they plan to advance the election date. Furthermore, they have not so much as mentioned, nor implied, an agreement with the RPP. On the contrary, they have assumed a critical attitude towards the RPP on the early elections question, as they have done virtually on all other issues. The JP leader's position appears to be about the same. Moreover, the JP leader is taking pains to avoid any binding

statements on early elections, and is steering clear of remarks critical of the NSP.

When the JP's attitude and the realities we have discussed earlier are evaluated together, another alternative emerges. It is possible that JP leaders are looking into the prospects of passing an early elections resolution without the RPP votes, and maybe there is a plan that involves the NSP.

There have been rumors about such a plan. We have been hearing for some time now that there are several individuals in the NSP group whom the JP might steal away. The JP general staff might be preparing a plan to take advantage of the situation in the NSP group, provided they can count on those people. The JP might be able to manipulate developments, whereby some NSP members will quit the party and throw their support to the JP. A successful execution of such a plan would mean killing two birds with one stone. It will splinter the NSP--the JP's major rival in the elections after the DP--and it will help the party come close to a parliamentary majority whereby it can pass any resolution it wants.

We do not know whether a plan of this type that entails complex maneuvers and is based on a weak premise is, in fact, in the making. What we do know is that the JP has two options to choose from. A serious and practical third option is not available--not yet.

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'YANKI' DISCUSSES EARLY ELECTIONS, NSP-RPP COALITION

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 7-13 Mar 77 pp 10, 11

[Article: "Early Elections: What the RPP Expects From the JP"]

[Text] The RPP's belief that the JP [Justice Party] is genuinely interested in early elections became firmer last week, as evidenced by a statement issued by the party's General Administrative Board. The RPP says, in the statement, it shares the view that there is a need for early elections, and goes on to clarify its position on certain conditions, while putting down several conditions itself, with hopes of ensuring progress towards early elections. Foremost among those conditions is the one that early elections shall not be used as a means to fortify the Nationalist Front government, or to form a new government which will deepen the crisis further and encourage the perpetrators of violent acts. The RPP is ready to support the early elections idea, the statement says, provided the JP dispels the suspicion that there is an ulterior motive behind its apparent support of early elections. A decision by the JP's authorized organs to hold early elections would remove these doubts, the RPP says.

The RPP also says that it will oppose strongly any plan to eliminate the Erbakan group by causing a split in the NSP [National Salvation Party], thereby preparing the ground for a new government which Demirel may form with the support of the allegedly pro-JP group in the DP, and in which he may take the spirit of Nationalist Front a step further and give the NAP [National Action Party] a wider sphere of action. A simple mathematical operation will show, however, that when the NSP is split, Demirel cannot form another government as long as the RPP opposes it. If that is the case, the concern expressed in the statement on this point must be an attempt to present the party less agreeable than it actually is.

It is public knowledge that the RPP, while reiterating its objection to NSP policies, has said, in reference to the interior minister's stand against acts of violence, that, in recent days, the NSP "has been doing the right thing on matters of security." It will be to the RPP's advantage if the NSP stays in the government, but opposes the JP.



RPP people also pondered over the NSP's threats to quit the coalition if the JP decides in favor of early elections and reached the conclusion that, when it happens, the JP would have to come to terms with the RPP. As YANKI noted in an earlier edition, Demirel was expected to make some symbolic gestures to indicate a willingness to reach an understanding. For example, Demirel could have made such gestures on the issues involving the Middle East Technical University or the TRT [Turkish Radio and Television Corp.]. It is entirely possible that Demirel's Malatya speech, which had no remarks critical of the RPP and made favorable references to Inonu, was the first indication of a new attitude we may see more of in the coming days.

What about the JP's concern over the possibility of the RPP forming a government with the NSP, once the latter turns its back to the JP? A senior RPP official commented on it last week when asked by YANKI. As he put it:

1. The RPP feels strongly that the NSP "cannot be trusted." Despite an agreement between the RPP and NSP on the municipal revenues issue, the NSP reneged during the budget deliberations, and demonstrated its unreliability once again.
2. Recently, there have been signs that the NSP does not want to form a government with the RPP. There are about 20 NSP members who favor the JP. It is possible that their efforts to split the NSP are behind those signs.
3. It will be very difficult, virtually impossible, for the RPP to run the country until October by a government it will form with the NSP. It will be remembered that, although the earlier RPP-NSP coalition was formed under optimal conditions, by 1974 the RPP had just about enough and had to withdraw from the coalition, and it did it with an ultimatum. The RPP will not consider it in its interest to form a government with the NSP, which will have authority to implement an economic policy and will carry out its election campaign during the fasting month.
4. There is always the possibility that the NSP may change its attitude, if early elections become unavoidable. In that event, the RPP may reconsider its position under the new circumstances and agree to something on a temporary basis.

What it all means is that the RPP considers an RPP-NSP coalition until October a very dim possibility, but implies that it may consider it if elections are scheduled for an early date. The RPP does not have a commitment to the NSP, nor to the JP. The party already has publicly explained what it will reject, or accept, on the question of early elections. It has not made irrational, far-out demands. That the RPP is demanding a government minus Demirel and Turkes is only idle talk. It has not been even discussed in the party. It is merely wishful thinking on the part of the organization, and there are no indications that the central organ is preparing to make such a demand. A simple assurance by the JP is all that is needed for the RPP's endorsement of early elections, and that assurance may come in March.

A veteran political observer, who has kept an eye on Turkey's political scene since 1950, claims, "Deputies will not agree to give up their salaries, nor their wives their prestige, even for a couple of months." We will have elections in June, unless the above observation is accurate.

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'MILLIYET'S' IPEKCI: EARLY ELECTIONS STILL UNCERTAIN

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 16 Mar 77 p 1

[Text] Such a climate had been created that everybody had begun to expect that the JP [Justice Party] groups were going to decide for early elections in yesterday's meeting. In fact there were several reasons lending credibility to this expectation:

The national deputies who had been dispatched by general headquarters to the four corners of the country to "take the pulse" had completed their task and returned to the capital to attend yesterday's meeting. It had been learned that they were all on the same track, having determined that the JP organization favors early elections.

In addition, Manisa National Deputy Caglar had initiated on his own a petition for early elections and it was known that more than half of the JP group had signed it.

In spite of all this, it will be necessary to wait a while longer for realization of the early elections decision which both the organization and the group seem to find compatible. The JP administrators want to evaluate opinions on it among themselves first and then at the Representatives Assembly, and thus arrive at a definite decision.

True, it may be thought in view of the visible trends that the decision is guaranteed and that the JP would make an official initiative for early elections this weekend. But some cautious JP leaders are said to have different ideas. They are said to be afraid that an initiative which does not fully figure the results, with poorly prepared tactics, would put the JP in a difficult position.

Will these doubts be able to delay the JP's decision on early elections, or even abort such an initiative?

Maybe not...

But the important thing is not just whether an early election decision will be made by the JP, but whether it would find support outside the JP. The realization of early elections depends on that.

True, the only open and categorical opposition to early elections has come from the NSP [National Salvation Party]. The other parties, especially the RPP, however, must not be expected to give unconditional support to an initiative made by the JP. Likewise, there is no proof that the JP would take those conditions into account.

There is something else, also:

The possibility exists that if the JP made an initiative for early elections the NSP, which opposed the idea, would attempt an alternative initiative to try to form a new government excluding the JP to ensure that elections would be held in October. Certain NSP leaders began to speak openly of this possibility yesterday.

This shows that early elections are easier thought about than brought about and leads us to believe that a point we have discussed before is correct:

Early elections depend on whether the RPP and the JP reach agreement on the subject.

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MILLIYET'S' IPEKCI SAYS EARLY ELECTIONS DOUBTFUL

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 17 Mar 77 p 1

[Article by Abdi Ipekci in his column "The Situation"; "(-)x(-)=+(?)"]

[Excerpt] In recent weeks, JP [Justice Party] people have been saying that their party has decided to hold elections in June and the party's president general will announce the decision at the Antalya rally on 16 March.

Demirel talked about elections extensively yesterday in Antalya, but he added nothing to what he has been saying all along; neither did he announce a decision, he merely criticized the RPP.

The much publicized Antalya speech did not introduce anything new into the election situation.

The decision that was not announced yesterday may come in the next few days. As we said in our column yesterday, however, under the current circumstances, the JP's decision may not be sufficient to bring about early elections. The JP's position will not get the majority support in the assembly to pass an early elections resolution. Demirel's Antalya speech yesterday evidenced that the JP's position has not changed. The JP leader indicated once again that he has no intentions of entering into an agreement with the RPP on this issue.

To continue with the current government, but bring about early elections without the support of the RPP seem to us as a feat impossible to accomplish.

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## LABOR AND MANAGEMENT SPOKESMEN ON EARLY ELECTIONS

### DISK'S TURKLER CALLS FOR CARETAKER GOVERNMENT

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 24 Jan 77 p 5

[Communique issued by Kemal Turkler, president general of the Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions; date of communique not given]

[Text] Kemal Turkler, president general of the DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions], is calling for "a caretaker government" to discourage attempts to prevent elections and to stop those who are working for a fascist takeover. Turkler says in the communique that workers have a unique weapon, and then explains, "Production is in the hands of the working class." Then, referring to the recent armed attacks, he warns, "No one should make the mistake of believing we are asleep." He goes on to assert that workers are strong enough to break the hands which intend to harm democracy.

The DISK communique says the following, in summary:

"Even as the National Security Council met, a number of youths were killed, and police attacked instructors, students, and newspaper reporters at the Istanbul Technical University. These policemen who attacked the university are commandos hired by the security organization during the Nationalist Front regime. Several days ago, the police, without a search warrant, but armed with automatic weapons, raided the headquarters of several youth organizations, as if they were attacking enemy forces."

### Isolated Turkey

The DISK communique charges that state officials are helpless in averting incidents, and that the attackers receive their orders from the leaders of illegal underground fascist organizations. Then, it continues:

"The relations between the Western world and Turkey, supposedly a part of the Western world, are very slim. So much so that Turkey's political ties with the West are on the verge of collapsing. The foreign press talks of a strong possibility that Turkey may be ousted from the European Council.

As we all know, West European organizations drop undemocratic regimes from membership. That is how it was with Greece between 1967 and 1974. Turkey came close to it in the 12 March era. Isolation of Turkey from Western Europe is carried out according to a plan and by conscious efforts. It is no secret that the domestic and foreign fascist forces which devised this plan, and now supervise and implement it, are associated with the CIA [the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency]."

#### Capital Wants More Dynamic Government

DISK leader Turkler claims that a number of capitalist circles are behind the recent incidents. He says:

"The powerful government formula of the National Action Party, and the more dynamic state formula of big capitalists are working together. Carefully prepared slogans voice a desire for a fascist state.

"Domestic and foreign monopolistic capital circles implement policies aimed at making more profit in a shorter time. However, this policy could not be implemented fully in the face of the working-class movement and the democratic conditions, however limited, strengthened by the DISK. That is why, monopolistic capital circles support and finance the CIA-inspired fascist movement in its efforts to set up a fascist government. The primary objective of the fascist movement is to strangle the working class's organized movement.

"The fascist insurgence is a threat to the working-class movement, the parliamentary democracy, for which the DISK has been a vanguard, all political parties and organizations which have called for elections, our right to live, our wages and salaries, however inadequate they may be, our 40 million citizens who have no ties to big capitalist monopolies, and the existence of virtually the entire press. Fascism does not discriminate; it crushes, kills, and silences everyone against fascism.

"The forthcoming 1977 elections will deal the heaviest blow to the fascist movement. Votes will be cast by conscious masses, not by people piled up on trucks. That is why the fascist movement is putting the final touches on its plan to eliminate our chances of winning the election, and to set up either a martial law regime or a fascist junta."

#### Workers Are Not Asleep, We Will Maintain Security

Turkler says in the communique that the working class is not asleep, and he declares, "We, ourselves, will maintain our security." Then, he adds:

"The working-class movement, of which the DISK is the organizational vanguard, will perform its historic task of ensuring that elections are held, either on time or at an earlier date. Fascist forces are mistaken if they believe that we are asleep. Our working class has the strength and determination, and is prepared to quell a fascist insurgence, and will give the proper

answer to the few inhuman, sold-out people when and if they attempt to establish martial law, or bring a fascist junta to power.

"In the final stage, using our own resources, we ourselves will ensure the security of elections and safeguard the ballot boxes.

"The DISK, a fervent champion of democracy, will break the hands of enemies of the people and freedom, which are intent on harming the 1977 elections that will open the road to bright days for our people."

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## LABOR LEADER TUNC ADVOCATES EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 11 Feb 77 p 6

[Article: "Tunc: We Should Move Immediately to Elections Under a New Government"]

[Text] Ankara, Special--The night before last, the Senate of the Republic deliberated and passed the budgets for the Ministries of Labor, Social Security, and Industry [and Technology], and yesterday morning, the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry received the senate's endorsement.

During the deliberations on the Ministry of Labor budget, Halil Tunc, quota senator and president general of the Turk-Is [Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions], criticized the National Salvation Party [NSP] and called for an immediate move towards elections under a new government. Minister of Labor Sevkett Kazan reacted to Tunc's criticism by demanding that he abandon his repeated attacks on the NSP.

Halil Tunc, quota senator and leader of the Turk-Is, in his speech in the senate, charged that the Ministry of Labor has been transformed into a nest of anti-Ataturkism and religious reactionism. Tunc claimed that, in recent days, outdated views have been advanced and defended, and the Islamic religion has been left to religious fanatics. He said, in summary:

"The economy is managed according to an anachronistic method. We are led to believe that laying several cornerstones is tantamount to development. Ataturk's principles have never been damaged as much. The government's NSP wing is taking over the state and trampling upon the constitution. Governmental organs are unable to make decisions. We cannot hold elections under the leadership of the current government. There should be a new government, and we must move immediately towards elections."

Istanbul Senator Solmaz Behlul, speaking on behalf of the RPP group, criticized the government's attitude towards workers, and accused the government of preparing to freeze workers wages. Sami Kucuk, speaking for the National

Unity Group, called for measures in the production field, and maintained that the assembly industry failed to create a large number of job opportunities. Erdogan Adali, who spoke for the Justice Party [JP] group, concentrated on the unemployment problem. Senator Adali said there were close to 2 million unemployed people in the country, and the number of people who were actively seeking employment, but could not find any, showed an increase in 1976.

Minister of Labor Sevket Kazan, in his reply to the senators' criticism, claimed that there was a union inflation in Turkey. Minister Kazan said, "According to latest figures, there are now 781 unions, 6 confederations, and 3,328,000 unionized workers. However, a total of 1.9 million workers are employed in 226,000 places of employment under the ministry's jurisdiction. The discrepancy indicates that many workers are registered in more than one union." On the strike and lockout question, the labor minister argued that there should be a right to declare a lockout, as well as a right to go on strike, and maintained that "adverse effects of a lockout are minimal, compared to the effects of a strike." Minister Kazan, turning to Turk-Is leader Tunc's criticism, claimed that soon factories will be rising over the cornerstones Tunc had described as imaginary, and demanded that Tunc abandon his attacks on the NSP.

#### Ministry of Social Security

During the discussion on the Ministry of Social Security budget, RPP spokesman Lutfu Bilgen accused the Nationalist Front government of ignoring social security issues, and described the recent legislation in the field as unsubstantial. Minister of Social Security Ahmet Mahir Ablum, in his defense of his ministry's budget, claimed that 300,000 agricultural and forestry workers have been brought under the coverage of social insurance programs. The minister reported that discussions were underway with the governments of several foreign countries on possible social security agreements. He identified those foreign countries as Cyprus, Libya, and Denmark.

#### Ministry of Industry Budget

During the discussion on the budget of the Ministry of Industry, a spokesman of the JP group criticized the ministry's policies. Senator Mehmet Varisli claimed that the ministry's activities consisted of laying cornerstones.

The JP spokesman, noting the emphasis Turkey puts on industrialization, called the ministry a failure, and referred to the proposed tractor factory in Konya as "an effort to look good to the voting public on the eve of elections." Senator Varisli said the Ministry of Industry was yet to make a rational and significant investment. RPP Senator Ekrem Kangal of Sivas charged that industrialization efforts of the past 2 years showed [as published] noteworthy progress, and accused Prime Minister Demirel of taking over the minister's functions and of laying cornerstones for imaginary factories to further partisan interests. The spokesman for the National Unity Group, Suphi Gursoytrak, voiced support of the emphasis the ministry's budget placed on heavy industry.

Minister of Industry Abdulkerim Dogru, in his reply to the senators' criticism, quoted several figures. He reported that there were 1,400 applications to the ministry for incentive licenses. Out of that number, he said, 942 projects--with a total of 66 billion liras in investments--were granted incentive licenses.

#### Ministry of Agriculture Budget

When yesterday morning the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture came up for debate, RPP Senator Kemal Sariibrahimoglu criticized the ministry for its adoption of a policy which, he said, hampered production. The RPP senator said the share of farmers in the national income was shrinking and rising prices were weighing heavily on peasants. He warned, "Turkish farmers will call the Nationalist Front government, the agent of this warped capitalism, to account for its actions."

In his reply to the senators, Minister of Agriculture Korkut Ozal said:

"The per capita income in the agricultural sector is one-fifth of the per capita figures in other sectors. In Turkey, a large part of industry is based on agriculture. Moreover, the agricultural sector is the industry's market. Turkish agriculture must industrialize. We will move towards mechanization and automation, if necessary. This year, the ministry will open up 43 billion liras' worth of opportunities for Turkish farmers. RPP spokesman Sariibrahimoglu talked of taxes in the agricultural sector. We do not tax small farmers, but we should tax large landholders the RPP spokesman referred to. I agree that Turkish farmers are wronged."

At one point in his speech, Minister Ozal questioned the advisability of having a ministry of village affairs. He said that the ministry was set up as a political instrument and has been functioning as one ever since it was established.

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CSO: 4807

## INDUSTRIALISTS DEMAND EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 16 Feb 77 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Industrialists Want Early Elections"]

[Text] Officials of the Association of Chambers of Industry made their resolutions public yesterday at a press conference. They accused the government of "leaving the country face to face with unresolved domestic and external problems in economic, social, and political fields." Sakip Sabanci, chairman of the association, opened the meeting by reading a press release. During the question-and-answer period that followed, the association's officials warned that delays in the implementation of the import regime, and the impracticality of the recently announced liberation lists will be costly, as well as harmful, to the country's economy.

### We Are Neglecting Our Own Troubles

Sabanci, chairman of the industrialists group, listed the vital issues before the country's industrialists as quality control, actual expenses, energy cut-back, worker-employer relations, inflation, and free port issues. Then, Mr Sabanci added that domestic circumstances did not leave time for a discussion of these questions. "We are so preoccupied with national problems that we have not had time to worry about or discuss our own problems," he said.

Mr Sabaci continued:

"As we all know, our nation entered 1977 in the midst of anarchic incidents, a breakdown in public security, a deteriorating situation on the labor scene, a serious deficit in our balance of external payments, heightened inflationary pressures, and numerous complex internal and external problems, including our relations with the EEC.

"We are sorry to see these unresolved economic, social, and political issues before our nation take on alarming proportions which cause legitimate concern in the nation.

"Another unfortunate effect of the situation is that the deteriorating political and social atmosphere is impeding the search by political parties for solutions to these questions vitally important for the country's future."

#### Disagreement Within the Government

Mr Sabaci noted that there were disputes within the coalition. He said:

"Not only the political parties, but at times, coalition partners themselves cannot get together on a common ground in regard to some of the most serious domestic and external issues.

"The situation, already laden with problems of utmost importance to the country, has become even more complex because we are in an election year, and also because political parties have already begun electioneering. Efforts to resolve important domestic and external problems have been abandoned, short-term solutions and political priorities have shadowed national interests and economic realities."

#### The Answer Is Early Elections

Sabancı continued:

"We--the industrialists--earnestly believe in the free democratic system. We also believe that our problems can be resolved within that system alone. We believe, to preserve our faith in our political system and to protect our national interests, we should hold general elections as soon as possible.

"We are calling on our political parties to come to an agreement on early elections which, after all, are the natural recourse under such circumstances in a democratic system."

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AEGEAN BUSINESSMEN SAID TO FAVOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 23 Feb 77 p 5

[Text] Izmir (Turkish News Agency) - Aegean industrialists and businessmen, indicating that political stability is required in order to solve the many problems now confronting Turkey, have called for early elections.

Industrialists and businessmen expressed their views in a meeting of the branch organizations of the Aegean Chamber of Industry in Balikesir last weekend. They cited the serious economic, social, and political problems plaguing Turkey in 1977.

In addition to problems of this sort, they offered also such important issues as relations with the EEC, Cyprus, and the Aegean continental shelf as proof of the need for early elections.

Chamber of Industry leaders said that, as industrialists and businessmen, they could see no other solution than early elections. The following views were expressed in the statements made by these leaders at the meeting:

"The ability to resolve all of these problems depends first of all on political stability and social order. Our greatest hope for achieving political stability lies in general accord. The solution for this is for the citizenry to go to the polls in safety. Early elections would be an inevitable solution for this sought-after political and economic stability. The time has come to put an end to the terrorism that has recently been increasing. It has gone far beyond the level of reasoned debate and has turned into armed actions that threaten the life and property of the Turkish citizen with common sense and a commitment to the free democratic system. Turkey will never surrender its fate to the evil intentions of a handful of left- and right-wing anarchists. We call on all of our constitutional bodies and especially our political parties to work together in a spirit of unity to prevent acts of anarchy and to seek methods of solution.

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CSO: 4807

INDUSTRIALIST SONMEZ CALLS FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 4 Mar 77 pp 1, 7

[Excerpt] Bursa (Turkish News Agency) - Chamber of Commerce and Industry Chairman Ali Osman Sonmez said, "Early elections have become unavoidable in the face of mounting problems," and added that the new profit controls would lead to a higher cost of investments and to slowdowns.

Announcing his views on early elections, Sonmez said:

"Turkey has many problems, both foreign and domestic, waiting to be solved. Our political parties are incapable of unified action even on the simplest, most vital problems. Education costs millions of liras, yet anarchy has turned it into a bloody experience and students are divided into camps. The result is a greatly-lowered level of education in the country. The people are disturbed about this. The approaching elections are forcing the political parties to go after important compromises. Among the internal problems are rising prices, the balance of payments, and the effort to draw up the fourth 5-year plan. We also have external problems. While waiting for a solution to the Cyprus problem, European Economic Community relations are gradually taking on importance. It is impossible to find solutions to these problems in the present political climate or with the current Assembly arithmetic. Vigorous development requires a stable political environment. For all these reasons, we think that early elections are essential. Early elections are a kind of hope for employers.

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UNION OF CHAMBERS OF INDUSTRY CHAIRMAN CALLS FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 12 Mar 77 p 5

[Text] The Union of Chambers of Industry held its regular monthly meeting yesterday and Chairman Sakip Sabanci, in a statement made prior to the meeting, called for an early election date to be set without delay.

Noting that no serious initiative has resulted from the calls for early elections from the two major political parties and many other sources, Sabanci said in the statement:

"We are afraid that time is going to run out for early elections. The answer to all the country's problems lies in early elections. Stability at the top is lacking and we see no hope for improvement. Neither do we think that the economic, social, and political problems can be solved with the current arithmetic in the Assembly. A date for early elections, therefore, must be set at once.

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LABOR LEADER SAYS NEW GOVERNMENT, EARLY ELECTION ESSENTIAL

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 17 Mar 77 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Tunc: Early Elections Are Essential, But Not Under Current Government"]

[Text] Ankara, Special--Halil Tunc, president general of the Turk-Is [Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions], talked to reporters yesterday about the meeting of the Turk-Is Administrative Board held in Zonguldak to decide which political party the confederation should support. Tunc said that the board will discuss the question again in a month. In his press conference yesterday, the Turk-Is official disclosed that three parties were under consideration: the RPP, JP [justice Party], and the RRP [Republican Reliance Party]. He added, however, that a two-thirds majority required for a final decision was extremely hard to get in the Administrative Board, and therefore, the question will have to be taken to an extraordinary session of the confederation's general assembly.

Mr Tunc emphasized that early elections were essential. Turkey is facing a grave threat, national problems cannot be postponed until October, he said. He also touched on the seniority compensation issue and the Labor Ministry's draft, and stressed that the Turk-Is will not give in an inch on this matter.

Mr Tunc described the situation in Turkey as a fratricidal quarrel, bordering on anarchy, complicated with grave social and economic problems. "Turkey must, absolutely must hold early elections," he emphasized, "to save the nation from the current situation. We will ask our organization to pressure political parties into early elections." However, he added, "We cannot go to elections under today's government."

Cannot Go To Elections Under This Government

The Turk-Is leader maintained that a governmental crisis would normally follow the early elections decision when it comes, but the crisis will not be as long as the earlier ones. "A governmental crisis will hurt the nation much less than going into elections under the current government would," he said. "We do not believe that elections today's government will lead us to will be healthy. You cannot expect elections to be healthy when a party which is involved in anarchic incidents is a partner in the government."

## THE JUSTICE PARTY ON EARLY ELECTIONS

### DEMIREL ON EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 1 Feb 77 pp 1, 9

[Article by Turgut Gungor: "Demirel: 'Elections May be Advanced by Assembly Decision; Not We But RPP Must Propose It'"]

[Text] Kirsehir - Suleyman Demirel said that it was possible to proceed with early elections by Assembly decision. Demirel, who was here yesterday to break ground for the Petlas Rubber Plant and the Kultepe Dam, spoke as follows about elections:

"Governments stand on the confidence of the Assembly. And the Assembly is elected by the free will of the nation. Every four years the vote of confidence in the government, the National Assembly, is elected. Thus, every four years the nation expresses its will. It is possible to advance this procedure by Assembly decision. It is not possible to postpone it, except in time of war."

Demirel spoke harshly of the RPP, saying, "The RPP is the opposition. They are talking about elections later. They want us to propose elections. You are the opposition. You request elections. We are the government. The JP [Justice Party] is supposed to request elections, then they presumably will consider it. Because we are the government, we do not have the right to request elections, you have the right to do it because you are the opposition."

### Commando Demonstration

Demirel's speech at Municipal Park made a distinction between JP members and NAP [National Action Party] members which spurred various demonstrations. Idealists' shouts of "Governor resign" and the posters they waved in spite of several warnings angered the Prime Minister and introduced a note of irritability into his speech.

In the area, where there were more NAP banners and slogans than JP, it also attracted notice that Assistant Director of National Education Nurettin Dogan made announcements from the dais and introduced Demirel. The

commandos' demands for the resignation of Governor Emin Dundar and the frequent interruptions of Demirel's speech led to sporadic arguments with the JP members who were present. Police took one person in detention.

Demirel, who came to Kirsehir to break ground for the Kultepe Dam and the Petlas factory suggested in his speech that the government was not what was troubling the country and said, "Would the government want to cause unrest in this country? If the government were to stir up a country, it would be pouring boiling water on its own head. Are the members of the government going to pour boiling water on their own heads?" Demirel pointed out that the government is not the state, that the government arrests the perpetrators of incidents, but the courts sentence them.

"We do not want to govern like kings or emperors. The system is this. We do what we can as the government to maintain the state intact. I ask anybody, what perpetrator of incidents has the government not arrested, which laws to prevent disorder has the government not sent to parliament? But the government is not the only element of the state," Demirel said.

#### RPP Criticism

Demirel had harsh words for the RPP in his speech. "The RPP opposes whatever the government tries to do. Why? Is Turkey heading for fascism? What fascism? Turkey is not going either fascist or communist. It is governed as a republic, and thus it will be governed," he said. Demirel later said the following with respect to RPP views on the fall of the present government:

"We cannot expect the opposition to be happy with the government. Turkey has a government today. In spite of that, the RPP always talks about the form of government. Do they not like us? It is not as though we occupied the government. If they do not like the government, let them work through the system. There can be no government without parliament. Nothing is solved by invective. If the government is to fall, there are ways to accomplish it in the parliament. This power struggle must end. The struggle for the reigns of government must be peaceful, nonviolent, and bloodless. The RPP is the opposition. They talk about elections later. They want us to propose elections. You are the opposition. You request the elections. We are the government. The JP is supposed to request elections, then they presumably will consider it. Because we are the government, we do not have the right to request elections; you have the right to do it because you are the opposition."

#### Budget

At the end of his speech, Demirel accused the RPP of being behind every disorder in the country. Saying that Turkey's most important problem was to "get the budget out of parliament," Demirel added, "If the budget does not get out, it will be a nightmare for Turkey. We cannot permit any more nightmares to descend on Turkey, and we must have the budget."

. . . .

JP - NSP [sic] Dispute

Sporadic outbursts between JP and NAP members occurred at Municipal Park in Keskin District prior to Demirel's arrival. One arrest was made during a slogan contest of a person who said to JP National Assembly Group Vice Chairman Oguz Aygun, "What are you talking about? Find us jobs, find us bread." When NAP members began shouting, "Jobs, bread, freedom," JP National Deputy Unat Demir came to the dais and said, "You may belong to the NAP. You can shout about being Turkists. You can talk about Islam. But you will have to vote for the JP in 1977. Before the elections in 1973 one party spoke only of Islam, one only of Turkism, one harped on personalities. After the elections, not one party was left to take up the fight against communism."

The tempo during Demirel's speech at Keskin was set by the slogans hurled at the TRT [Turkish Radio and TV Administration] correspondent and cameramen: "Anti-national TRT." Demirel laughed when JP and NAP members at Municipal Park took up the shout, "Anti-national TRT," but did not make a statement on the subject.

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POLITICAL CARTOON ON ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Feb 77 p 1



CSO: 4807

DEMIREL: ELECTIONS HINGE ON MARCH POLITICAL CLIMATE

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 10 Feb 77 p 1

[Article: "Demirel: We'll Check the Climate in March and Go For Early Elections, If Necessary"]

[Text] Ankara, HURRIYET-- Justice Party [JP] groups [of the assembly and the senate] held a joint meeting yesterday. During the meeting, chaired by Prime Minister and President General of the JP Suleyman Demirel, several deputies made off-agenda speeches and warned that Turkey was going through an extr ordinary period. They argued that holding elections was the only course open to the nation to put an end to the destructive incidents which, they observed, increased in frequency and vehemence almost by day. Demirel answered the deputies by announcing that JP parliamentarians will go on a nationwide fact-finding tour in March. "We'll see how the climate is in March and go for early elections, if necessary," he said.

The prime minister also took note of the speakers' criticism of certain moves by the other parties in the coalition and remarked, "It does not matter who breaks up the government. Let them break it up. It will break, but it will remain where it is."

Demirel declared that as long as he believes the government is working in the interest of the people and the country, the JP will not leave the nation without a government simply because some people do not like the government. He concluded, "As long as the government is serving the nation, it is our duty to keep it intact, instead of breaking it up."

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## JP SAID TESTING POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 13 Feb 77 p 7

[Text] Ankara , Ankara News Agency - The JP [Justice Party] will begin election campaigning on 2 March. General Chairman Demirel and Deputy General Chairman Bilgic signed circulars that were sent to each member of parliament asking them to canvass the country and the villages between 2 - 12 March.

National deputies and senators were asked to glean reaction to early elections from the provincial and district organizations and village parties. The JP administration will plan the election campaign on the basis of reports from the parliamentarians about their views on various subjects.

### NAP: Early Elections Imperative

Ankara, Anatolian Agency - The NAP [National Action Party] General Executive Board published a bulletin in conjunction with a meeting yesterday chaired by General Chairman Alparslan Turkes stating that "Turkey is confronting many difficulties. Avoiding even greater difficulties depends on early elections."

Noting that "Turkey needs nationalist, decisive, courageous, constructive governments committed to democracy," The NAP General Executive Board said in the bulletin, "The NAP will come out strong in the elections, preserving the regime, the security of the state, national solidity, and social justice, to save our citizens from disorder."

### Emre Speaks Out

Ankara, Turkish News Agency - NSP [National Salvation Party] Group Vice Chairman Suleyman Arif Emre said that the other parties, primarily the JP, wanted early elections because they were afraid of the NSP. Emre said, in a written statement, that the NSP does not fear elections but will abide by the Assembly's decision. "We are not afraid of elections. But we are adopting this attitude because we think it is important for the necessary laws to be made and for progress in heavy industry to proceed unhampered," he said.

Olcmen Statement

Ankara, Ankara News Agency - DP National Assembly Group Vice Chairmen Ozer Olcmen said, "If the Lockheed bribery and improprieties investigations waiting in the Assembly are concluded, the DP Group is ready to help with regard to early elections if it will be a contribution to our democracy."

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## JUSTICE PARTY SAID READY FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 15 Mar 77 pp 1, 9

[Article by the CUMHURİYET News Center: "The Early Elections Idea Gathers Strength in the JP"]

[Text] The JP [Justice Party], reportedly, will decide in favor of holding "early elections" in its group meeting scheduled for today. We have been informed that, at the meeting, JP parliamentarians will report the impressions they formed concerning "early elections" during their 10-day tour of the country. Suleyman Demirel, we are told, will also talk of early elections when he addresses the group, and he will announce his decision "to go to early elections" in his speech tomorrow in Antalya. In fact, Necmettin Cevheri, the party's deputy president general for election affairs, said to ANKA [Ankara News Agency] yesterday that "an early elections decision may come from the group meeting" today, and that "the JP is ready for elections," but it is "waiting for the decision of the groups." Meanwhile, RPP Assistant Secretary General Ali Topuz said yesterday that his party "will wait for the decision of JP officials on early elections."

Also yesterday, representatives of political parties which have groups in the Grand National Assembly held a meeting to discuss amendments to electoral laws, and drew up a procedural guideline.

Urfa Deputy Necmettin Cevheri, who is the JP's deputy leader for election affairs, yesterday answered ANKA's questions on "early elections."

Question: Can we expect a decision on early elections from tomorrow's (today's) group meeting?

Answer: There may be a decision. The JP is ready for elections. It is waiting for a decision by its groups.

Question: Why do you want early elections?

Answer: We consider it a democratic solution. We have been administering the country for 24 months now, and we can do it several more months.

Distinguished Ecevit claims that the nation cannot go on suffering 7 more months. If that is the case, he should not let the nation wait just so that he can wear down the strength of a rival party.

Meanwhile, JP deputies and senators dispatched to various provinces by the party's central organization submitted to the General Headquarters their reports on their contacts with the party organization officials in their regions.

A member of the JP General Administrative Board, commenting on the parliamentarians' reports, said that the parliamentarians returned with the impression that "voters expect one of the two major parties to come to power."

Some JP parliamentarians interviewed by the ANKA reporter told him that they talked to JP organization officials, party members, and also non-members in the areas they visited.

Topuz: We'll Wait For JP

Ali Topuz, RPP assistant secretary general, stated that the JP's early elections proposal definitely will not be signed. "First of all," Topuz said, "the JP should explain why early elections are necessary. Then, its authorized officials should make a decision to hold the elections early. After that, the RPP will review the developments and make up its mind."

Cooperation with NAP

There are reports that Saadettin Bilgic, JP's deputy president general for organizational affairs, has been making preparations for an election alliance between the JP and the NAP [National Action Party]. Bilgic reportedly has offered a 16-seat quota to the NAP. According to reports, one wing of the JP is vehemently opposed to the proposed cooperation. The opponents interpret the move in the light of the relationship between the NAP and Sait Bilgic--the JP official's brother--and claim that the objective is "to besiege the JP from within." Saadettin Bilgic is said to consider a JP-NAP alliance a necessity in view of the somewhat pessimistic forecast by JP provincial organizations on the party's chances in the coming elections.

Electoral Commission

The commission that was created to discuss possible amendments to electoral laws met yesterday and prepared a procedural guideline. The group is made up of representatives from political parties which have groups in the Grand National Assembly.

The commission members are Ismail Hakki Birler of the RPP, Necmettin Cevheri of the JP, Sener Battal of the NSP [National Salvation Party], Cevat Onder of the DP, and Salih Yildiz of the RRP [Republican Reliance Party]. Birler of the RPP, who chaired the commission's first meeting yesterday, made a statement to the press and said the following, in summary:

"The commission prepared procedural rules which will guide its work. According to these rules, representatives of the political parties will take turns chairing the commission's daily meetings. Agendas and proposals will be adopted by consensus, and not by vote. We will call in experts, if it becomes necessary. Announcements on the commission's work will be made only by the chairman of the day, and upon the approval of the entire commission. We also agreed that the representatives of the political parties should not be changed, unless it becomes unavoidable."

The commission was created following an initiative by the RPP. The changes in electoral laws include giving 18-year-olds and Turkish workers employed abroad the right to vote, and to allow the use of TV, as well as radio, in election campaigns.

The commission is expected to meet again today at 1600 hours.

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## DEMIREL COMMENTS ON TALK OF EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 18 Feb 77 pp 1, 15

[Article: "Early Elections Throw Assembly Into Turmoil"]

[Excerpt] Ankara, HURRIYET--The second day of the budget deliberations in the plenary session of the National Assembly was brisker than the first day, and received more attention. Orhan Birgit of the RPP hackled Prime Minister Demirel to get him to state his position on early elections. "Is it yes, or no, to early elections?" Birgit repeatedly asked. "We are discussing the budget now," the prime minister snapped, and added, "Why does the RPP which wants to get rid of the current government expect the JP [Justice Party] to make an early elections proposal?" Later in the session, the budget was endorsed as a whole and the way was cleared for an article by article debate. The vote was 233 in favor, and 189 against.

When Demirel addressed the assembly to answer the criticism directed at the budget, he was interrupted by frequent clashes between JP and RPP deputies, including RPP President General Bulent Ecevit.

Demirel was critical of Ecevit's statement on early elections. "Had you been sincere in your calls for early elections earlier," Demirel said, "your group would have been here in full force when the election proposal was put to vote."

The prime minister declared that his party is always ready for early elections. He said:

"You keep saying, early elections, early elections. We are ready for early elections. The RPP calls for early elections, but does not submit a proposal, instead expects us to do it. Why don't you bring a proposal? Put in your proposal, then, we'll see what happens."

When Demirel finished his sentence, RPP leader Ecevit, without leaving his seat, called to the prime minister, "Are you saying yes, or no, to early elections? Give us an answer." Meanwhile, RPP members were already

on their feet shouting towards the JP section, "You are evading it. . . we challenge you." JP deputies responded, "We heard you out when you spoke. Now, it is your turn to hear us out. Mind your manners, and sit down and listen." By then the atmosphere was charged with tension. JP and RPP deputies lunged at each other and a harsh battle of words ensued. Meanwhile, JP Deputies Mufit Bayraktar and Nihat Ilgun began to inch towards RPP Deputy Orhan Birgit. The assembly president and other deputies intervened and a serious incident was averted.

Demirel, continuing his speech, said:

"The RPP is creating the impression that a proposal has been submitted, but we have opposed it. This is the impression that the major opposition party leader's speech left yesterday. There is, in fact, no such proposal. When a proposal is made, it will be discussed. We will discuss it whoever submits it.

"It is the RPP that wants to get rid of the current government. It is the RPP that claims things are going from bad to worse, and that there is a crisis in the country. If that is the case, why don't they make a motion for early elections and get rid of the government and resolve the crisis? Why are they waiting for October?"

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CSO: 4807

## JP PETITION ADVOCATES 5 JUNE ELECTIONS

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 19 Feb 77 pp 1, 7

[Article: "JP Groups To Discuss Early Election in March"]

[Text] Ankara--Turkish News Agency--Prime Minister and head of the Justice Party [JP] Suleyman Demirel had his regular weekly meeting with President Fahri Koruturk yesterday morning at 1000 hours. Mr Demirel answered reporters' questions when he came out of the Cankaya Palace and announced that the early elections issue will be discussed by the JP [assembly and senate] groups sometime in early March.

Meanwhile, JP Deputy Suleyman Caglar from Manisa opened to signature a proposal to advance the general elections to 5 June Sunday. General elections for the renewal of the National Assembly's entire membership and one-third of the senate membership are slated for October of this year.

Deputy Caglar told reporters that he was commissioned by Demirel to prepare the proposal. When the required number of signatures are collected from deputies, the proposal will be submitted to the National Assembly president.

Mr Caglar predicted that the proposal will be ready to be submitted to the assembly president by Monday.

Meanwhile, RPP officials also are taking steps to move the elections ahead, to either 5 or 12 June. According to the Turkish News Agency, RPP leader Ecevit is planning to take the question to the party's General Administrative Board and ask the administrative body to reach a decision on it. If the board decides in favor of early elections, the board decision will be put to discussion in a joint meeting of the [assembly and senate] groups. The next step will be to prepare a proposal and submit it to the National Assembly president.

After he came out of the presidential palace, Mr Demirel told reporters that he briefed the president on domestic and foreign matters, and then, they discussed some of those questions. Mr Demirel also told the reporters that

the country entered 1977 under favorable economic conditions, and added that Turkey was steadily rising to the plane of great nations. When a reporter asked him for his comments on RPP leader Ecevit's proposal for early elections, the prime minister said:

"Early elections are not the government's problem. They are not the government's business. They are the assembly's business. Accusing others of having refused, or still refusing, early elections will not get anyone anywhere. They are the ones who claim that there is a crisis in Turkey; they are the ones who want to hold the elections early; they are the ones who say the government must go. They complain about us, but at the same time, they want us to find a solution. If that's the way things are, they should take the initiative and put in a motion for early elections. I'd like to tell you in my capacity as the head of the JP that our groups will discuss this matter in March. At the moment the assembly is discussing the budget, and the groups are tied up with budget matters. The decision will be up to the groups. I am not the one who has to make the proposal."

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DEMIREL URGES RPP TO ACT ON ELECTIONS

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 19 Feb 77 pp 1, 11

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET Bureau) - Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, airing his views on early elections in his capacity as JP [Justice Party] general chairman, insisted that the proposal must come from the RPP. "If the RPP believes that early elections are called for, they do not have to pass that job on to us, they have to do it themselves," he said.

Stating that the JP groups would be discussing the general political situation in the country during March, Demirel said, "The party groups will consider the question of a proposal, and make one if they so decide." He said that the party groups would decide on the question of the RPP's making the proposal. When asked by a reporter whether the JP groups were satisfied with the coalition, Demirel replied, "The JP groups will be reviewing that in the March meeting."

The following exchange took place between Demirel and reporters on the question of early elections:

Question: The RPP wants early elections, but has made no proposal. Will you as the JP propose early elections?

Answer: Whether to hold early elections is not the government's business. It is the business of the National Assembly. The RPP general chairman brought up the problem because of the budget, and what did he say? If the JP is for early elections, so are we. I reply: You are the one who said that you were pursuing elections, but you brought only 164 of your 189 national deputies when your proposal was put to a vote 2 years ago. The reason you did not bring them all was probably that you were afraid it would pass if they all came. This indicates that you were not sincere about the election problem 2 years ago. What you do and what you say are two different things. What do you mean, there is a crisis in Turkey? When we ask how to resolve the crisis, you say elections. You said that 2 years ago and you are still saying it now. If the answer was elections 2 years ago, if it is elections now, either there is a crisis in Turkey or there is not. You proclaimed the crisis. It is incumbent upon one who proclaims a



crisis to say what the solution is and to proceed with the solution. Why should you expect us to propose elections? You are the one who says there is a crisis, you are the one who says elections are the solution, you are the one who says we must get rid of this government, you are the one who says the country's problems are getting worse, and you want us to do the job you are supposed to do. This is incredible. You complain about us, but you want us to find the solution. If, as you say, early elections are the answer, why do you want us to make the proposal, why do you not make the proposal yourself? Is it our duty to make the proposal? You have proclaimed, moreover, that you will win. This is the standard morale booster for losers. If you are coming to power, why wait until October? Come as soon as you can. It would seem that if you are so sure you are going to win, you would just make the proposal and bring yourself to power, wouldn't it? I can see no sense in saying let the JP make the proposal for early elections and we will join them. If the RPP believes that early elections are practical, they do not need to shift the duty to us. They have to do it themselves. Now, let me get to the question of early elections. I have been speaking to you as the prime minister, but I also have my capacity as JP general chairman. Our party groups are occupied at this moment with the budget debates in the National Assembly. They are going to review the country's general political situation in meetings to be held in March. And the decision will be made by the party groups, not the party administration.

Question: It would seem that there will not be a proposal from the JP.

Answer: I am not the one who would make the proposal. The party groups will consider the question, and they would make the proposal if that were their decision. But if it is necessary for the proposal to be made, I wish to say that this should fall to the RPP before the JP. And I have given you the reasons for this. Don't they know how to write the proposal? Since they have said you do it and we will join you, let them just do it themselves. Why should it be our duty to make the proposal?

Question: If the RPP proposes early elections, will the JP support the proposal?

Answer: If such a proposal is made, the JP groups will consider it. That is all I can say. Until the JP groups discuss the problem, I cannot tell you that the JP will make a proposal, nor can I tell you that it will not. But, in view of the RPP's rationale, I would like to say that if such a thing is to be done, it should fall to them, not us. If you say what will you do if the RPP makes the proposal, I can only say my groups will discuss it.

Question: Are the JP groups happy with the coalition?

Answer: The JP groups will take that under review in the March meeting. It is necessary to look at the problem as a whole, with its assets and its liabilities. It is necessary to consider together all factors, pro and con.

## Talks with Ecevit

Question: Are you planning a meeting with the RPP general chairman?

Answer: We are all the children of this country. Till now, we have made every effort not to let a political argument become a fight. We have always believed in keeping political debate in bounds. I am ready to talk with everybody. The only condition is that such discussion be helpful in solving the country's problems. The condition is to be helpful in solving the country's problems, not to make them worse. If I see, if I find, such a milieu, I will talk with anyone. The distinguished general chairman of the RPP heads the major opposition party. I will talk with the head of any party, whoever he may be. Provided the outcome would be to help solve the country's problems.

Question: Is it your opinion that discussions with the RPP general chairman would not be useful toward solving the country's problems?

Answer: The opinion has been suggested by him. We are ready, to talk, to listen, to whatever problem he would wish to discuss, whatever opinion he would wish to express to us.

Question: The budget is in limbo. If these initiatives are to be in March...?

Answer: I do not know about them. I explained it to you in principle. Whether it is first our duty and our political persuasion next, we are ready to talk with anyone, with the major opposition and then with those of different opinions.

Question: What do you have to say about Feyzioglu's letter?

Answer: I received the letter. I am studying it. We are studying it carefully. I think you will all agree that it bears careful study. We are studying it.

Question: What about the TRT [Turkish Radio and TV Administration] problem?

Answer: There is no problem at the moment.

Question: There is talk of a federal government based on two communities following the Makarios - Denktash talks on Cyprus. Is the plan for a bizonal government based on geographical division being scrapped?

Answer: No sir, you need have no doubts on that score. Because it is written into the government program in which a Cyprus solution is a primary duty. Nothing has changed in that program. There are some misunderstandings. What is at issue is a geographically-based federation. Don't you believe there will be a question of anything else.

Question: What are your views on the index falling to 11?

Answer: It would be better if the index were 15, wouldn't it? Why should the index be at 15? The higher, the better. Everything is tied to the country's resources. State administration is a bookkeeping job. When the country exceeds its resources everything takes a turn for the worse. Where do you get the wherewithal? From whom do you take, to whom do you give?

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## JP PREPARING FOR POSSIBLE EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 1 Mar 77 p 7

[Excerpt] Ankara, Special - JP [Justice Party] Assembly Group Vice Chairman Oguz Aygun said in a statement yesterday that early elections are imperative for achieving political stability. "No party can avoid early elections," he said. Meanwhile, NSP [National Salvation Party Deputy General Chairman Fehmi Cumalioglu said that holding elections would be "insane," and the RPP General Executive Board discussed post-budget developments and "early elections" in yesterday's meeting.

### Aygun Statement

In the statement asserting that it would be impossible for any political party to avoid early elections, Aygun noted that political stability was at the root of every problem and said the following:

"The condition our country is in today and the situation of the political party groups has revealed the need for the arbitration of our great people to achieve political stability. Early elections, which are now inevitable, are, more than fantasy or a vehicle for political propaganda, a necessary duty that must be carried out.

"The government has once more received a vote of confidence of 233 votes. This says many things. But the political tranquillity which has been created for the moment will be completed by early elections."

### Consultation with Other Parties

The JP General Executive Board has decided that all their national deputies will canvass the country to determine the general mood within the next two weeks. Following meetings in Antalya and Tarsus, the JP leaders will consult with all other parties, including primarily the RPP, about preparing a joint proposal for early elections.

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THE RPP ON EARLY ELECTIONS

JP, RPP COOPERATION ON EARLY ELECTIONS POSSIBLE

Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 28 Jan 77 Sect II pp 1, 3

[Text] Ankara (GUNAYDIN) - The JP [Justice Party] General Executive Board is discussing early elections, it has been learned.

Some members of the board who attended last night's meeting stressed the need for a harmonious government in order to have domestic peace and be able to solve the country's foreign policy problems. They joined in the opinion that the only way to ensure this is to hold early elections.

The statement made by RPP General Chairman Ecevit in his own group about establishing a dialogue with the JP and working together to prevent incidents was discussed at the meeting and the view was adopted that a "significant" road could be opened in this regard.

Sources at both parties' general headquarters, moreover, indicate that they are leaning toward early elections to establish an elected government to work together on such least common denominators as changing certain social laws and the election law.

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## ECEVIT COMMENTS ON ORDER, EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 1 Feb 77 p 7

[Article: "Ecevit: What Is Important Is Not Holding Elections, It Is Holding Elections In Security"]

[Text] Ankara, Special--Bulent Ecevit, president general of the RPP, called on all democratic groups to unite to ensure security of life and internal peace in the country. "Holding elections early, or on the scheduled date, is not important so far as we are concerned. Our major concern is to lead Turkey to elections in peace and security of life," he said. Ecevit also commented on JP [Justice Party] administrators' position on early elections. "We called for early elections when early elections were necessary and appropriate. They refused," he said. "Now, they are making some proposals. I have a feeling those proposals stem from the JP's calculations concerning the coalition, rather than the RPP."

Yesterday, Mr Ecevit chaired a joint meeting of his party's General Administrative Board, and administrative bodies of the RPP groups in the senate and the assembly. The meeting, which began at 1000 hours, was called to discuss the current situation, with emphasis on the latest anarchic incidents and the crisis. According to Ecevit, the administrative boards will continue to hold joint meetings.

### Ecevit's Statement

Ecevit gave a statement to the press when the meeting went into a recess. The statement was as follows:

"We are going through the worst crisis our republic had to face. There is a total lack of security of life in the country. The situation deteriorated particularly in the recent weeks. We observe that extraordinary measures are taken in several advanced-education institutions in Ankara. We believe, the measures came too late. Violence has already spread beyond those schools. Killings are occurring even at the intermediate school level. I will put aside, for the time being, Turkey's numerous external problems which demand

immediate action, our grave economic problems. A state's primary function is to ensure the security of life.

"The atmosphere has encouraged some small and irresponsible groups--ostensibly antigovernment--to respond to the incidents by going into some type of action. We have called attention repeatedly to the risks and dangers involved in such a situation. The RPP is against violence for whatever reason it may be. Furthermore, violent reactions to acts of violence, which are supported by certain wings of the government, are dragging us to the trap of people who want to destroy democracy in Turkey. That is why, we feel we have to repeat our warnings.

"The coalition in power is, in fact, broken up. The government is totally ineffective in all fields, including ensurance of security of life. In such circumstances, any individual, or organization, who want to make democracy live, want peace and security of life, have duties to perform. We are at a point where a consensus can be formed. Our constitution considers political parties requisites of a multiparty system and indispensable elements of our regime. Unfortunately, there is no dialogue among parties on the question of regime either. The dialogue among coalition partners is broken off. There is no dialogue on any subject between the government and the opposition. When the dialogue among parties is broken off, it is only natural that regime-oriented crises set in and solutions to such crises become hard to find.

"We believe that every political organization, rightist, leftist, or middle-of-the-roader, has a basic responsibility to do whatever is necessary to protect democracy from threats.

"We cannot wait for the government, whose very policies brought Turkey to these crises-filled days, to lead us out of the crisis by following its customary route. That is why, a political crisis inevitably becomes a question of government. However, in our--the RPP's--esteem, the fundamental problem is neither the government, nor the elections. Elections may be held early, or on the scheduled date. In our judgement, the most important thing is to lead Turkey to elections in peace and security of life. I firmly believe that the nation will put a decisive end to this crisis by elections, provided this opportunity to resolve the crisis is not denied to the nation, and the country is led to elections in peace and security. There has been a serious concern in the public opinion on this matter in recent weeks.

"As I pointed out when I addressed the group, we are determined and ready to help as much as we can every individual, or organization, that will set out with good faith and intentions and in a democratic way to resolve the regime crisis which has taken on threatening proportions, to remove the serious threat to elections, and to stand up against the elements which have undermined security of life in Turkey."

Mr Ecevit was asked to comment on the JP's anticipation of a proposal from the RPP concerning early elections. He said the following:

"We called for early elections when early elections would have meant something and were, in fact, necessary. That was at the end of 1974 and beginning of 1975. Had they said yes to our proposal, we could have avoided today's crisis. It was late last year that JP administrators began to talk of early elections. In our judgement, it was too late then. We told them they should have considered it earlier. When the JP continued talking about early elections, our secretary general issued a statement and asked the JP if it was serious about early elections. If so, he said, we would like to hear it straight from the lips of the party's president general, and then, we will consider it. We heard nothing else from the JP after that. I made a speech and called attention to that fact. After that, the JP, employing a very curious tactic, stated that if the RPP wants early elections, it should make a formal proposal itself. In our judgement, what is important is to hold elections, to hold elections in peace and security. As I stated in my speech, the government in power brought on this crisis. If we decide to hold elections to lead the country out of the crisis, the question of the type of government under which elections should be held becomes relevant. We don't have a proposal. The JP brought up the subject, and then, for some unexplained reason, stepped back and waited for the RPP to make the move for early elections. I think the JP has coalition-oriented reasons, calculations of its own, and we do not figure in those calculations."

#### Proposal Received With Favor

The RPP's administrative bodies, in their joint meetings yesterday morning and afternoon discussed and adopted the General Administrative Board's proposal to call on all organizations which believe in democracy to work together to mobilize public opinion against anti-freedom and democracy incidents. The resolution adopted by the administrative boards also states that the RPP is ready to cooperate with all organizations, rightist or leftist, which believe in democracy.

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RPP'S EYUBOGLU CHIDES DEMIREL ON EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 18 Feb 77 p 6

[Text] Ankara, Special - RPP General Secretary Orhan Eyuboglu has accused Demirel of being afraid of elections.

Eyuboglu said in a written statement, "Demirel's flickering candle has gone out before the evening prayers." In fact, the Prime Minister looks on early elections as the angel of death, he said.

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## ECEVIT SEEKS EARLY ELECTIONS STATEMENT FROM DEMIREL

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Feb 77 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Ecevit: I said We're Ready for Early Elections, Demirel Was Not Able To Say We Are Ready, Too"]

[Text] RPP leader Bulent Ecevit delivered the opening speech yesterday at his party's Third Training Seminar in Kizilcahamam, and discussed the question of early elections and Demirel's position on the subject. "As the RPP's president general, I spoke very clearly about it," he said. "The Justice Party [JP] leader should do the same. He should publicly state, as I did, that they will agree to early elections." Ecevit added, "If it is very difficult for them to submit a proposal for early elections, we will do it. However, if they want to give the impression of favoring early elections in order to bring pressure upon their coalition partners, but after we submit a proposal, plan to turn away from early elections once again and have the JP group vote against our proposal, we do not want to be a party to such a scheme."

### Electoral Rolls

Ecevit devoted the first part of his speech to the seminar to the question of inspecting electoral rolls. Lists of registered voters are expected to be posted from 9 to 22 March. "Everyone who believes in democracy should vote and do his share to ensure the security of elections," he said.

Mr Ecevit observed that elections may be held in June because, he said, the crisis created by the current government may force the JP to go for early elections. He said every citizen should check the electoral rolls when they are posted in their counties, and if they spot anything wrong, or missing, they should make sure it is corrected by the voter registration bureaus.

The RPP leader explained that, before the rolls are posted, voter registration officials will visit homes between 1 and 7 March to verify the rolls. Ecevit added that this form of inspection was required by law and called on the public to help the officials in the performance of their duties.

Then, he continued:

"The second duty will come on election day. On that day, everyone who believes in democracy should vote and do his share to ensure the security of elections.

"Elections are set for 9 October of this year, but there is a possibility that they will be moved ahead to June. It is evident by now that a large majority of the people want early elections."

JP's Position

Ecevit continued:

"For reasons I explained in my budget speech, the JP appeared to be in favor of early elections. However, the JP either had second thoughts about it, or one of its coalition partners began to pressure it, because now it is evading the issue.

"In fact, in my budget speech, I stated that we are ready for early elections, but JP leader Demirel was not able to say, 'We are ready, too.'

"However, the crisis that the current government created may force the JP to go for early elections. That is why, we must go ahead with our preparations by taking into consideration the possibility of having the elections on an earlier date.

"Until recently, the JP maintained a challenging attitude in regards to early elections, but Demirel sounded evasive in his speech yesterday. As he did 2 years ago, yesterday he began to talk of how it is up to the assembly to decide this matter.

"As the president general of the RPP, I spoke very clearly about it. He should do the same. He should publicly state, as I did, that they will agree to early elections. Then, if its is very difficult for them to submit a proposal for early elections, we will do it.

"On the other hand, if they want to give the impression of favoring early elections in order to bring pressure upon their coalition partners, but after we submit our proposal, plan to turn away from early elections once again, and have the JP group vote against our proposal, we do not want to be a party to such a scheme.

"The RPP group's votes by themselves were not sufficient 2 years ago to pass an early elections resolution. They still are not enough. Consequently, if our proposal is to mean anything, first the JP must clarify its position."

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## RPP SAID READY FOR EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 2 Mar 77 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] Ankara, Special - A bulletin issued yesterday at the conclusion of a 3-day extraordinary meeting of the RPP General Executive Board states that "the RPP organization is ready for elections, whether early or on time." Indicating that "all organizations and citizens who stand for libertarian democracy may contribute to the RPP's efforts," the bulletin calls for "a review of the election rolls."

The bulletin further states that "the RPP will announce its views on elections after today's extraordinary meeting."

The RPP General Executive Board bulletin is summarized below:

1. The RPP determined in eight regional meetings last week that the organization is prepared in an orderly and decisive way for elections and has made the necessary studies for review of the election rolls.

Bearing in mind that elections may be held in June, the RPP organization has made its preparations.

Whether elections are held in October or earlier, the RPP is in a position to take office by itself.

The belief permeates our entire organization that our people are gradually pinning their hopes on an RPP government to get the country out of the political and economic crisis, to give our democracy greater reality, to put development on a speedy and just course, and to resolve our international problems and our national security problems.

### Political Crimes

2. With the culprits involved in some of the recent political crimes known and named in print in an official report to the Council of Ministers on internal security, it has been proved once more that one of the parties forming the government holds responsibility for acts of violence and

political crimes. And the JP [Justice Party], which is the chief partner in the government, shares the responsibility in that it has remained silent and inactive in the face of this fact.

The effects of interparty cooperation for the sake of democracy and domestic peace can be very positive. The public expects this of the parties. However, the major partner of the government is blocking such cooperation by promoting its solidarity with the perpetrators of violence and feigning ignorance of the principal instigators and their obvious motives.

3. Faced by widespread violence, the RPP is strong enough to take effective measures within the democratic, legal rules of the state to ensure election security and to prevent the enemies of democracy from causing incidents during the elections. The RPP believes that all of our citizens who believe in democracy will do their part in this. The RPP General Executive Board sees the decision taken by a large labor organization in this light and considers it an argument in favor of this belief.

#### Freedom and Contribution to RPP

4. When the RPP takes office by itself it will lift every restriction on the freedom of thought, speech, and assembly. A new program and the promises in this regard are a firm commitment by the party. It is only through the achievement of this commitment that Turkish democracy will reach the level of a libertarian, populist democratic regime in the true sense, open and strong, with Turkish political life free of pressure and ideological quarrels.

All who desire the accomplishment of this, even if they do not embrace the RPP's democratic left persuasion, may contribute in the forthcoming elections to the RPP's resistance against antidemocratic forces and to the victory it will win. We believe that such a contribution will hold great value for all of our citizens who embrace libertarian democracy.

In addition, we call upon the entire democratic body to do what is right for the electorate in the review to be made this month of the election rolls.

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JP, RPP SUPPORT LOWERING OF VOTING AGE

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 8 Mar 77 pp 1, 10

[Text] Ankara, Special - JP [Justice Party] Vice Chairman Necmettin Cevheri and RPP General Executive Board member Ismail Hakki Birler have engaged in discussions which resulted in agreement on reduction of the voting age to 18 and on the use of television for campaign speeches. Birler and Cevheri will invite officers of the other parties to make a joint initiative to get the bills prepared on the two subjects through the houses of the Assembly. They will hold a meeting with officers of other parties today.

The bill for reduction of the voting age to 18 will provide for a new period to allow the new voters to register.

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NSP, OTHERS ON EARLY ELECTIONS

ERBAKAN, BOZBEYLI AIR VIEWS ON EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Feb 77 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ozer Oral: "Erbakan: 'Early Elections No Answer to Problems'"]

[Text] Aydin - NSP [National Salvation Party] General Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Erbakan came out against early elections at a party outdoor rally in Aydin. "Early elections will not bring solutions to Turkey's problems; this government should be allowed to carry on with its business until elections," he said.

The NSP leader charged that "the JP [Justice Party] and the RPP are not doing this country any good," and said, "The RPP and the JP have again taken up the debate of early elections. They are hashing and rehashing this old topic. The NSP, meanwhile, is laying foundations day and night. When elections are moved up, there is neither plan nor program. The important problems remain. Everyone is out in the mountains and villages. Nobody is thinking about that."

He continued: "These parties are hoping to 'make a run on the polls' in this election, but in our tours of Anatolia, we are seeing 1946 preparation. If the NSP gets 140 national deputies in this election, the JP will be finished. 'You wiped us out,' they will say."

The NSP General Chairman charged that the "RPP and the JP have been running this country for a long time; neither of them has done the least bit of good. We have learned this business. We will succeed in it. We will succeed whether they want us to or not. They will say that Erbakan is too new and inexperienced, but we know better. I have forgotten more than you will ever know. Why has it been 25 years and you have not established any engine or aircraft factories?" he said.

Erbakan said that he did not share the view expressed by businessman Ertugrul Soysal at a meeting in Istanbul when he said, "Development and progress will only follow its own natural course, regardless of which party is in power in Turkey."

He said, in summary: "Development does not take its own course. The installations opened, the foundations laid, the industrial progress made since we came to power are there for everyone to see. A plot of land is not a garden until you cultivate it. And we, the NSP, are trying to cultivate the plot of land and make it into a garden. There is proof that we are succeeding."

Noting that the Ministry of Industry budget has increased by 1500 per cent, the NSP leader said, "Certain members of parliament who, a while ago, were saying, 'How are you going to build each and every factory,' are coming to me today with the leaders of their provinces asking for a factory in their own province."

Deputy Prime Minister Erbakan announced that the bulk price for tobacco had been set and would be announced on Monday. "We did everything we could to give the maximum price. You will all be happy on Monday," he said.

Erbakan reviewed the riot police honor guard at the Cigli airport before departing for Aydin by military helicopter. As the helicopter flew over the field, the people joined in a demonstration saying "Prime Minister Erbakan."

NSP members from surrounding provinces and districts from Balikesir to Antalya travelled to the rally. Erbakan was introduced to the crowd of about 10,000 as "the sun rising among dark clouds."

**Bozbeyli: Early Elections Must Occur in Safe Climate**

Adana, Special - DP General Chairman Ferruh Bozbeyli said in a speech at the Adana Provincial Congress, "The groundwork for peaceful and orderly elections must be prepared before we hold early elections." "The early elections issue is being dealt with, not as a question of democracy and the nation, but as a question of saving the JP," he said.

Bozbeyli's speech follows, in summary:

"The Front administration is under the threat of memorandum both from without and within.

"The JP cannot claim ownership of its own budget, its own bills. It avoids assembly and committee meetings on important issues. The JP is completely panicked.

"Certainly early elections may be held if necessary. However, every election, whether early or late, requires a peaceful and orderly atmosphere and absolute certainty as to its national usefulness. The debate of early elections must cease before it gets beyond the Assembly. The authority is in the Assembly. Those who think early elections are necessary must bring their proposals to the Assembly without delay."



ERBAKAN: NSP OPPOSES EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 26 Feb 77 pp 1,9

[Text] Ankara (Turkish News Agency) - Deputy Prime Minister and NSP [National Salvation Party] General Chairman Prof Necmettin Erbakan said that for a party that is a partner in the government to desire early elections is to say that it is running away from the government and from its duty. Asserting that the NSP is ready for elections and would emerge from elections even stronger, he said, "The NSP is neither an oppressive party nor a dillettante. The NSP does not run away, it pursues duty."

Prof Erbakan said at a meeting of the NSP General Executive Board that if early elections proceeded to the detriment of the nation and if they were to be used to sabotage the continuing progress, the NSP would oppose them with all its might. He said:

"The NSP chairmanship council has met four times this week. The subjects taken up were the government and the present disorders. I will inform you of the chairmanship council's report in this executive board meeting today.

"The NSP is neither an oppressive party nor a dillettante. The NSP is a service party. We, as the NSP, have a four-point program for serving the people. They are: moral development, material development, prosperity for all, and pursuit of an individualistic foreign policy to make the country a leader. Now there are new problems ahead.

"A question of early elections has come up recently. We are performing the duty that falls to us as a partnership party in the administration. We think that the desire for early elections of an administration party is a mistake of the highest order.

"This attitude means loss of the hope to serve and chasing about for election. It means running away from government.

"When an administration party says we want to abandon our duties and hold elections, we see this as a repudiation of themselves. We see it as the exhaustion, the loss, of their power.

"Our nation is waiting to be served; there is a time for elections. If the idea underlying this is to hold elections before the progress in heavy industry takes hold and to return to the period of assembly industry, nobody is strong enough to do that.

"The question of making the proposal for early elections remains unresolved. There is always the possibility of requesting early elections and then having them come out wrong. Everybody knows that the NSP does not run away from service, but seeks out service. To request early elections is to run away from service. The nation sees who runs away from service and who seeks out service.

"There is no need for fear. There is no need for panic. The NSP's goal is 150 national deputies, then if the JP [Justice Party] stays at 140, it's all over."

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CSO: 4807

## NSP CRITICIZES TALK OF EARLY ELECTIONS

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 16 Mar 77 p 6

[Article by the Turkish News Agency: "NSP To Demand Government Reorganization If JP Decides on Early Elections"]

[Text] Ankara--The NSP [National Salvation Party], reportedly, is planning to demand a reorganization of the government, if the JP [Justice Party] insists on rescheduling the elections for an earlier date.

An NSP official interviewed by the Turkish News Agency said, "To consider early elections before the investments listed in the government's program are made will hurt national interests, and will be inconsistent with the concept of nationalism." The NSP official stated that his party "will not make concessions to any one" in its pursuit of the plan to build a heavy industry as rapidly as possible. He added that the NSP "will not hesitate to demand a governmental reorganization" in the event its coalition partner JP insists on early elections.

### JP Will be Responsible

The NSP official denied that his party was wary of early elections. "The NSP will benefit the most from early elections," he said. "Our organization is dynamic. We don't have a single election district that has not been surveyed. We have surveyed all our regions down to the village level. However, as I have already mentioned, early elections will stall Turkey's efforts to build a heavy industry. If the coalition collapses as a result of the JP's insistence on early elections, the JP will have to bear the responsibility for it."

### The 18-Year-Olds

Asked to comment on the proposal to lower the voting age to 18, the NSP official said:

"Lowering the voting age to 18 will be to the advantage of the NSP and the RPP. It will help the NAP [National Action Party] also, but it will hurt the interests of the JP and the DP.

"JP leader Demirel's statements on giving the 18-year-olds the vote are nothing more than political campaign words. Distinguished Demirel knows very well that lowering the age limit will not be to his party's advantage, but he is not likely to say he is against it. That would be politically inadvisable."

#### Assembly Paralyzed

Ankara, Special--Suleyman Arif Emre, deputy group leader of the NSP, charged that early election supporters brought the assembly's work to a standstill.

Mr Emre said, in summary:

"The National Assembly has been unable to meet for a week now for the lack of a quorum. Those who want early elections are causing it. There are numerous social issues-oriented proposals and draft laws before the assembly. As things stand now, none of the proposals, or drafts, will pass the assembly before the elections."

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END