ÜLKÜ NUR ZENGİN

YBU 2016

THETRADE UNIONS DURING THE FEBRUARY 28 PERIOD

ÜLKÜ NUR ZENGİN

YILDIRIMBEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY 2016

THE TRADE UNIONS DURING THE FEBRUARY 28 PERIOD

A THESISSUBMITTED TO
THEINSTITUTE OFSOCIALSCIENCES OF
YILDIRIMBEYAZITUNIVERSITY

BY

ÜLKÜ NUR ZENGİN

INPARTIALFULFILLMENT OFTHE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OFMASTER OFSCIENCE IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCES AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

FEBRUARY 2016

Approval of theInstituteof Social Sciences

Doç. Dr. Mesut Murat ARSLAN
Director of the Institute
of Social Sciences

Icertifythat this thesis satisfies allthe requirements as a thesis forthe degreeof Master ofScience.

Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Bingöl
Head ofDepartment

This is to certifythat wehaveread this thesisandthat in our opinionit is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as athesisforthedegreeof Masterof Science.

Prof. Dr. Şükrü Karatepe
Supervisor

Examining CommitteeMembers

Prof. Dr. Şükrü Karatepe (Sabahattin Zaim Unv.)
Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Bingöl (YBU)
Prof. Dr. Adem Çaylak (YBU)

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility.

Ülkü Nur Zengin

ABSTRACT

TRADE UNIONS DURING THE FEBRUARY 28 PERIOD

Zengin, Ülkü Nur

Msc., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor : Prof. Dr. Şükrü Karatepe

February 2016, 138 pages

The February 28 coup, was recorded in the political history of Turkey as a "post-modern military coup". This feature of the February 28 has to do with differences in its conduct, as compared to the previous military coups. In contrast to the usual conduct of the coups, the February 28 coup was carried out while the military remained at the barracks, without use of weapons and without taking ower the political power. Instead, various societal actors that are called as "unarmed forces" were mobilized to exert pressure over the government which was ultimately forced to quit.

In this thesis, the discourse and activities of the trade unions were studied during the process when the February 28 coup took place. Particularly, attitudes and activities of the worker and employer trade unions which were included in the social bloc, called as the 'Gang of the Five' were analyzed within the framework of relationships between trade unions and politics. Türk-İş and DİSK were taken as examples of worker trade unions, while TİSK was choosen as the representative of employer associations.

In the thesis, it is concluded that, support provided by the trade unions, existence of which depends on a functioning democracy, to the anti-democratic process of the February 28 is a paradox. At this period, trade unions behaved ideologically and in contrast to their raison d'etre which is defending and promoting rights of their members. .

Keywords: February 28, trade unions, 'Gang of the five', TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TİSK, TESK, TOBB

ÖZET

28 ŞUBAT SÜRECİNDE SENDİKALAR

Zengin, Ülkü Nur
Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi
Tez Yöneticisi : Prof. Dr. Şükrü Karatepe
Şubat 2016, 138 sayfa

28 Şubat darbesi, Türk siyasal hayatında "post-modern darbe" olarak yerini almıştır. 28 Şubat'a bu sıfatı kazandıran ise yönteminin önceki darbelere göre gösterdiği farklılıktır. Alışılmış olanın aksine 28 Şubat'ta asker kışlasından çıkmamış, silah kullanmamış ve yönetime doğrudan el koymamıştır. Bunun yerine "silahsız kuvvetler" olarak tanımlanan farklı toplumsal aktörler organize edilerek oluşturulan baskı ortamı sonucunda mevcut iktidara hayat hakkı tanınmamıştır.

Bu çalışmada 28 Şubat darbesinin meydana geldiği süreçte sendikaların söylem ve faaliyetleri incelenmiştir. Özellikle "5'li Çete" olarak nitelendirilen toplumsal bloğa dahil olan işçi ve işveren sendikalarının tutum ve faaliyetleri sendika-siyaset ilişkisi bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Türk-İş ve DİSK işçi konfederasyonlarına, TİSK ise işveren konfederasyonlarına örnek olarak seçilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak varoluşlarını demokrasinin varlığına borçlu olan sendikaların 28 Şubat anti-demokratik sürecine verdikleri katkının bir paradoks olduğu ve üyelerini haklarını korumak ve geliştirmek olan asıl amaçlarının aksine ideolojik kaygılarla hareket ettikleri ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 28 Şubat, sendikalar, 5'li Çete, TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TİSK, TESK, TOBB

To my family…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Şükrü Karatepe his guidance, advice, criticism, encouragements and insight throughout the research.
I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Bingöl, Prof. Dr. Adem Çaylak and Ass. Prof. Dr. Güliz Dinç. Their constructive criticism was very important for me when I was taking a step into the academic area.

I would also like to thank Mustafa Cesar for his suggestions and comments.

I thank my parents because of their support during all my education process. They never stopped believing in me…

And my deepest appreciation goes to the my husband Tarkan Zengin, my son Alperen Furkan and my daughters Azra Nur and Hilal Nur…They beared with me in this process…

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM
iii ABSTRACT iv
ÖZET v
DEDICATION vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xii

I. INTRODUCTION..... 1

CHAPTER I. THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS PAVING WAY TO THE FEBRUARY 28 COUP..... 4

1. THE CONTROVERSIAL ACTIONS AND DISCOURSES OF THE WELFARE-PATH COALITION..... 5

1.1. The Rise of the Welfare Party ……... 5
1.2. Mother-Path Government Period …….. 8
1.3. The Formation of Welfare-Path Government…… 11
1.4. Decree on Appointment of Judges and Prosecutors……. 13
1.5. New Regulations for Media …… 13
1.6. Insurgencies in the Prisons…… 16
1.7. Debates on the Construction of a Mosque in the Taksim Square…... ……. 16
1.8. Erbakan's Visit to Iran …… …… 17
1.9. Provincial Congress of the Welfare Party in Ankara…… 19
1.10. Erbakan's Visit to Libya……. 20
1.11. The Susurluk Incident …… 21
1.12. The November 10 Ceremonies …….. 24
1.13. Rafsanjani's Visit to Turkey…… 25
1.14. Iftar Dinner for Religious Leaders at the Prime Minister's Residence ……. 26
1.15. The Jerusalem Night …….. 27

2. ACTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES INTENDED TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT 29

2.1. The First Warning from the Armed Forces…….. 29
2.2. Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement with Israel……. 29
2.3. Reactionary Movements on the National Security Council's Agenda for the First Time……..... 30
2.4 Erbakan's Attitude towards the Dismissals from the Army……. 31
2.5. Call for 'Unarmed Forces' to do Work against Reactionary Threat…… 32

2.6. Reactionary Activities 'for lease' ……. 33

2.7. Briefing to the President of Republic on Reactionary Movements ……. 34
2.8. Denunciation for Minister Celik …….. 34
2.9. The First Shutdown Threat to the Welfare Party ……. 36
2.10. Golcuk Meeting of Commanders of the Armed Forces ……. 36
2.11. Regulation on Crisis Center …….. 36
2.12. Historical National Security Council Meeting on February 28, 1997…….. 37
2.13 Western Working Group …… 44
2.14. National Security Policy Document ……. 46
2.15. The Protocol on Security, Public Order and Assistance Units (EMASYA).. 48
2.16. Briefings by Turkish Armed Forces on Reactionary Threat …… 49
2.17. The Closure Case against the Welfare Party …….. 50

3. ECONOMIC DESICIONS OF WELFARE-PATH GOVERNMENT..... 51

3.1. General Economic Policies of the Welfare Party …….. 52
3.2. Interest Expenditures and Pool System …… 54
3.3. Decree on Car Imports Exempt from the Customs Duties …… 56
3.4. Increase on the Salaries of Public Employees ……... 57

CHAPTER II. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS 58

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK..... 58

1.1. Trade Union …….. 58
1.1.1. Trade Unions According to the Principles of Organisation …….. 59
1.1.1.1. Craftsmen Unions ……... 59
1.1.1.2. Workplace and Business Trade Unions …….. 60
1.1.1.3. Sectoral Trade Unions …… 60
1.1.1.4. Trade Unions Established on a Regional Basis …….. 60
1.1.1.5. Trade Unions Established at the National Level …… 60
1.2. Activities of Trade Unions …… 61
1.2.1. Professional Activities …… 62
1.2.2. Social Activities ……..62
1.2.3. Political Activities ……...63
1.2.3.1. Political Activities in broad Sense ……... 63
1.2.3.2. Political Activities in narrow Sense ……64

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS 65

2.1. Why Trade Unions Build Relationships with Political Parties? …… 65

2.2. Patterns Explaining the Relationship Between Politics and Trade Unions ….. 67
2.2.1. Independent Model …… 68
2.2.2. Interdependent Model …… 69
2.2.2.1. Interdependent Relationship through Organic bonds…….. 69
2.2.2.2. Interdependent Relationship without Organic bonds …….. 70
2.2.3. Dependent Model ……... 71
2.2.3.1. Compulsory Dependent Model …… 71
2.2.3.2. Voluntary Dependent Model ……72

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS IN TURKEY 72

3.1. 1946-1960 Period ……...72
3.2. 1960-1980 Period ……...74
3.3. Post- 1980 Period ……...75

CHAPTER III. THE TRADE UNIONS DURING THE FEBRUARY 28 PERIOD.....77

1. ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE FORMATION OF 'GANG OF THE FIVE'.. 78

1.1. Activities of TURK-IS …… 78
1.1.1. Meeting of the Assembly of Presidents on December 21, 1996 …. 78
1.1.2. 'Protect Turkey' Rally on January 5, 1997 ……79
1.1.3. TES-IS Reports Government to the MGK ……..80
1.1.4. TURK-IS Supports the "No to the Shari'a" Demonstration ……..81
1.1.5. Joint Declaration of Turkish Metal and Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries (MESS) ……..82
1.1.6. Meeting of the Assembly of the Presidents on March 10 and division within TÜRK-İŞ ……... 83

1.2. Activities of the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TISK)….. 84
1.2.1. First Encounter with the Welfare Party …….. 84
1.2.2. First Criticisms against the Government …… 85
1.2.3. TİSK Reports the Government to the President of the Republic…… 85
1.2.4. Extraordinary General Assembly of TISK …… 86

2. ACTIVITIES OF THE 'GANG OF THE FIVE'..... 86

2.1 Activities During the Welfare-Path Period……86
2.1.1. Mobilization of Non-Governmental Organizations ……86
2.1.2. Call to the Public Opinion ……..88
2.1.3. Solidarity Decision of the 'Gang of the Five' ……89
2.1.4. Visit of Trade Unions to the President of the Republic ……90
2.1.5. Reactions from the pro-Democracy Unions …….. 91
2.1.6. Trade Unions Support the Desicions of the Febuary 28 ……...92

2.1.7. Clear Promise by a Trade Unionist to Support a Military Coup ……
2.1.8. A Letter from the 'Gang of the Five' to the MP's……... 94
2.1.9. Ultimatum by the Trade Unions to the Government …….. 95
2.1.10. Statement of the President of Türk Metal-İş …… 96
2.1.11. A Call from TISK to Employees and Employers for a Joint Declaration …… 97
2.1.12. Memorandum for Common Action by the 'Gang of the Five' ….. 98
2.1.13. 'Protect Enlighted Turkey' Rally ……. 100
2.2. Activities of the 'Gang of the Five' during Post-Welfare-Path Period…….. 101
2.2.1. Visit of the the 'Gang of the Five' to the European Parliament …… 102
2.2.2. Joint Press Release on February 23, 1998 ……. 102
2.2.3. Declaration of Civilians on March 27, 1998 …… 103

5. CONCLUSIONS.....105

REFERENCES.....109

APPENDICES.....117

A. Speech of the President of TÜRK-İŞ, Bayram Meral delivered at the "Protect Turkey! Fight for Democratization" Rally (January 5, 1997)

B. "Call to the Public" declaration by the Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK (February 5, 1997)

C. Letter from the Presidents of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK to the MPs (March 6, 1997)

D. Joint Declaration by the Presidents of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK (March 14, 1997)

E. Joint Press Release by the Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK, TOBB and TİSK (May 21, 1997)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA: Anatolian Agency

ANAP: Motherland Party *(Anavatan Partisi)*

ATO: Ankara Chamber of Commerce *(Ankara Ticaret Odası)*

BAĞ-KUR: Social Security Organization for Artisans and the Self-Employed

BASS: Trade Union of Bank and Insurance Employees

BBP: Great Union Party *(Büyük Birlik Partisi)*

CHP: Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)*

DEMİRYOL-İŞ: Trade Union of Railway Employees

DGM: State Security Court *(Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi)*

DISK: Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions *(Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)*

DSP: Democratic Left Party *(Demokratik Sol Parti)*

DTP: Democratic Turkey Party *(Demokratik Türkiye Partisi)*

DYP: True Path Party *(Doğru Yol Partisi)*

EMASYA: The Protocol on Security, Public Order and Assistance Units *(Emniyet Asayiş Yardımlaşma Protokolü)*

EU: European Union

JITEM: Intelligence and Anti- Terror Unit of Gendarmerie *(Jandarma İstibarat ve Terörle Mücadele Birimi)*

KESK: Confederation of Public Employees Unions

MESS: Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries *(Türkiye Metal İşverenleri Sendikası)*

MASK: National Military and Strategical Concept *(Milli Askeri ve Stratejik Konsept)*

MGK: National Security Council *(Milli Güvenlik Kurulu)*

MGSB: National Security Policy Document *(Milli Güvenlik Siyaset Belgesi)*

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party *(Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)*

MISK: Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions *(Milliyetçi İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)*

MIT: National Intelligence Organization (Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı)

MOTHER-PATH: The Coalition of Motherland Party and True Path Party (Anayol)

MSP: National Salvation Party *(Milli Selamet Partisi)*

MÜSİAD: Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği)

OYAK: Turkish Armed Forces Pension Fund *(Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu)*

RP: Welfare Party *(Refah Partisi)*

RTÜK: Radio and Television Supreme Council *(Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurumu)*

SAGLIK-İŞ: Health Employees' Trade Union of Turkey

SSK: Social Insurance Institution *(Ssosyal Güvenlik Kurumu)*

ŞEKER-İŞ: Sugar Employees' Trade Union

TBMM: Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*)

TÜRKİYE KOOP İŞ: Trade Union of Turkish Cooperatives, Commerce and Office Workers

TÜRKİYE MADEN İŞ: Turkish Mine Workers Union

TÜSİAD:Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association

TC: Republic of Turkey (RT)

TEDAŞ: Turkish Electricity Distribution Corporation *(Türkiye Elektrik Dağıtım AŞ)*

TEKSİF: Turkish Textile, Knitting and Clothing Industry Workers' Union

TES-İŞ: Turkish Energy, Water and Gas Workers' Union

TESK: Turkish Tradesmen and Artisans Confederation *(Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Konfederasyonu)*

TIP: Workers' Party of Turkey *(Türkiye İşçi Partisi)*

TISK: Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations *(Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)*

TOBB: Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges *(Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği)*

TOLEYİS: Turkish Hotel, Restaurant and Resting Places Workers' Union

TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

TRT: Turkish Radio and Television Corporation *(Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu)*

TSK: Turkish Armed Forces *(Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri)*

TÜRK-İŞ: Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions of Workers *(Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)*

TÜRKİYE HABER İŞ: Turkish Telecommunications, Postal, Telegraph, Telephone, Communications, Informatics, Call Center, Radio, Television Workers' Trade Union

USA: The United States of America

WELFARE-PATH: Coalition of Welfare Party and True Path Party (Refahyol)

WWG: Western Working Group *(Batı Çalışma Grubu-BÇG)*

YAŞ: Supreme Military Council *(Yüksek Askeri Şura)*

YÖK: The Council of Higher Education *(Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu)*

INTRODUCTION

The latest of the military coup d'états that broke out in 1960 in political life of Turkey and repeated for nearly decennially is the February 28 coup. Even if it was highly disputed whether it was a coup or not because of the different methods applied compared to the previous ones, it is now quite clear that there is no place for such doubts on its being a coup d'état. It was, with the words of General Çevik Bir, who was the Deputy Chief of the Turkish General Staff and one of the most vigorous actors of the coup, "…a postmodern coup carried out without weapons and with the intrinsic powers of the regime and as a civilian initiative.**''**

Ignoring demands of the emerging social groups to join the political system leads them to pursue illegal methods which in turn creates deep social crises. When civil powers are inadequate in overcoming these crises, armed forces come in to the play. Yet, in Turkey soldiers are not alone in their approach to overcome social crises through military coup d'états. Those who are in favor of the continuation of the dominant ideology also provokes the army to stage a military coup in order to hinder demands coming from the emerging social groups to join the political system. (Karatepe, 2009:11)

As pointed out by Cizre and Çınar, despite the fact that, TurkishConstitution have not openly proclaimed any guardianship of the regime role for the military, the armed forces, based on the Internal Service Law, defined such a mission for themselves and with a view to enhance their position certain segments of the society were identified as threat to the system. While during 1980s Kurds were shown as the most important internal threat, during the 1990s it was claimed through perception management that most important threat comes from the Islamist groups. Having reinforced its position by this way, the armed forces used the National Security Council (MGK)[1] as an instrument to give direction to politics. (Cizre ve Çınar, 2003:

[1] The MGK, established firstly by the 1960 Constitution and its role was significantly increased with the 1982 constitution. It is is made up of the President, Prime minister, Ministers of National Defense, Interior, and Foreign Affairs, Chief of General Staff, Commanders of the Army, Naval Forces, Air Force, and of the Gendarmerie. The Council meets under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic.

320-321). As a result, despite the fact that it was foreseen as only a advisory board in the constitution, the MGK self-assumed a "supra-politics" position and became determinant in a number of policy areas from education to economics.

During the process of the February 28 coup, the army was supported and justified by a variety of groups and sectors like judiciary, media, finance industry, universities, non-governmental organizations, civil society associations that are the defender of the dominant ideology and even by the President of the Republic. We think that the most dramatic role performed among all of these groups and social sectors is that of the trade unions, considering that existence and continuity of the trade unions is closely bound to full-fledged functioning of the democracy.

Raison d'etre of the trade unions of employees is defending and trying to further develop the rights and interests of workers within the socio-political system of the country where they operate. Thus, heading for the same common goal by the trade unions of employees with the other social groups, e.g., capital owners, which have totally distinct interests and usually contradicting with those of the workers cannot be explained by the parameters of the democratic parliamentary regime. Moreover, given the fact that anti-democratic practices give the most harm to the employees, it is completely paradoxical that trade unions back this process. In addition to this, employers' trade unions not only hit a big blow to pluralism which is the basis for the democracy by co-acting with trade unions of employees, but they also paved way to the trade unions collaborating with employers, which is called yellow unionism. Taking into account all these reasons, the subject matter of this dissertation is determined as 'the trade unions in the February 28 process.

In the first part, historical development of the last coup and important milestones during the process are described. The main aim of this part is to show the role of the main actors, other than the trade unions, throughout the process in the form of a literature survey.

In the second part a conceptual framework regarding the trade-unions and their activities is provided. Especially the development of the trade union movement in Turkey is evaluated

within the context of relationship models between trade unions and politics, and the advantages and the disadvantages of different models for the trade union activity is discussed. In the last part in which the activities of the trade unions during the February 28 process are evaluated, press survey method is preferred. The most important motivation for picking up of this method is basically due to the fact that the events witnessed during this period could not be handled sufficiently within the academic literature.

The conclusion reached following all these evaluations is that the trade unions supported the February 28 process and tried to legitimize developments that took place in the aftermath of the coup. Another crucial conclusion reached is that in this process trade unions acted contrary to their reason d'etre, which is protecting the interests of the working class.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS PAVING WAY TO THE FEBRUARY 28 COUP

While evaluating the events and developments leading to the February 28 coup, they will be divided into three groups. The first group of these developments are reactions to the certain discourses or activities of the Welfare Party (Refah Partisi- RP) or its members. The second group comprises events that are closely connected with the targeted actions of the armed forces aiming at overthrowing the government. The discussions created upon the activities and discourses of the Welfare Party will be dealt under the title of 'the Controversial Activities and Discourses of the Welfare-Path[2] (Refahyol) Coalition.

Under the title of 'Actions of the Armed Forces Aiming at Overthrowing the Government', the discourses and the actions directly targeting the government with a view to overthrow it and replace with a new one will be analyzed.

The issues to be discussed under the title of 'Economic Decisions of Welfare- Path' intend to unveil the real causes that were hidden behind the known scenes of the coup. It is now a commonly accepted reality that the main driving force in the February 28 coup is an economic clash of interests, as it was also the case in the previous coups. Accordingly, we consider that, the fundamental reasons for the coup has much more to do with the economic parameters than ideological factors that were presented as the cause of the coup.

1. THE CONTROVERSIAL ACTIONS AND DISCOURSES OF THE WELFARE-

[2]The coalition government formed by the Welfare Party (RefafPartisi) and the True Path Party (DoğruYolPartisi), is widely referred in Turkish as Refahyol, taking Refah (Welfare) from the former and Path (Yol) from the latter. Throughout the present dissertation the Welfare-Path will be used to refer the said coalition government.

PATH COALITION

The reactions to the Welfare Party, especially the reactions by those who define themselves as secular nationalists, go back to the times before this political party coming to the power. The striking rise of the Welfare Party in the political stage was the most influential factor in increasing the dose of the reactions until the time of the coup. Thus it will be useful to have a look at the brief history of rise to the power of the Welfare Party. It will also be useful, in order to better understand the process, to touch upon the intense efforts to prevent the Welfare Party forming a government and establishment of Mother-Path Government as a part of such efforts.

1.1. The Rise of the Welfare Party

During the republican era in Turkey, the first appearance of the political ideology based on the Islamic fundamentals as a political party is with the establishment of the National Order Party (Milli Nizam Partisi- MNP) in 1970. The National Salvation Party (Milli Selamet Partisi- MSP) was established on 11 October 1972 as a continuation of MNP which was closed down shortly after its establishment on the grounds of being contrary to the Constitution. Having received the %11 of the votes at the elections held in 1973 and winning forty eight MPs, MSP took part in the various National Front governments during 1973-1980 period. As it was case with the other political parties, MSP was closed after the military coup of 1980. In 1983 the Welfare Party was established as an heir to the MSP, which was closed after the coup, and took its part in the Turkish political life (Gülalp, 1999:22).

The first election in which the RP participated was the local elections in 1984 and it won 4.4% of the votes. During the subsequent ten years up to the local elections held in 1994, it increased its votes almost five times to reach 19% of the votes at the 1994 local elections, where it won 329 mayoralty, 29 of which were the provincial municipalities. The most striking and best remembered result of this election was that of the RP victory in İstanbul.

'Some groups' who foresaw this dramatic rise of the RP, organized a pro-secularism rally, but

even this was not enough to prevent the rise of the RP. According to Hüseyin Kocabıyık, this event was the first activity of the Western Working Group[3] and three political parties, namely True Path Party (DYP), Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) were forced to act together in this demonstration, despite differences in their approach to secularism (Gürsoy, 2011:114).

The general elections held on 24 December 1995 was another turning point for the RP. At this elections it emerged as the victorious with 21.38% of the votes and 158 MPs. This result created an earthquake effect in the Turkish political life (Yavuz, 1997:63). Cizre and Çınar, defines this situation as the fragmentation of the political center and the rise of the Islamist Welfare Party from a fringe party to a major partner in the coalition government (Cizre ve Çınar,2003:309).

As discussed by Gülalp, almost all analysts studying political islam in Turkey were unanimously in opinion that "political movement based on religious appeals has little chance of success in modern Turkey" . However, such predictions have clearly been proven wrong in the course of the 1980s and 1990s (Gülalp, 1999:25).

The success in the local elections in 1994 caused various groups that can be named as 'anti-islamist' enter the general elections in 1995 under a heavy stress. The top commander of the Turkish Armed Forces, (TSK), General İsmail HakkıKaradayı who would be the speaker of the such anti-islamist groups in the subsequent period, expressed his concerns three days ahead of the election during his speech at the Bolu Commando Brigade saying that "the TSK is the biggest assurance of democratic and secular Turkey" (Cevizoğlu,1994:viii).

The results of the elections did not alarm only the TSK. Especially in Europe, the process was observed with anxiety. Especially newspaper headlines that exaggerated certain measures taken by the mayors elected from the RP, like ban on alcohol or closure of brothels as well as

[3]Western Working Group (WWG), (BatıÇalışmaGrubu –BÇG) established within the Turkish General Staff Headquarters. Details about the activities of the Group are provided in the Chapter I, section 2.13.

those aiming at perception management like women are encouraged to wear chador, along with the forecast that in foreign policy west-ward orientation will be changed towards cooperation with the Islamic countries fueled such anxieties. (Lombardi, 1997: 191-193).

When 1995 elections resulted with no clear victory for any of the parties, a coalition government needed to be formed. The concerns over the rise of the RP increased and an intense media campaign to affect the public opinion started. The media was propagating that the election results pushed for a coalition government between the Motherland Party (ANAP) and the True Path Party (DYP) and leaders of these two parties were calling for alliance against the RP (Akpınar, 2006: 22). This perception management that was being supported by almost all segments in the society was basically a campaign to encourage Motherland and True Path parties (Çelik, 2003: 43).

The first session of the twentieth period of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) was commenced on 8 January 1996. Before the task to form new government was given by the President of the Republic, the social segments that would like to reveal their antipathy against the RP were quite active. During the election campaign Erbakan said that "we shall led all of them obey", targeting those civil society associations that had asserted that the republican regime is under threat and those rectors that had declared that they will not allow female students to wear turban at the universities. The declaration published by the Committee of the Rectors under the Presidency of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK), Kemal Gürüz, was a harsh reaction to the words of Erbakan:

> "The Rectors of the universities respectfully show obeisance only in front of those who serve loyally to science, humanity and the main principles of the republican regime founded by Atatürk. They will never kneel down under any circumstances before anyone!''(Akpınar, 2006: 24)

One day earlier, General İsmail HakkıKaradayı had visited the Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in plain clothes. This meeting in which he said to Çiller that "we are absolutely against Welfare

Party taking part in the coalition government. In case you cannot agree with Yılmaz, let snap elections take place. We will tell the same thing to the President." (Cemal, 2010:209) Actually, this conversation is a very good indication that the thesis arguing the RP's activities were responsible for the February 28 coup is baseless.

1.2. Mother-Path Government Period

The President Süleyman Demirel, at first, gave the task to form the government to Erbakan who was the winner of the elections. The negotiations between the RP and the ANAP made a noteworthy progress, even Erbakan declared to the press that "we have got engaged, the wedding is following the coming religious festival.'' At that point, after a message sent by 'somebody' via Alparslan Türkeş, leader of the Nationalist Movement Party, to the Speaker of Turkish Parliament, Mustafa Kalemli, arguing that "if this coalition is formed, undesirable things will occur in the country" and Mesut Yılmaz gave up the probability of forming coalition with the RP saying that "I am not into this" (Birand, 2012:136). Given the fact that from the very beginning DYP was not willing to form a coalition with the RP, Erbakan has nothing to do but return the task of forming the new government back to the president (Akpınar, 2006: 48).

When the task to form government was given to DYP leader, she skipped RP and start negotiations with ANAP. However, due to disagreement over who would be the prime minister, she needed to return the task back to the President. (i, 2006: 48).

Then the task to form new government was entrusted to the ANAP leader. Thanks also to the meeting between Çiller and General Karadayı in Uludağ, a coalition government could be formed after two months from the elections. (Tayyar, 2009: 14). By this way, confidence of Ali Sirmen, a columnist at Milliyet, who wrote on 16 February 1996 that "we are trusting to the dynamic powers of the society, who founded the republic under very hard circumstances.'' has been proved right and Mesut Yılmaz was able to save his marriage as his wife had told him that she would divorce if he form a coalition with the RP (Tayyar, 2009:13-14)

On the other hand Yılmaz's plans to be the leader of center right by forming a coalition with the RP and sending Çiller to Supreme Court could not be realized (Akpınar, 2006:30).
Bayramoğlu who analyzed the developments during the period of the Mother-Path government argues that for the first time the TSK directly conducted politics rather than intervening in politics. He cites following points as the proof of his argument:

1. The Turkish General Staff (TGS), for the first time intervened openly and directly in formulating policies and resource management, alongside the National Security Council.

2. TGS, by using its powers in terms of signing agreements, buying arms and its role in national defense, directly headed for an autonomous position that determines the fundamental preferences and putting the political authority at a secondary level (Turkey-Israel convergence)

3. TGS was conflicting directly with unwanted actors; in other words it intervened in the communication channels, print and audiovisual media, the intelligence and created a repressive control over them (as a part of perception management, public opinion was conditioned against Syria and Iran through information leaked by intelligence to media)

4. TGS took determinative steps when it comes to vital issues like Kurdish problem, when reforms were suggested by civil authority with a view to solve the problem.

The most serious consequence of all these developments was that the politics shifted towards non-politics channels (Bayramoğlu2001: 51-52).

The first big tension emerged between the TSK and the RP during the Mother-Path government era is very important for the subject matter of the present study. An internal Disciplinary Circular issued by the General Command of the Gendarmerie in 1996 caused serious tension. According to the Circular, ranking staff, civil servants and civilian employees couldn't attend to the mosques situated within the military sites and prayer times in such mosques would be restricted to working hours. Two vice presidents of the RP, Oğuzhan Asiltürk and Şevket Kazan protested against the Circular. Shortly after their protest, the Anatolian Agency broadcasted a statement from an unnamed top ranking officer:

> "A harsh reaction came from the army to those who criticized the Circular issued by the General Command of the Gendarmerie regarding prayers within the mosques in the military sites. A high ranking military officer who answered questions of the correspondent of AA told that, "Those who want to install the shari'a, fake devouts and old-fashioned reactionary groups are trying to damage the reputation of the TSK, by making unrealistic statements." The officer called the protest as an unfortunate non-sense statement. The TSK is a comprehensive system made up of discipline, order and principles. Its fundamental principles are being scientific, realistic, open, honest and rationalist. It has to be like that in order to fulfill the duty given by the glorious Turkish nation. The TSK is not the enemy of religion as some groups intentionally claim. On the contrary it respects to everyone's faith, prayers and beliefs regardless of their origin and secure them in its establishments. In this context, it is natural for those fake devouts who exploit people's religious sentiments and obtain benefits by this way, even become rich by this trade and make prayer shows for media to defame the TSK." (Arıkan, 2010:82)

'The Forced Marriage formed in the testimony of the army'(Bayramoğlu, 2001:47) in order to revitalize the center right (Sakallıoğlu, 1996:26) which faded away in 1995 elections would start to wore off sooner in the face of massive problems.

As a part of the plans of Erbakan to batter the coalition government and be part of the subsequent coalition to be formed after its dissolution, a number of investigation motions were submitted to the Parliament asserting that Çiller corrupted the bids of TOFAŞ and TEDAŞ. Support provided by ANAP to these motions caused a deep rift between the coalition partners. (Akpınar, 2006:42-43).

One of the critical events that harmed the coalition government and contributed its dissolution during those days was so called "Parsadan Scandal": A crook named, Selçuk Parsadan, pretending the voice of Necdet Öztorun, a retired general, called Çiller and asked her to send money in order to transfer votes from the ANAP to the DYP (Cemal, 2010:15). Meanwhile a document indicating that Çiller had withdrawn five hundred million Turkish liras from the secret fund, leaked out to the media. The DYP blamed the ANAP for leaking the document to the media. Relations between the coalition partners got worse. (Akpınar, 2006:44).
It was the Constitutional Court to say the last word, following all these developments. The

court accepted an application lodged by the RP on May 14, claiming that Motherpath Government couldn't able to receive sufficient votes at the vote of confidence held on March 12. (Donat, 1999:19).

On June 6, Mesut Yılmaz submitted his resignation to the President and the plan of reuniting the center-right totally failed. From now on at the political stage there would be only, as Yılmaz argued, "Erbakan who wants to demonstrate that he can come to power and put his own cadre within the state and Çiller who only wants to get over the investigations on alleged corruption cases." (Donat, 1999:165).

1.3. The Formation of the Welfare-Path Government

The Welfare Party and the True Path Party started to come closer when Erbakan supported Çiller while a motion about her property ownership was being voted and said that "those who found a coalition government with us will be as pure as the driven snow" (Özgan,2008:62). During the subsequent negotiations, both parties agreed to establish a coalition in the form of two-years shifted prime ministry. The first prime minister of the coalition government would be Erbakan, while Çiller became deputy prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs (Akpınar, 1998:13)

Inclusion of corruption investigation files on the agenda of the negotiations on formation of the coalition government (or allegedly it was like that) led to birth of a new type of relationship that cannot be explained with convergence, cooperation or partnership among the coalition partners (Özcan, 1998: 13).

Fifty fourth government of the Republic of Turkey which is one of the most controversial governments in the Turkish political life, came to power on 28 June 1996.

Before the vote of confidence which would be held on 8 July, there was a great mobility in the lobbies of the parliament, and there were transfers of MPs between the political parties. The

Welfare-Path was trying to guarantee its vote of confidence while the opposition was trying to prevent this vote being obtained. The transfers lasted until the time of the vote of confidence. The Welfare-Path received the vote of confidence with a margin of 13 votes. Yet, at the voting ten deputies gave nay vote, four MPs didn't attend and one gave abstention vote from the True Path Party. That meant the DYP lost support of 15 of its deputies at the very beginning. DoğanGüreş, the Kilis deputy of the DYP and former chief of the General Staff, who gave nay vote, would later explain his views on this new government as follows:

> "During the talks between MP and the RP to form a coalition, the chief of the general staff told Çiller about his unrest and Çiller had told me that formation of this government should be prevented and asked me to meet with Mesut Yılmaz, and the formation of that government was prevented. I couldn't understand why the previous sensibility was not displayed for the later Welfare-Path government or why Çiller didn't see anything wrong in formation of Welfare-Path government" (Çelik, 2004, 63-64)

When the events took place following the formation of the government and these statements are taken into account together, it is quite possible that the RP's founding the government may have been ignored so that it could be condoned.Thus, it could be thought that a short-term government may have deemed useful to keep this movement away from the government in the long term (Çelik, 1998: 27)

Saybaşılı stresses that, "Just Order" ideology of the RP has not been reflected on the government program and the argument that it was quite similar to that of Mother-Path government program can't be ignored (Saybaşılı, 1998: 27).

As HasanCemal quoted from HalilBerktay, from the first day when the Turkish Republic was founded, its own army has seen it as 'pre-matured child', (Cemal, 2010: 17). With the formation of the fifty fourth government, the army involved in a special effort to protect the country that it saw itself as the real owner, from the politicians. But this time the army did this in a different way it had never tried before.

A brief description of the events that occurred until the meeting of historical National Security

Council meeting held on 28 February 1997 and confronted the army and the politicians is provided in the subsequent parts.

1.4. Decree on Appointment of Judges and Prosecutors

First practice of the Welfare-Path causing controversy was a draft decree, prepared by Şevket Kazan, the Minister of Justice, as soon as he came to the post. The draft decree was about appointment and mobility of approximately 1,230 persons which makes almost one-quarter of the all judges and prosecutors. It would enter force following the approval of the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors. One high-ranked member of the judiciary commenting on the list said that "it was an attempt to target the secular regime and state of law. Everybody known as secular, Kemalist and modernist is in the list" (Cemal, 2010: 219). Bar associations and civil society organizations protested the draft decree by issuing declarations and statements. Due to intense reactions, the debate on the draft decree was postponed until the autumn (Akpınar, 2006: 64). Yet this first practice was providing sufficient clues on how the process would be shaped in the forthcoming period (Ayyıldız, 2011: 83).

1.5. New Regulations for Media

A Communique was published on 10 July 1996 at the Official Gazette. According to the 'Communique on the promotion campaigns of the printed media companies', promotion campaigns conducted by the media companies were limited to three at the same period. Heavy fines were supposed to be implemented to those newspapers which would violate this limitation that was allegedly aiming at protecting the consumers (Akpınar, 2006: 63). In addition to this, press companies were obliged to obtain permission from the Ministry of Industry as well as to pay a certain amount of money to the Ministry in advance for these campaigns (Agdag, 2010: 63).

Another arrangement on press has to do with a draft law which was named at that time as 'censorship law'. The draft law including the regulations concerning the structure of the press companies was comprising titles like, prohibition of publishing incorrect news, protecting

political and financial reputation of the state, not creating panic in the society, no ridiculing, no purposeful comments, no comments that can affect the competent authorities, failure to comply with the regulations relating to promotions, amount of fines in case of non-compliance being equivalent to a daily advertising revenue (Agdag, 2010: 63).

With this draft law, not only it became compulsory that a media company could publish only one media organ but also a new condition, according to which manufacturing, investment, export, marketing companies and their shareholders couldn't establish media companies was brought. Those who had a stake more than 10% in media companies were prohibited to get credit from the state. Despite the fact that in the developed countries, bank owners were prohibited to own stakes in the media (Chaudhary and Koch, 2001:470), the limitations foreseen with this draft law caused strong reactions. The media sector, CHP, the European Journalists Union and the World Journalists Association reacted very harshly against the draft law (Agdag, 2010:63). However, the group that is mostly get annoyed was big capital circles. The table below summarizes capital-media linkage in Turkey as of the year 2000 and makes it easy to understand reactions came to the draft law (Arslantaş, 2008: 39).

Table 1: Holding Companies Owning Media and Banks, as of 2000

Holding Company	Media	Bank
Rumeli Holding	Star Newspaper and TV	Imar Bank, Adabank
İhlas Holding	Türkiye Newspaper and TV	Ihlas Finance
Medi Group	Sabah Newspaper and ATV	Etibank
Doğan Holding	Milliyet, Hürriyet Posta, Radikal Newspaper and Channel D, CNN-Türk	Dışbank
Doğuş Holding	NTV and Channel E	Garanti Bank, Körfez Bank Osmanlı Bank
Çukurova Holding	Akşam Newspaper, Show TV and Channel 6	Yapı Kredi Bank Pamukbank
Bayındır Holding	BRT	Bayındırbank
Zeytinoğlu Holding	Es TV	Esbank
Nergis Holding	Olay TV and Newspaper	Interbank

The main cause of these reactions became apparent during the process of the electricity

distribution tenders which was one of the largest tenders within the entire history of the republic. The capital groups known as 'Islamic capital' were excluded from the process due to their support to the RP. They were put under suspicion by the speculative reports made prior to the tender process and the capital groups which apparently supported the coup process could be able to won the tender.

However, Doğan Group and Karamehmet that were among the winners of the tender had more than 10% stake in the media companies and that created problems. On the one hand, these companies organized reactions and pressures for the amendment of the relevant articles in the said draft law and on the other hand tried to influence the Competition Board and the Council of State. Judiciary which was one leg of the "unarmed elements" of the coup process, involved in the matter. Council of State issued its decision that Doğan Group and Karamehmet's stake in their respective media companies was less than 10%. (Ayyıldız, 2011: 163) Actually, this draft law can be considered among the economic decisions of the RP. Yet due to its relevance to press, it was mentioned in this part and will not be repeated in the economic decisions part. Nevertheless, even developments mentioned under the present title are sufficient to clearly show that, one of the fundamental reasons of the coup was to protect existing economic balance of power.

At the same days, there were news in the newspapers that internal circulars were issued by the Ministries hold by Ministers from the DYP that, state owned enterprises and other public institutions were barred from giving advertisements to newspapers and by this way it was aimed to curb revenues coming from advertisements to the newspapers (Akpınar, 2006: 63). These news were part of the media campaign to display themselves as victims.

These developments that occured consecutively were presented by the media as a revenge operation from the coalition partners. RP was revenging because media tried to prevent it coming to power and DYP was revenging because of corruption allegations against Çiller (Akpınar, 2006: 62)

The draft bill regarding arrangements for press was vetoed by President Süleyman Demirel

after 12 days and Decree on Car Import Free of Duties waiting approval of the President was approved after 3 months by the President. Both veto and approval after a long delay were considered as the first signs of opposition to the RP by the President. (Tayyar, 2009:28)

1.6. Insurgencies in the Prisons

Since the issuance of Communique on May 6, by the Mother-Path government Justice Minister Mehmet Ağar, aiming at stricter controls in the prisons, there were hunger strikes in a number of prisons. When the new Communique issued by the Welfare-Path Justice Minister Şevket Kazan was not making significant amendments to the previous one the tension further increased.

When no compromise could be reached in the protests of death fasts launched by the members of illegal leftist organizations, the protests were widely covered in the international media. Afterwards, national media began to cover this matter extensively, and upon that Prime Minister used his authority to censor publication of news about the protest on the grounds to protect "national interests". Twelve detainees and prisoners died during the protests(Akpınar, 2006: 65; Birand, 2012: 158-159).

The government was blamed not behaving competent in managing the first crisis they faced and already tense relations between the government and the press got even worse.

1.7. Debates on the Construction of a Mosque in the Taksim Square

Another practice criticized harshly was that the Welfare-Path Minister of Culture İsmail Kahraman approved the project on building a mosque in Taksim square (Istanbul). Actually, that project was on the table from Nationalist Front government of 1977, during which the Prime Minister was Demirel, who was now the President of Republic. This had encouraged Mayor of Beyoglu, who was elected from RP and he even made a statement regarding the date of laying the foundation. However, there were arguments that in the area where the mosque is

planned to be built, there was no need for a mosque, rather it was planned as a sign of conquer (Arikan, 2010: 85). These two factors exploited to a great extent during the counter-propaganda against the mosque project and that proved successful in proliferating reactions against it. Erbakan's words against those who reacted that "Who you are? You represent only 3%, you don't deserve to talk." and description of the Minister of Culture those against the project as 'bald ibis and bigot' further increased the tension (Akpınar, 2006: 63).

1.8. Erbakan's Visit to Iran

Prime Minister Erbakan's visit to Iran, Pakistan, Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia that started 10 August was another issue leading extensive debate.

Erbakan declared that aim of the tour as "establishing necessary cooperation to strangle terror in the Middle East and increasing commercial cooperation with the Muslim countries" (Tayyar, 2009: 29).

It meant a significant change in the foreign policy for Turkey who always faced towards the West until that time. Therefore, soon many internal and the external reactions began to voiced. Another reason contributing to the reactions was the timing of the tour. Erbakan was visiting Iran during his first external visit tour, despite the fact that Iran was accused to have supported the separatist activities in Turkey during the first briefing received by Erbakan from the TSK. This caused reaction from the army.

The USA had just approved the D'Amato Bill which envisaged, applying sanctions on companies investing over 40 million dollars in Iran and Libya which were put in to the list of the terrorist countries. Therefore it was stated that Erbakan's trip to Iran 'would be met with disfavor by the United States (Akpınar, 2006: 77). Even Spokesman of the US State Department said on August 6, that these contacts would not be beneficial (Tayyar, 2009: 29). It is doubtless that this trip discomforted Israel, considering the fact that Erbakan government resisted to sign a Military Defense Cooperation Agreement with Israel.

Contrary to the established practice, during visit to Iran, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not accompany to Erbakan and he didn't inform anyone about his very long conversation with Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani behind closed doors. This way of conduct of the visit was also extensively debated in the country. (Donat, 1999: 251-253) Although the historic natural gas deal signed during the visit was not talked about much, the bilateral talks were discussed quite extensively during the MGK meeting held on August 27 (Tayyar, 2009:29).

The first signs of distrust between the Erbakan government and some state institutions have emerged during this trip. Erbakan stated that he was suspicious of the report of the MIT and the TSK on Iran. During visit to Pakistan, the next leg of the trip, intelligence services prepared a report to be submitted to the TSK and TSK delivered this report, which would be presented as an evidence in case of a closure suit against the RP, to the Chief Public Prosecutor VuralŞavaş. According to the report Erbakan met with some persons in Pakistan with a view to construct necessary infra-structure for 'Islamic revolution' which was his 'secret agenda' (Aksoy, 2000: 177-179).

Following visit to Iran, already controversial relations between the RP and the army got tenser and much clearer. The first military warning to Erbakan after his return to home took place in the handover ceremony at the Land Forces Command. HikmetKöksal who replaced Hikmet Bayar as the Commander of the Land Forces, as the latter was retired, targeted Erbakan in his speech saying that "Turkish Land Forces are committed to protect secular and democratic Republic of Turkeyand Atatürk's principles and reforms against all types of threats." (Akpınar, 2006:79).

Another event showing uneasiness of military was during the graduation ceremony of Gülhane Military Medical Academy on August 29. During the ceremony, a number of well-established traditions were violated, starting from denial of entry of Erbakan's bearded guards into the campus of the academy. The ceremony was commenced without waiting for arrival of

Erbakan, who was delayed for 15 minutes. It is needless to say that everyone that took floor during the ceremony emphasized on 'secularism' (Akpınar, 2006:80)

The statement by TuncerKılınç, one of the prominent figures of the February 28 and the secretary general of the MGK, in early 2002, only after a couple of years passed over all the tension and extensive debate, that "…the EU will never accept Turkey... and it would be useful if Turkey engages in a search that would include Russia and Iran" (Cizre ve Çınar, 2003:315) was a clear indication that so-called "fear of turning into Iran" has nothing to do with the realities and it was only a pretext.

1.9. Provincial Congress of the Welfare Party in Ankara

The Prime Minister was either staying silent or ignoring the accusation of 'the enemy of the regime' and all the disrespects made to him at every opportunity. However the RP's supporters were getting nervous and angry with all these atrocities. This nervous and angry mood of the supporters was revealed during the Provincial Congress of RP held in Ankara. Started from Erbakan's getting off his car and continued until he took his place within the hall, the slogans and shoutings "Here is the army, here is the commander" continued. This slogan was actually a message sent to the armed forces. The managers of RP intentionally didn't prevent these slogans, allegedly saying that "the General Staff does not matter to us" (Akpınar, 2006: 81-82).

The military wing didn't remain silent. The former Undersecretary of MIT, Gendarmerie General Commander Teoman Koman told Hasan Celal Güzel that ''I don't see the actions and the direction of the government well. They shouldn't think that we will remain silent. I clearly want to say that we can even stage a coup if everything goes like this'' (Tayyar, 2009:35).

Some of the state institutions began to seize the opportunity to throw their anger against RP wing of the government by making use of the suitable conditions of the day. The first example of this was seen in the judiciary. Müfit Utku, who was the President of the Supreme Court,

spoke at the inauguration ceremony of judicial year and said that "no none will have power to bring the shari'a to Turkey" and described the discourse of 'secular vs. Muslim' that was usually used by politicians from RP, as 'treacherous and separatist division'. Words of EralpÖzgen, President of Turkish Bar Association, were much harsher: "our country is being governed by a mentality which wish to prevent the traffic accidents by reading hymns and sacrificing animals for the God; remedying drought by praying for the rain; referring the God's blessings as necessary resource to cover the budget deficit and using religion as an instrument of the politics" (Akpınar, 2006: 83).

The Council of Higher Education had lied for avenging Erbakan's words "we will make all of them kneel down" and found the chance at the opening ceremony of the Academic Year. Head of YÖK, Kemal Gürüz and all the university community conveyed continuously the same message: 'secular republic and the principles of Atatürk' (Akpınar, 2006: 84-85).

1.10. Erbakan's Visit to Libya

Erbakan wanted to get Muslim countries' support and draw an image of a strong leader in the Middle East before starting contacts with the western world. Therefore, he made his second 'controversial' trip to African Muslim countries including Egypt, Libya, and Nigeria. Before the trip started, the Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar's opposition, due to "Gaddafi's anti-Turkish stance" led a serious dispute within the government. Indeed, he proved right in this opposition he consistently pursued by even refusing to sign the decree regarding the said visit. On the other hand Erbakan was insistent in adding Libya to his trip in order for particularly to support Turkish contractors to be able to collect their receivables from the government of Libya (Çelik, 2003:107).

The first stop on this trip during which a series of diplomatic crises were witnessed, was Egypt. It was time for Egyptian President to revenge upon Erbakan who praised Muslim Brotherhood Organization, making Hosni Mubarak angry, during his recent visit to Turkey. Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmet Kemal El Ganzini didn't raise the Turkish flag upon the

flagpole when welcoming Erbakan at the Cairo Airport and repeated the same attitude during his farewell (Akpınar, 2006: 89-90). The flag crisis shadowed the successful outcome of the visit. In fact, the visit was fruitful in terms of commercial connections that aim at creating a trade volume of over two billion dollars and a number of agreements were signed (Birand, 2012: 159).

However the biggest of the problems were faced in Libya. A series of humiliating events took place during the visit. The plane allotted to the delegation was extremely old and at a very bad condition and Turkish delegation was made to wait for a couple of hours at the airport. Yet, the worst one was happened at the night of October 5. During the press conference held in the tent where he hosted Turkish delegation, Gaddafi harshly criticized the Republican era practices of Turkey and even accused Turkey of massacring Kurds (Akpınar, 2006: 96-100).

What made situation even worse was Erbakan's praising and welcoming the trip when returning back upon completing his visit to Nigeria on October 9 (Akpınar, 2006:103).

While the CHP tabled a motion of censure against the government due to all these events, the leader of the ANAP would add a new one to his coup rhetoric by saying that "the army is very uncomfortable with Erbakan's Libya trip" (Tayyar, 2009:37).

In October, simultaneous to the coup discourses there was a sudden outbreak of demonstrations by various "religious extremist groups" following Friday prayers in the mosques. Starting from October 20 an extremist group called Aczimendis began to demonstrations. None of these groups were directly linked to the RP. Yet, it was argued that, such groups were encouraged by the RP (Tayyar, 2009: 37; Akpınar, 2006: 108).

1.11. The Susurluk Incident

A traffic accident occurred on November 3, in Susurluk (Balıkesir) suddenly created an explosion effect in Turkey. A private car, carrying Sedat Bucak, DYP Şanlıurfa MP; Hüseyin

Kocadağ, Police Chief; Abdullah Çatlı who was held responsible for the murder of seven students from the Workers Party of Turkey, and Gonca Uz who was a famous model, collided with a truck. Bucak was severely injured while the other passengers of the car died in this accident (Tayyar, 2009:39).

The accident was the first step in the revelation of deep relationships within the 'the state-mafia and politics' triangle. Fifty-five names including Mehmet Ağar and KorkutEken were subsequently involved in the massive scandal that was named as the Susurluk incident, referring the district where the accident took place. A Research Commission was established in the Parliament about the scandal. Prime Ministry Inspection Board prepared reports. However only concrete politic result of the whole process was Mehmet Ağar's resignation from the Interior Ministry (Tayyar, 2009: 40). Çiller would indicate that Ağar's resignation was upon her request and explain this request on the ground of Ağar's objection to sign the decree of visit by the Prime Minister to Libya (Birand, 2012: 168).

In those days, the only party that wouldn't be linked to the Susurluk incident was the Welfare Party. However the Prime Minister acted reluctantly to go over this scandal fearing this may give serious harm to the government (Çelik, 2003: 132).

Meanwhile, in a private meeting with his staff, Erbakan responded to the question of "Sir, you say to bent on to this issue earnestly, but the opposition does not support it, what do you think?'' as "don't worry about them, they are poppycock, let us mind our work". This conversation was distorted and reflected in the press as "Erbakan described Susurluk as poppycock". The opposition and the media frequently used this phrase and saw it as a weakness. From the RP front, what has been said by Şevket Kazan for Susurluk protesters that "they are playing the candle snuff'' had been another unfortunate statement in that period (Tayyar, 2009:41).

The attitude of DYP wing in the government was perceived as the main problem in this case. Çiller visited Sedat Bucak who was severely injured in the accident in the hospital and praised

him as ‘someone who heroically struggled against terrorism’. Her words for Abdullah Çatlı stated during a meeting of Parliamentary Group “one who shoot and who is shot for the state is honorable for us” were also quite striking (Akpınar,2006:117).

The approach of the RP with respect to Susurluk incident was summarized by Ali Akel as follows:

> “DYP was at the core of the corrupted relationships revealed by the Susurluk incident and it was junior partner of the coalition. RP aiming at preserving the government was considering that as they are partner with DYP, they needed to protect their junior partner for the salvation of the government. The other opposition parties within the parliament was seeking to obtain political benefits by confining to the dichotomy between government and opposition, rather than keenly spending efforts to reveal corrupted relations. All these factors caused the issue to deviate from its natural path.” (Akel, 1999:93)

The Susurluk Commission met on 5 March, 1997 and invited for a hearing former Undersecretary of MIT and former General Commander of Gendarmerie Teoman Koman and retired General Necdet Üruğ. However, they rejected this invitation saying “the Parliament is not our interlocutor”. Let alone showing any reaction to this humiliating attitude, Çiller hampered invitation to the Commission of eight persons comprising among others the Brigadier General VeliKüçük[4] (Tayyar, 2009: 41).

The Susurluk affair that may actually have been an opportunity for the RP. Yet this opportunity could not be utilized in a proper way. If the RP was able to go firmly on the corrupted relationships, that also include military and which would unfold in subsequent years within the Ergenekon Case. It may have turned the political atmosphere to its favor. However, to protect his partner, not only RP failed to take necessary measures but also unnecessarily made itself target of protests when considered such protests as were tacitly aiming at overthrowing the government. When some corrupted relationship, like Söylemez Gang, involving some military personnel, including some officers and non-commissioned officers,

[4] The name of Veli Küçük was often heard a decade later when he was put in to the trial in the Ergenekon Case as defendant.

were revealed the Turkish Armed Forces declared that military personnel that were involved were dismissed from the army. During this process government was only standed and watched the army purifying itself by just blaming a few of its personnel (Tayyar, 2009: 43).

1.12. The November 10 Ceremonies

A week after the outbreak of the Susurluk incident was death anniversary of Atatürk, November 10. This time November 10 ceremonies was the scene of many different events. The social opposition launched against the Welfare-Path Government had been taken to Atatürk's Mausoleum (Anıtkabir). 750 thousand people visited the mausoleum for the first time. The next day 50 thousand people swore allegiance to the Republic (Akpınar, 2006: 118).

Also a march was organized for that day, which can be seen as the beginning of the institutionalized social opposition. Civil society organizations mainly like Kemalist Thought Association, DİSK, KESK, and TÜRK-İŞ marched to the mausoleum with 50 thousand people, reported wrongdoings of the government to Atatürk. The young parachutists landed in the mausoleum with an enormous portrait of Atatürk (Akpınar, 2006:118).

In the same days, the November 10 ceremonies were being held in all of the provinces and local staff of RP was almost put under a 'secularism test'. During the ceremony held in Kayseri, a play conveying the archaic message of "modern teachers" and the "bigot imams" was staged. The commanders in the hall asked Mayor Şükrü Karatepe about his views on the play. However, he wouldn't be able to pass the 'secularism test' saying that the play "was absurd and based on the prejudices, and imams are at least as modern as the teachers now" (Karatepe, 2015:40).

Delivering a speech at the enlarged provincial council of the party after the ceremony, Karatepe criticized the Republican regime of the country being not sufficiently democratic and put forward some criticisms to his party remaining passive vis-a-vis DYP. He never referred to Atatürk during his entire speech. Because of this speech, he was subjected to a lynching

campaign. Next day the media was full of headlines like 'Insult to Atatürk', 'Attack to the Republic', 'Provocation of Public to Revolt', 'Karatepe's hatred and hostility' (Karatepe, 43-47).

How the process continued afterwards is more interesting in terms of showing climate during the period. A criminal complaint was sued against Karatepe, but Kayseri State Security Court (DGM) decided that there was no need to open a case. However, absolving someone who was condemned by the system brought a big blow to Kayseri DGM, as it was closed and all the files were sent to Ankara DGM. At the end Ankara DGM sentenced him to one-year prison and considerable amount of pecuniary fine. By this way his case was finalized as "it was desired" (Karatepe, 2015:69).

1.13. Rafsanjani's Visit to Turkey

When there was a tense climate in Turkish politics a new controversial item was added to already heavy agenda of the country. The new agenda item was a statement by Erbakan that, Turkey and Iran would sign a Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement and even there were plans to manufacture helicopters jointly with Iran. Upon the news that Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani would pay an official visit to Turkey, warning messages from the military commanders began to come out via the newspaper headlines. Messages coming from the US Ambassador in Ankara and spokesman of the US Secretary of State were quite clear: "Iran is included in the list of countries that were considered as supporting terrorism by the US. Erbakan government is well aware of our attitude. US does not approve either military or economic cooperation with Iran." (Akpınar, 2006:137).

Despite all these reactions, Rafsanjani arrived in Turkey on December 19, stating that his purpose was "to mediate in the Turkey-Syria relations". He refused to go to Atatürk's Mausoleum and wanted no women in the official dinner given at the Presidental Palace. Reactions got intensified immediately to such attitudes. The General Staff didn't allow Deputy Iranian Defense Minister Ahmad Vahid to visit Turkish Aerospace Company where Turkish

F-16s were being manufactured. For the first time a foreign delegation's request to visit this site was declined. Despite intense efforts of government, no meetings could be held between the Iranian delegation and TSK (Akpınar, 2006:140-141).

Another controversial name in the delegation was Rafsanjani's daughter, Faize Rafsanjani who was the Chairperson of the Olympic Committee and the Minister of Sports. She was under the spotlight of the media, as she was wearing chador. Her statements about Turkey caused controversy for a long time: "I know Ankara and I am closely following its development. Therefore I can compare it to my country. Ankara resembles to the last years of the Shah's era." These words were perceived as an implication that Turkey is close to an Islamic revolution and led to furious reactions (Akpınar, 2006: 139).

Rafsanjani held a press conference at the Çankaya Presidental Palace before leaving. His reply to one of the questions asked by a journalist rekindled debate about 'exporting regime'. (Akpınar, 2006:141). His answer to the question; "we saw a return to Islam in the streets of Ankara. How do you see the future of Islam in Turkey?'' was as follows:

> "That is true. We also consider that, a movement to return to Islam began in Turkey. This is a serious issue in Turkey and it commenced. I witnessed that the Islamic movement is very serious and powerful in the southern part of Turkey. 98% of the population is Muslim and this is rare ratio among the Islamic countries. The latest elections is one of the best examples of this trend. All of Turkish people are Muslim and we see this movement. When I looked down during my flights with helicopter, I saw there are mosques in all of the villages.''

1.14. Iftar Dinner for Religious Leaders at the Prime Minister's Residence

With the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan, the government released a new circular changing the format of the working hours in the public institutions (Aksoy, 2000:193). This circular was welcomed by the majority of the society but the 'secularists' perceived this as a challenge and were quick to show their reaction to this situation.

This circular which would also be used as evidence in the closure case against RP, was

cancelled as a result of a citizen's appeal to the Council of State (Aksoy, 2000:193).

On January 11, the Prime Minister gave an iftar dinner (Ramadan banquet) at his residence to a group comprising about one hundred people including head of Presidency of Religious Affairs, academicians from universities, and opinion leaders of the various religious groups. During the dinner, aim of which was declared as evaluating potential contribution of religious people and groups to fight against terrorism within the country (Özer, 2011: 59) Erbakan delivered a speech and indicated that: "everybody should refrain from the behaviors that can harm the government. Everyone should avoid the behaviors that may put the unity and integrity in danger" (Aksoy, 2000: 193).

In fact, the subject matter that was discussed at the dinner attracted almost no attention. Media attention focused on appearance of some of the guests. Some people came to the dinner were turbaned, bearded and cloaked.[5] The judiciary soon take steps against the event. Opposition leaders who were willing to apply all the "revolutionary laws" and the military supported the judiciary members who were sending messages to the RP via anonymous statements (Akpınar, 2006:149).

1.15. The Jerusalem Night

In January 1997, Sincan Municipality organized a Jerusalem Night within the context of traditional Ramadan activities organized by the municipality. Ambassador of Iran in Ankara, Mohammed Reza Bagheri joined the event and delivered a speech. The stage was decorated with the posters of leaders of Hezbollah and Hamas and this was the very detail causing utmost furor. Later on, Mayor of Sincan Bekir Yıldız explained that these posters were provided by the Solidarity with Palestine Association from which the municipality asked providing necessary documents for the event (Cevizoğlu, 1998: 11).

Tayyar put emphasis over another point: "Only Sabah newspaper was "pre-informed" and

[5] According to Yılmaz, "at one level, the television pictures of turbaned sheikhs attending a meal in the PrimeMinister's house were a visual nightmare for committed secularists." (Yılmaz, 2012: 374)

attended to the event and pictures from the night were published only in that newspaper." From this, Tayyar voiced the suspicion that Sincan may have been a chosen as a scene for a game (Tayyar, 2009:50).When this suspicion of Tayyar is considered together with the fact that there was not any other place as convenient as Sincan to drive tanks, it becomes much more meaningful.

Following Sabah's headline, a judicial process was run for the Sincan Mayor Bekir Yıldız and he, along with his deputies and journalist-writer Nurettin Şirin (due to his speech at the event) were taken into custody. Their interrogation handed over to the anti-terror section of police by the State Security Court prosecutor. After having been detained for over a week, they were taken from the anti-terror section at 04:30 in the early morning and were interrogated for half an hour by a military judge and were detained and put into prison. Bekir Yıldız was sentenced to 4 years and 7 months, Nurettin Şirin to 17 years and 6 months, and four other defendants to 3 years and 9 months in prison (Balcı, 2000: 205).

There is something interesting with the date of the event. Although the Jerusalem night was alleged to have been organized on January 31 which was the date of the return of Khomeini to Tehran after the revolution, Bekir Yıldız asserts that the event was organized on January 28 which was only an ordinary Ramadan day (Cevizoğlu, 1998:4). On the other hand, Heper and Güney claims that the event was organized on the night of February 5 (2000:641). Thus plausibility of the comments made about an event, which is subject to controversies for almost all of its details, is definitely questionable.

Erkaya asserted that, the Jerusalem Night was the last straw for the army. The decisions taken at the meeting held at the General Staff were put into action in the following day and on 4 February, the tanks passed through the streets of Sincan. In order for this demonstration which was a clear act of threat to the government, to be much effective, the Anatolia News Agency was informed in advance. So for the first time the media was informed about passing of tanks, allegedly taken out for a military drill (Birand, 2012: 200).

Because of his speech at the event, Ambassador of Iran in Ankara, and Istanbul General

Consul were declared diplomatically as "*persona non grata*" left Turkey on February 20. In the following day, Çevik Bir, who was the deputy chief of the General Staff put an end to the discussions by saying that "we performed a wheel balance to the democracy in Sincan" (Birand, 2012: 201).

2. ACTIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES INTENDED TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT

2.1. The First Warning from the Armed Forces

The first official contact between government and the military was realized during the briefing given to the government on July 23 regarding internal and external threats at the headquarters of the General Staff The army expressed its discomfort with the RP indirectly. Concerns were stressed regarding the separatist and religious extremist activities that aims at eliminating the 'Kemalist, secular and democratic' system. Also it was stated that Iran which was thought to be inspiring the RP, was also supporting these extremist activities ın Turkey (Akpınar, 2006:67; Tayyar, 2009: 22).

A few days later, the Supreme Military Council meeting took place between August 1-4 and Erbakan was forced to sign the decisions of the Council including the dismissal of 13 officers and non-commissioned officers for their reactionary activities (Akpınar, 2006: 68). The most memorable words during the meeting were said by the Commander of Naval Forces, Güven Erkaya: "reactionary movement intends to liquidate the military." (Cemal, 2010: 223). It was meaningful to mention about such a liquidation project targeting the military during a briefing given to a new government established shortly (Tayyar, 2009: 23).

2.2. Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement with Israel

During the Mother-Path government period, as stated above, putting the civilian politicians in the secondary level, deputy Commander of the General Staff had signed the principles of the

Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement with Israel. The Agreement would be signed in August, yet pre-electoral discourse of RP was that the trade with Israel would be completely ceased. Statement of Abdullah Gül, who was State Minister, that the agreement would not be signed led to a crisis and panicked the military. The General Staff contacted Çiller and Minister of Defense TurhanTayan and gave a briefing to the Prime Minister on August 8. During the briefing, the main message delivered was vital importance of the agreement in terms of fighting against terrorism (Akpınar, 2006:73-74).

The fact that FethullahErbaş, who was a MP from Van, İsmail Nacar, a researcher and writer and President of Human Rights Association Akın Birdal visited a PKK camp in northern Irak for a peaceful solution with PKK upon the request of Erbakan, had already left the government in a difficult situation. The military's being furious with this visit reduced Erbakan's resistance to the signature of the agreement (Tayyar, 2009:26-27).

Ultimately, Erbakan felt obliged to sign the said agreement with Israel and it put him in a difficult situation vis-à-vis his supporters (Akpınar, 2006:75).

Another issue that Erbakan was harshly criticizing when he was in the opposition and had to make 'u-turn' when came to power was the extension of term of office of the "Hammer Force". During the MGK meeting held in July, the MGK decided to 'recommend" to the government extending term of the office of the 'Hammer Force' and the RP adhered with this recommendation (Akpınar, 2006:75).

2.3 Reactionary Movements on the National Security Council's Agenda for the First Time

The MGK meeting held on August 27 is remarkable by the fact that it was the first meeting of MGK where reactionary movements were discussed. Commander of Naval Forces Admiral Güven Erkaya said to the President that: "we always talk about terrorism here, but reactionary religious movements show an increasing trend for a while, and I haven't witnessed this issue

to be discussed here for one year... Regime change is being discussed on tv shows. What will we do under such circumstances? Do the reactionary movements constitute a threat or not? Let's include this matter into our agenda." The president replied that he would reflect on this proposal. Admiral Erkaya insistently followed up the matter during the meeting of the MGK meeting held in January 1997and finally the matter was included in the agenda of the MGK meeting held in February 1997 (Bölügiray, 1999:33).

2.4. Erbakan's Attitude towards the Dismissals from the Army

In the wake of November 10, the tense climate in the politics continued because of the draft law prepared by the RP on "Human Rights and Democracy Package" which also include amendments on the 'dress regulation' and the 'draft law on press'. Another important development that took place in November was clearance of leader of DYP Çiller from corruption allegations against herself. This was interpreted as the RP was paying for the DYP as it accepted to form a coalition with itself (Akpınar, 2006: 130).

Under this highly tense climate, 58 army members were dismissed from the army on the grounds of the reactionary activities by the decision of the Supreme Military Council held in December and Erbakan had also been forced to sign this dismissal decision given the determined attitude of 12 generals and 2 admirals who constitute military wing of the said council (Akpınar, 2006:132).

Erbakan's signing dismissal decision led to reactions within the RP. ŞevkiYılmaz, who was MP from Rize, was the first one to raise his voice over the matter. He indicated that "TSK doesn't have the right to massacre the democracy while presenting itself as the guardian of the democracy. There are injustices and unfair practices in Turkey that go beyond our power." Reactions increased when Erbakan voiced some arguments that might be interpreted as justifying the military in an attempt to appease unrest within the party. Istanbul MP of the RP SüleymanArifEmre stated that they may take the Supreme Military Council decisions to the International Court of Justice in the Hague (Aksoy, 200:192).

Another development that indicate that reaction from Military against Erbakan was based on ideological reasons rather than rational reasons was enormous increase he made in the salaries of military personnel (72%) while increase made for civilian civil servants was limited to 30%. The strongest protest to this unbalanced increase in salaries came from the leader of BBP, MuhsinYazıcıoğlu, who played the key role in the process of the founding of the government and supported the government from outside. This action of Erbakan was interpreted as ingratiate himself with the military. When Yazıcıoğlu's request to correct this injustice was not fulfilled, he stopped to support the government in the midst of January (Aksoy,2000:192). During the previous coups the armed forces were presenting decrease in their socio-economic position as a reason for the coup. Yet this time, this step taken by government, in a period when there was a serious threat of a coup, should be considered as a strategic decision to show real intention of the military to those who support them.

2.5. Call for 'Unarmed Forces' to do Work against Reactionary Threat

Şevket Kazan claimed that, within the margins of Turkish-Greek Business Council meeting held on 11 December 1996 in Athens; AydınDoğan, DinçBilgin, GüvenErkaya and representatives from TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK and TOBB discussed methods to fight against the RP (Tayyar, 2009: 44).

The developments took place in the wake of the meeting were proving that this claim was true. On December 20, 1996 Hürriyet reported on its front page that a high-ranked military officer said that this time not armed forces but unarmed forces should do the work against the "raising danger of reaction. (Çağlar, 2012: 22) It was a message to all parts of the society for support. A few veiled women photos which were put 'coincidentally' just below this headline was noteworthy. Cemal wrote that, the 'high-ranking military officer' was Admiral Güven Erkaya and had the support of the President of the Republic (Cemal, 2010:233-234).

From that time onwards, "all unarmed forces" began to fight recklessly, almost competed with

each other in this regard. Years later GüvenErkaya confessed in TanerBaytok's book, "Bir Asker bir Diplomat (*A Soldier a Diplomat*)" stating that "while we dedicated ourselves to this struggle, we did not receive any support from the civil society associations. At that time I said 'let unarmed forces get it over this time.' The message was received. The civil society associations, the universities, the Kemalist associations and the media were all mobilized for this purpose" (cited in: Tayyar, 2009: 46).

2.6. Reactionary Activities 'for lease'

During those days, every member of RP were living as if they were held under the spotlights. Everything such as a fruit juice, a hand not shaken were as noteworthy as to be given in the headlines of the newspapers. However none of these were enough to arouse panic within the society apart from a small segment of the society. Therefore there was need for a dramatic event to shake the society resembling effect of a bombshell, which was found with the FadimeŞahin incident.

On December 28, the police accompanied by journalists and cameras had raided a home. Aczimendi sheikh MüslümGündüz and a woman named FadimeŞahin were caught in an inappropriate position. Gündüz who had a finalized crime incitement on the grounds of hatred and hostility sentence to 2-year prison, was taken to the prison soon. FadimeŞahin started to complain the sheikhs like MüslümGündüz and Ali Kalkancı to the people for seducing women for their lust by exploiting the religious sentiments on the TV channels and warned the public as a sociologist: "I have always been a religious person, they exploited my religious feelings, not just mine but that of the other girls. They are also exploiting the men. They take their money and use for their own benefit. We see them in our society." (Birand, 2012:188).

It appeared over the years that the media used this and similar events to prove that these sects were traps for the women, was a play performed according to a scenario. The confessions by SeyhanSoylu who was a transgender and known as Sisi published on 28 February 2002 at Zaman daily and in 2007 at Aktüel magazine revealed the plot. She alleged that she was

working for JITEM and added that "we were hand in hand. The important thing was to reach to the goal, and we reached to the goal. We believed that the government should come to an end. I discovered those who exploit beliefs of innocent people and by this way I was able to start the February 28 process.''(Tayyar,2009:47-48).

2.7. Briefing to the President of Republic on Reactionary Movements

On the same day with the contentious iftar dinner at the Prime Minister's residence, the President was briefed at the General Staff. This briefing recalled words of a senior military officer (later proved to be Güven Erkaya) spoken a few days earlier to journalist Ertuğrul Özkök that: "when there is something to report, we convey it to the President, he is bridging between the government and armed forces." The relationship between the army and the President gained a new dimension after that briefing. Beforehand it was limited to phone calls or routine visits in Çankaya (Tayyar, 2009:48).

During the briefing, when fifty five files were submitted to Demirel, the generals said: "the government is encouraging the Islamic fundamentalism. We, as the Turkish Armed Forces, can't show consent to this. We will refer to all kinds of methods to eliminate this threat." (Cemal, 2010:230).

The Navy Commander Admiral Salim Dervişoğlu, indicated at a TV show he participated in 2001 that the beginning of the February 28 process was the briefing given to Demirel on 11 January'' (Cevizoğlu, 2001:61-62).

2.8. Denunciation for Minister Celik

In those days one of the instruments of the 'secularism tests' the military applied to especially local governors was busts of Atatürk. An official letter concerning the Atatürk busts manufactured in a factory owned by the military, was sent to Kayseri Municipality in which it was indicated that "the busts you ordered are ready, you can pick them up by paying the

price."

When the municipality replied that they did not have such an order, military officials answered in such a way that shows their real intention was not "eating the grapes": "We know what you think about Ataturk, we have sent that letter because we know you would not order by yourself. Take some of the busts we manufactured and distribute them to schools." (Karatepe, 2015: 35-36).

Test of the mayors from RP with busts was not limited to this correspondence in Kayseri. Despite the objections of Mayor of Sultanbeyli, Istanbul, Ali NabiKocak; Brigadier General DoguSilahcioglu, erected the statue of Ataturk at a crossroads in the town center and changed the name of the street as the Ataturk Street. This form of intimidation irritated members of the RP (Akpinar, 2006: 150).

A few days after that incident, in Bolu-Kartalkaya a journalist asked to Minister of Labor and Social Security NecatiCelik whether the Susurluk affair would be resolved. Minister made the following statement in response to a question:

> "Unfortunately, today the laws are not applied against the powerful. Actors in the Susurluk affair are either the chief of police, politicians, or a soldier. Hence the laws could not be run against them and the Susurluk affair could not be resolved. A General takes the bust of Ataturk and erects that in the middle of a street in Sultanbeyli and our laws cannot be enforced against him." (Celik, 2003: 70-71):

The next day words of Çelik were distorted and published in the press as if he said that "The man with full shoulders and with a gun said 'I am stronger' and erected the statue there. Law must be enforced against this person." Upon these words General Staff took action and filed a criminal complaint against Minister 'on grounds of insulting an army officer'. For the first time in Turkey's history, the General Staff filed a criminal complaint against a minister (Akpinar, 2006: 150).

2.9. The First Shutdown Threat to the Welfare Party

Erbakan attended the opening ceremony of the service building of Kayseri Melikgazi Municipality on January, 27. During the ceremony, young members of RP dressed uniformly. Chief Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals VuralSavas reacted against that and on January, 30 he sent a letter to RP headquarters asking for the termination of Kayseri Provincial Organization within 30 days, taking into account Article 94 of the Political Parties Law. According to this article political parties were barred from creating special groups with uniforms to undertake the task of the security forces. In the letter it was also stated that, the provisions of closing a party would be implemented if the provincial organization was not terminated (Akpinar, 2006: 151). The uniform clothing dressed was perceived as an official dress and Kayseri Provincial Organization needed to resign (Tayyar, 2009: 50).

2.10. Golcuk Meeting of Commanders of the Armed Forces

A War Game was held in Golcuk Naval Base between January 22 and 24. 14 generals and admirals in the upper echelons of the General Staff attended to that War Game. At the meetings held through that event, methods to be employed in the coming days were discussed. On January 28, Cumhuriyet daily, known with its proximity to the military, published news about that meeting, indicating that, "commanders dwelled upon the option of a national reconciliation government". This was a good summary of the meeting (Tayyar, 2009: 49).

In 2001, Golcuk Naval Base Commander of the period Admiral SalimDervisoglu stated that "the February 28 decisions were designed in Golcuk" (Cevizoglu, 2001: 73).

2.11. Regulation on Crisis Center

Another formation that described by Bayramoglu as a "civilian coup" was experienced during the February 28 period. Yet the press never wrote about it or was not allowed to do that (2001: 91). Regulation on Crisis Center at the Prime Ministry was issued by the decision of Council of Ministers dated September 30, 1996 and entered into force after published in the Official

Gazette on January 9, 1997. As soon as it was put into implementation through a Circular issued by the Prime Ministry it would transfer functions of government to the armed forces via the National Security Council. Bayramoglu explained the distinctive aspects of the regulation in comparison with similar documents in the state tradition as follows:

- First of all, the definition of crisis was broadened to also include social demands and by this way, it became possible to directly intervene in social and political fields.

- Determination of the cases pointing to a crisis and the exact timing of them was left to the military.

- Leaving the crisis control to the soldiers who will decide when the crisis begins, and giving Prime Minister authority of only formal approval meant legitimizing the transfer of powers (2001: 92).

Balcı describes the regulation as "permanent guardianship" and argues that it was contrary to the Constitution in terms of procedure (2000: 184).

A Crisis Management Unit was established within the MGK on 3 March 1997 in accordance with the said regulation. Thus, the MGK was authorized in crisis management and resolution. As stated by Yildiz, Prime Ministry was put under the military control and the Parliament was disabled (Yıldız, 2000:29).

2.12. Historical National Security Council Meeting on February 28, 1997

February 28 gave its name to the last military coup or postmodern coup in Turkey and it was the date of MGK (National Security Council) meeting held that day. When time of the meeting arrived almost everyone was anticipating either a military coup or resignation of the government.

The meeting started at 03:10 pm and lasted for 9 hours. The attendance to the meeting by both civilian and military wing was without any absence. President Suleyman Demirel made a

mini-summit involving the government partners and the Chief of General Staff to appease the parties. After this mini-summit which was not very effective in easing the tension, the meeting began under a very tense atmosphere. As set out in the previous meeting held a month earlier, reactionary movement was top agenda item. After the bureaucrats had submitted their presentations, the atmosphere get even tenser. Erbakan, later, described those moments as follows:

> "Ciller and Aksener did not speak, Demirel was on the side of the generals. I was alone. The report prepared by the United States explaining what needs to be done to prevent Turkey to return to its own reality was presented by the military as if prepared by themselves. During the 5 hour meeting, one took the floor and other left it; GuvenErkaya was the most active one. They were showing Aczimendis and saying; 'you see' what do you see? All of them were your scenario and your games. But you need to stop yourself, you cannot say anything you wish to say. God gave me an imperturbability" (Gursoy, 2011: 129).

After the meeting took place under such an atmosphere, Secretariat General of National Security Council issued the following statement:

> "At the Council meeting, an overall assessment of the measures taken so far against separatist terrorism and the results obtained was carried out and it was observed that this struggle reached a very good point with the support of the supreme parliament symbolizing will of our nation that believes in the indivisible integrity of our state and our country wholeheartedly and determined to continue this forever, our press, all institutions and organizations of the state. It was unanimously agreed that, in order to ensure these positive developments reflect to peace and safety of our people and economic, social, cultural and political life necessary measures will be put into force as soon as possible in accordance within the framework of a plan. Extension of 4 months for the State of Emergency period in 9 provinces, as of March, 30 1997, is approved in order to ensure realization of these measures to be implemented securely and it is decided to inform the Council of Ministers accordingly.
>
> The situation concerning the Cyprus issue and relations with Greece was evaluated and political, economic and military measures aiming at protecting the interests of Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus were approved and it is decided to inform the Council of Ministers as such.

At the meeting, the council examined and evaluated the threat and dangers that result from activities and statements aimed at destroying the republican regime and the democratic, secular, and social-law State which is committed to Ataturk nationalism and whose basis and characteristics are described by the Constitution and replacing it with an archaic order.

As a result of this evaluation, it is agreed that:

- Implementation of the Constitution and the laws of the Republic guaranteeing the existence of the Republic of Turkey and its development within the democratic system, in accordance with Ataturk's principles and revolutions and through the way of contemporary civilization should never be compromised,

- Safety, tranquility and social peace that will ensure proper implementation of the principles of Republic, namely democratic, secular and social law state as defined by the Constitution are of high importance and priority,

- Fundamentalist groups opposing the republic and the regime are trying to weaken the democratic, secular, social-law state by making secular and anti-secular divisions,

- In Turkey, secularism is a guarantee not only for the regime but also for democracy and public peace, and it is also a way of life,

- The concepts of the social-law state and justice, which are the structural essence of the state, cannot be abandoned; failing to investigate the non-contemporary practices that disregard the law is incompatible with the principle of superiority of law.

- In such a period that Turkey has been pursuing to be on the list of countries for full membership to the EU during 1997 as a top priority, official and civil institutions are required to contribute to this process. Therefore, it is necessary to put an end to the speculations leading to doubts about our democracy and damaging Turkey's image and reputation internationally. Fundamental principles that the Republic of Turkey is a secular, democratic state and it is respectful of human rights are guaranteed under Constitution and State. Under such circumstances, debates on the future of the regime and the regime itself do more harm to Turkey than produce benefits in this period.

- Behavior contrary to the principles laid down above are evaluated as disrupting peace and security and they would cause tension and result in certain sanctions in the society.

As a result of these views and evaluations, measures to be taken were approved and it is decided that these measures will be conveyed to the Council of Ministers. (Akpinar, 2006: 187-189).

The package of measures "proposed" by military to the government was initially covering 22 items. Upon the request of Erbakan and through mediation of Demirel it was shortened to 18 items. The package (Annex A to National Security Council's Decision No, 406, dated February 28, 1997: Necessary Measures to be taken against Anti-Regime, Reactionary Activities) was composed of following items:

1. The principle of secularism which was referred in the constitution as one of the fundamental characteristics of the Republic, and guaranteed with the Article 4 of the Constitution should be carefully preserved, with this aim current laws should be strictly enforced and new laws should be enacted if necessary.

2. Private dormitories, foundations, and schools affiliated with Sufi religious orders (tariqahs) must be put under the control of relevant state authorities and eventually transferred to the Ministry of National Education (MNE), as required by the Law on Unified Education.

3. With a view toward rendering the tender minds of young generations inclined foremost toward love of the republic, Atatürk, the homeland, and the nation, and toward the ideal and goal of raising the Turkish nation to the level of contemporary civilization, and to protect them against the influence of various quarters:

    a. An eight-year uninterrupted educational system must be implemented across the country.

    b. The necessary administrative and legal adjustments should be made so that Quran courses, which children with basic education may attend with parental consent, operate only under the responsibility and control of the MNE.

4. Our national education institutes charged with raising enlightened clergy loyal to the republican regime and Atatürk's principles and reforms must conform to the essence of the Law on Unified Education.

5. Religious facilities built in various parts of the country must not be used for political exploitation to send messages to certain circles. If there is a need for such facilities, the Presidency of the Religious Affairs should evaluate the need, and the facilities must be built in coordination with local governments and relevant institutions.

5. Activities of religious orders banned by Law no. 677, as well as all entities prohibited by said law, must be ended, erosion of the democratic, political and social-law order of the society must be prevented.

7. Media groups that oppose the TSK and its members should be brought under control. These groups try to depict the TSK as inimical to religion by exploiting the issue of personnel whose were dismissed from TSK by decisions of the Supreme Military Council due to their reactionary activities.

8. Personnel dismissed from military service because of reactionary activities, disciplinary problems, or connections with illegal organizations must not be employed by other public agencies and institutions or provided with incentives.

9. The measures taken within the framework of existing regulations to prevent infiltration into the TSK by the extremist religious sector should also be applied in other public institutions and establishments, particularly in universities and other educational institutions, at every level of the bureaucracy, and in the judicial institutions.

10. In order to protect our country from an archaic regime and potential of a civil war that can be caused by exploitation of religion, Islamic Republic of Iran's efforts to destabilize Turkey's regime should be closely watched. Policies that would prevent Iran from meddling in Turkey's internal affairs should be adopted, while necessary attention is paid to prevent any harm to be given to economic relationships and neighborhood relations.

11. Legal and administrative means must be used to prevent the very dangerous activities of the extremist religious sector that seeks to create polarization in society by instigating sectarian differences.

12. Legal and administrative proceedings against those responsible for incidents that contravene the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, the Law on Political Parties, the Turkish Penal Code, and especially the Law on Municipalities should be concluded immediately and firm measures should be taken to prevent repetition of such incidents at all levels.

13. Practices that violate the attire law and that may give Turkey an archaic image must be prevented. Provisions of relevant laws and jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court should be carefully implemented, especially at public institutions and organizations.

14. Licensing procedures for short- and long barrel weapons, which have been issued for various reasons, must be reorganized on the basis of police and gendarmerie districts. Restrictions must be introduced on this issue, and the demand for pump-action rifles, in particular, must be evaluated carefully.

15. The collection of hides of sacrificed animals by anti-regime and uncontrolled organizations and establishments for the purpose of securing financial resources should be prevented, and no collection of sacrifice hides should be allowed outside the authority recognized by law.

16. Legal proceedings against bodyguards dressed in special uniforms and those responsible for them should be concluded swiftly, and, taking into account the fact that such illegal practices might reach dangerous proportions, all private bodyguard units not envisaged by the law should be disbanded.

17. Initiatives that aim at solving the country's problems on the basis of "umma" rather than "nation" and that encourage the separatist terror organization by approaching it on the same basis should be prevented by legal and administrative means.

18. Law no. 5816, which defines crimes against the great savior Ataturk, including acts of disrespect, must be fully implemented (TBMM, 2012, V.2: 1042-1044; Günay, 2001)

The Annex of National Security Council Decision No. 406 distributed to media, despite the fact that it was not signed by Erbakan at first. A media campaign arguing that this time the MGK gave “orders” to the government, rather than “proposals” as it was the case previously. The day after the meeting Erbakan told to media that “they were working in full harmony”. The reaction came from the General Staff headquarters was very harsh, as it became

traditional for a while: “TSK can only be in harmony with those who are loyal to principles of Atatürk, who sincerely believe in these principles and those who endeavors to put into practice. TSK is not in harmony with anyone except those cited. And will never be as such.” (Aksoy, 2000: 207).

Erbakan’s passive resistance to sign this document caused armed forces to adopt a harder line. A warning came from the Secretariat General of the MGK to Erbakan, who was trying to gain time in order to find an escape. Secretariat General of the MGK was challenging the government in his statement by saying that, “in case decisions are not put into force then sanctions would be considered” (Birand, 2012: 216).

At this point it would be appropriate to touch upon a paradox of this process. Decisions of the MGK, which are “proposals” to the government could enter into force only if they were legalized in the form of a Decree of the Council of Ministers or in some cases through legislative acts of the Parliament. Thus, when these decisions were not legalized through either of these ways, no one can mention about sanctions for non obeyence to them. No one mentioned about it. Another point that was not mentioned was the crime commited by those who publicized the MGK decisions, which are classified in nature, within the same day of the adoption. According to article 10 of the Law no. 2945, publicizing the MGK decisions before they were publicized by the Council of Ministers constitutes a criminal act. (Balcı, 2000: 91-92).

Erbakan could not received necessary support he sought from other political parties in order to establish a common stance against this decision. Erbakan was forced to sign the decision on March 5th, after Tansu Çiller’s remarks to the Press that, “I told him (Erbakan) either sign or resign”. Afterwards he tried to take the decision to the Parliament and find a way to annul it over there. Yet, unexpectedly Speaker of the Parliament Mustafa Kalemli objected to this plan on the grounds that the MGK decisions were addressed to the government not to the Parliament. (Birand, 2012: 220).

President Demirel told to journalist Hasan Cemal that he took a deep breath, as he was considering himself successful in terms of preventing a military coup, during their phone conversation held on March 1st(Cemal, 2010: 245). Bayramoğlu, who was among rare intellectuals who can understand inner face of the matter, had a totally different comment on this issue. At his column published on March 3rd, Bayramoğlu wrote about the issue as follows:

> "… What is done is done. A military ultimatum has been given to the government and a coup was realized. This time TSK did not use a letter or weapons. Instead, it used media. What is lived today is nothing but an updated version of a military intervention. Despite contrary arguments, today the country is ruled at its key positions by the military authority and public opinion is being shaped by the military. However, this does not mean that, the situation cannot get worse and color of the military intervention cannot get darker." (Bayramoğlu, 2010: 114)

Despite the fact that, some of the intellectuals see Demirel and praise him as playing a key role in terms of finding an "unarmed solution to the crisis" (Heper, Güney, 2000: 649) Unfortunately, it was Bayramoğlu who was proven being right, not Demirel and those who praise him.

2.13 Western Working Group

TSK continued to insistently follow up of the implementation of the MGK Decisions and anew unit was formed within the army, called Western Working Group. The group was formed upon the proposal of Güven Erkaya. Formation of the working group was aiming, with the words of the originator as "to prepare ground for a military coup" (Tayyar, 2009: 77).

WWG had the support of all commanders. Yet the keenest supporter was Deputy Commander of General Staff, Çevik Bir. Upon instructions of Chief of General Staff, he sent an order on April 29 to the Commanders of all Forces and Gendarmerie and explained details about WWG reporting system and informed that the system would be operational starting from May 15.

Military units were instructed to prepare reports in the following topics, with a view to draw a technical portrait of reactionary movements in Turkey:

- Place and number of the religious sects and orders on the basis of provinces.
- Numbers of pro-reactionary associations, sects, orders, dervish lodges, saints' tombs, courses teaching Quran, Imam Hatip Schools and dormitories.
- Number of members of them and their activities.
- All information regarding pro-reactionary organizations.
- Number of people wearing clothes that were prohibited by law and neighborhoods where these clothes are dressed at a great scale (this information will be reported to the General Staff until May 15)
- Sermons given at the mosques would be closely followed by the provincial military personnel with a view to identify anti-secularist discourse and in case found such discourse it should be immediately reported to the General Staff in order to have legal proceedings started.
- Intelligence Unit of the General Staff would convey any information gathered through intelligence channels or from other public institutions immediately. (Tayyar, 2009: 78)

The second instruction titled 'Anti-Secularist Activities' was sent by Çevik Bir to the Commanderships about this matter on 16 April 1997. With this document all headquarters of the forces were instructed to send secret agents to the mosques in order to control contents of sermons delivered at the mosques and asked follow up of the matter at the highest level (Tayyar, 2009: 79).

The most important task carried out by the WWG which was allegedly formed to follow up the decisions of the MGK, was to keep recording task. The instructions sent by WWG, on behalf of Güven Erkaya to the relevant units, scope of keeping record task was described as follows (Tayyar, 2009: 76)

- All associations, foundations, vocational organizations, employer and employee trade unions and confederations,
- Higher education institutions (Faculties, Academies and Institutes)
- Dormitories (both public and private)
- High level administrators (all information, including political views, memories, bios of governors,

district governors, mayors, directors, head of units)
- Members of provincial assemblies,
- Members of Boards of political parties at provincial and district level,
- Local media companies (Tayyar, 2009: 76).

In order to better understand functioning of the WWG, an instruction sent from the Commandership of Land Forces to sub-units provides important clues (Tayyar, 2009: 79-80):

1. Protecting Republic of Turkey and its armed forces is the most important national duty of every Turkish citizens, including spouses and children of TSK personnel.

2. In this respect all personnel of the land forces and their families are source of intelligence.

3. Any information, documents, intelligence gathered by all personnel of land forces and their families, without commenting whether the supra-commandership is aware of that or not should submit to their respective supra-commandership through their hierarchy.

It is argued that WWG had keep record of more than 6 million people during the process (Özer, 2011: 72). The Deputy Chief of General Staff of the time, Çevik Bir, testified to the Attorney General that keeping records about religious people through intelligence networks had been legitimate "because Article 35 *[of the Internal Service Law]* gave us this duty" when he was put into trial for his major role in the February 28. (Yıldız, 2014: 391)

2.14. National Security Policy Document

The pressure coming from military, media and certain civil society associations start to bear its fruits as resignations from DYP started. Yalım Erez, Minister of Industry and Trade and Yıldırım Aktuna, Minister of Health resigned on 26 April, when there was another critical MGK meeting. Another occasion whereby reactionary movements was discussed for 8 hours and generals put forward harsh criticisms. The most important outcome of the meeting was amendment of the National Military and Strategic Concept (MASK) document. According to the amendment made over the MASK, reactionary movement was put at the same threat level with the terrorism (Akpınar, 2006: 303; Öztürk, 2006: 100-101).

This amendment can be seen as a precursor to the amendment to be made within the National Security Policy Document (MGSB) during the MGK meeting held on 31 October 1997. MGSB is publicly known as the "Red Book" and is considered as the secret constitution of the state. The first amendment made over this document after 1982 was realized during the February 28 process.

This amendment process started during the Welfare-Path coalition government. General Staff, DG Security and Ministries were asked to convey their priorities with respect to threats to national security. After the government changed and new coalition is formed, the same work continued with the participation of the all ministers of the Anasol-D government. As a result of this study some of the important amendments made over the MGSB document can be cited as follows:

- All separatist and reactionary activities are at equal level and have the top priority.
- Political Islam, continues to constitute a threat for Turkey.
- Turkish nationalism is desired to be transformed by certain groups into a racist ideology. Those called nationalist (ulkucu) mafia want to exploit it and this constitutes a threat.
- Extreme left continues to be as an element of threat. Yet, it is witnessed that there are attempts of softening.
- Close relationships with the Turkic republics should be enhanced and governments of these countries should be supported.
- Threat perception regarding relationships with Greece should be carefully monitored. Despite Turkey would not prefer, it should be kept in the mind that there is a risk of war with Greece.
- In case of a war with Greece, Syria may also declare war over Turkey.
- Previous threat assessments regarding neighboring countries should be preserved.
- Local and cultural characteristics should be supported with a view to develop them, on the condition that they should not enter into public sphere.
- Deficiencies within the state administration and justice should be immediately remedied.
- Fundamental orientation of Turkey towards west should not be amended.
- Turkey's target to become full member of the EU should be preserved. Yet, adverse attitude of certain EU Member States should not be neglected.
- (This item was not publicized due to its sensitiveness for state order)

- Economic efforts, including privatization, aiming at integration of Turkey with the world economy should continue. (Hürriyet, 4 November 1997).

The document approved by the MGK was designed in accordance with the developments lived during the Welfare-Path government. The most important aspect was that, for the first time reactionary activities were included within such a document as one of the top security concerns (Özgan, 2008: 90).

Ali Bayramoglu, looking from the point of view of national security concept, powers and authority of the MGK and functions of MGSB document and argued that "concept, council and policy" were the "ruling trio" of Turkey, taking into account that their role during the February 28 process. This was also confirmed overtly by some generals (Bayramoğlu, 2006: 91).

2.15. The Protocol on Security, Public Order and Assistance Units (EMASYA)

One of the key measures regarding full implementation of the February 28 Decisions has to do with a Protocol. One of the first accomplishments of the coalition government formed by the ANAP, the DSP and the DTP, who came to power after Welfare-Path was overthrown was the EMASYA Protocol that was signed on 7 July 1997. According to the protocol signed between the Ministry of Interior Affairs and General Staff, army would be able to intervene in activities violating public order without taking permission from the governors. In every provincial garrisons "a security center for public order" would be established. Civilian administrators were forced to work together with the military personnel. More importantly, security investigations for the personnel to be recruited by the public institutions would be carried out by the military. Representatives from the military were appointed to RTÜK, YÖK, and TRT. In other words, civilian cadres were put under control of military. From that time onwards a hunt for reactionary personnel employed in the state began (Birand, 2012: 255).

2.16. Briefings by Turkish Armed Forces on Reactionary Threat

One of the most effective instruments used by the TSK during the implementation of the February 28 decisions was briefings given on the subject of "threat of reactionary activities and methods of fighting against them". The first briefing was given to President Demirel on January 11. At first, it was claimed that the subject matter of the briefings was about, Northern Iraq, Cyprus issue or needs of TSK. Yet soon it became apparent that the briefings were focusing on reactionary activities. The second of the briefings was given to media with a limited number of participants and behind closed doors, in Izmir (Tayyar, 2009: 95). Following the April meeting of the MGK when MASK was amended, another briefing was given to media. That meeting held publicly and with a wider participation. At that meeting it was declared that reactionary activities were defined as top security threat and the first step to held briefing meetings throughout country was taken. The aim was to increase awareness of the pressure groups which were expected to increase their pressure over the government with a view to force it to opt out.

At the briefings, various groups were informed about the subjects like financial sources of the reactionary movements, courses for teaching Quran, Imam Hatip schools, connections of reactionary movements in the foreign countries. At each briefing it was recalled that, Article 35 of 'the Law on Internal Service of the Armed Forces'[6] was giving the role of protecting the secular republic to TSK. It was indicated that, General Staff had assumed a duty from the situation and TSK was ready to fight against internal and external enemies with guns if necessary (Birand, 2012: 222).

The most debated briefing was that one held on June 9-12 and given to the members of the judiciary. Although Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan announced that he would open an investigation against who joined the briefing there was a massive participation to the briefing. The minister would later on realize that, even if he instructed to open an investigation against

[6] "The duty of the military is to protect and watch over the Turkish motherland and the Turkish republic as delineated by the constitution" was incorporated into Article 34 of the Internal Service Law of the military in 1935. After the 1960 coup, this expression was added to Article 35 of the Internal Service Law. This expression has provided significant legitimization to military leaders for their coups. This article amended in 2013 to limit duty of the military to protect motherland against external threats. With this revision, the military's ability to use the pretext of internal threats to stage coups and intervene in politics was abolished. (Yıldız, 2014: 391)

participants, this investigation would be carried out by the participants themselves. He could not apply any sanctions. The scene of judiciary personnel applauding standing up and in tears at the end of the briefing, despite all of the unlawful practices mentioned during the briefing constitues one of the most memorable scenes from those days (Tayyar, 2009: 96-97).

2.17. The Closure Case against the Welfare Party

On May 21, for the first time during republican era of Turkey a closure case was initiated against a political party which was still in power. Chief Prosecutor of Yargıtay Vural Savas issued an indictment against Welfare Party claiming that it had become the "focal point" for anti-secular actions. Unlike previous cases, he announced this at a press conference organized at Yargıtay. (Akpınar, 2006: 260; Birand, 2012: 232).

Savaş, in his 18-page indictment accused RP for involving in anti-secular activities contravening Articles 68 and 69 of the constitution and asked for its permanent closure. Indictment was using speeches and statements of Erbakan and other MPs of the RP that draw reaction from the public opinion (Akpınar, 2006: 260).

Following the closure case, a disintegration process started within the Welfare-Path government. Especially resignations of the ministers from the DYP put Çiller at a difficult position. She began to voice the argument that she should assume prime ministry as a solution. “On the one hand, pressure from the military through the briefings and on the other hand pressure from his partner who was trying to benefit from this situation” (Çelik, 2003: 165) forced Erbakan to resign on June 18. Together with his petition of resignation, he submitted to the President a memorandum of understanding showing that in case the task of forming new government is given to Çiller; the RP, the BBP and the DYP would support the new government. “However, Demirel did not take this memorandum into account and gave the task of forming new government to Yılmaz, leader of the ANAP.” (Tayyar, 2009: 104-105). Thus, the first step was taken to form a new coalition government, called as Anasol-D, comprising the ANAP, the DSP and the DTP.

The Constiutional Court decided on 16 January 1998 to permanently close down the RP. With this decision, Erbakan and five other Party members, who with their words and activities caused closure of the party were banned from political activities. At those days, neither the armed forces who were enjoying their victory nor supporters of the RP who were facing such a grave illegality and pressure were in a position to estimate how important role would be played by this political movement in the post-2000 Turkey...

3. ECONOMIC DESICIONS OF THE WELFARE-PATH GOVERNMENT

During the February 28 process, in his article pubished first in Wall Street Journal and subsequently in Radikal dailies where he argued that secular businessmen were concerned to lose public tenders to Islamist business circles, Hugh Pope cited words of a bank executive that, "we are very happy with what has been done by armed forces...it is very simple: we are elites, we earn lots of money and we do not want to loose it" (cited in: Kocabaş, 1998: 224). Another example whereby coup process was described strikingly is the words of Mehmet Agar. He revelaed the ideological basis of the operations carried out at that time with his statement where he indicated that, "...Republic of Turkey is a corporation stake of whose 51% belongs to dynamic forces. No steps can be taken without their consent. At the critical periods whatever they say, it will happen" (cited in: Bayramoğlu, 2001: 270). In light of these findings, it is clear that it wil not be possible to understand real incentives behind the coup, without economic decisions of the Welfare-Path government are thoroughly analyzed.

The rise of the so called "green capital" that was tried to be almost lynched at that time was one of the fundamental reasons of the coup. As a result of efforts of the power circles located in the center to keep away the peripherial groups, a considerable amount of pressure was exerted over this newly emerging group especially through media. Several examples of headlines published in the major newspapers clearly reveals these efforts as follows:

Sabah (December 24): " Close scrutiny by MGK over Islamic Financial Institutions"

Milliyet (December 24): “Pay attention to the Islamic Capital....At MGK it is Underlined that Islamic Capital turned out to be a great force to reach aim of establishing Shari’a”
Hürriyet (December 24): “At the MGK reactionary capital report was discussed. MGK: Measures to control Reactionary Capital should be enhanced and all measures should be urgently taken”
Yeni Yüzyıl (December 25): “The Government abolishes “no-interest revenue” monopoly. The Islamic Money will be hindered.”
Cumhuriyet (December 25): “MGK struggles with reactionary activities, Islamic Finance will be hindered broadly”

The underlying reasons for this campaign was, as pointed out by Heper and Güney, the disturbance of the military by the accumulation of large amounts of funds in the hands of some Islamic holding companies. “According to the military intelligence, the funds collected from Turkish Islamic organizations based in other countries were channeled to Islamic holding companies in Turkey. The military came to the conclusion that the funds in question were being used to support the cause of political Islam.” (Heper and Güney, 2000:640)

3.1. General Economic Policies of the Welfare Party

Fundamental views of Welfare Party were laid down in the book written by Erbakan, titled, “The Just Economic Order”. In accordance with the principles laid down in the said book, “in the economic order to be established by National View Movement, there would be no interest, everyone would be able to receive benefits they deserved, there would be no unfair taxes, value of the money would be accepted as the standard for the rightful due and would not be devalued, credits would be provided to anyone who conduct a useful business.” (Erbakan, 2010: 65). Ideology of the RP which is remarkable with its emphasis over social state, in essence has no contradiction against capitalism. Yet, “it is against the support provided by the state to the entities called as ‘monopolies.’ ” (ibid: 65)
In light of these views, prior to its ascension to power, the Welfare Party’s economics-related attack on the government could be broken down along three broad fronts. Although the RP

advocated such standard Islamist economic prescriptions as prohibitions against usury and calls for greater Islamic economic cooperation, it also criticized monopolies in the Turkish economy, deficiencies related to social justice, and the elite's ostensible betrayal of economic nationalism. (Cook, 2007: 107).

Monopolies constituted another issue which were strongly criticised by the RP. It is enough to see how stronlgy they were against monopolies when we look at following words of Erbakan:

> "When we established Gümüş Engine Factory, we faced with a serisous embargo of the engine importers. When I realized that Union of Chambers (TOBB) was not protecting domestic products vis-a-vis imports, first I became Head of Department of the Industry at the TOBB. When our decisions were blocked by the Secretariat General then I became Secretary General of the TOBB. Then I was faced with the blockage from the board of directors. To avoid this blockage I became the President of the TOBB and then Prime Minister Demirel took away this power from the TOBB. Under scuh circumstances I were left no other choices but to go into politics." (cited in: Şen, 1995: 20)

According to Bugra, "the manipulation of interest conflicts between big business on the one hand and small and medium-size enterprises on the other goes quite far back in the political career of Necmeddin Erbakan." Bugra points out that, Erbakan won the Union of Chambers elections through a campaign whereby he had successfully mobilized the small and mediumsized enterprises who felt alienated by the chambers' leadership, which was traditionally controlled by big business enterprises. (Buğra, 1998: 525)

Criticizing those sources of rights, namely, power, majority, privilege and interest, as claimed by elites, the Welfare Party, presented Just Order as the recipe for curing all of these problems (Erbakan, 2010: 53).

3.2. Interest Expenditures and Pool System

Interest expenditures constitute a burden over the economy in two different ways. Firstly, as it constitutes the largest part of the budget, it hinders investments and social expenditures. Secondly, it causes a rentier economy which is probably a more important damage. In the rentier economy, actors in the market are able to gain large sums of profits through only lending to state with extremely high interest rates and without carrying out any productive activity. According to Ayyıldız, "during the 1990s big capital owners in Turkey, through their corrupt linkages with the bureaucracy were able to lend the money they borrowed from the state owned banks to the public institutions with a higher interest rate and as a result they gained enormous profits from such deals without paying any efforts." (Ayyıldız, 2011: 143). In order to fight against this unfair practice, the RP, as an economic policy decided to stop internal borrowing. Yet, Ufuk Söylemez, who was the State Minister in charge of economy, did not obey this decision and carried out domestic borrowing tenders for three times. Minister of Justice, Şevket Kazan, writes that RP threatened Söylemez that he might face a motion of censure against him. This threat, fired the igniter of the February 28 (Kazan, 2000: 14-15).

Another step taken by the RP to fight against high interes rates paid for internal borrowing was "pool system". Erbakan described this system as follows:

> "...let's say Tüpraş is selling petrochemicals and collect enormous amounts of money...On the contrary, another public institution needs money. It asks from the Treasury, which also does not have it. Then, it borrows with 140% interest rate. The public entity who posses money lent it to a bank with 70% overnight interest rate...On the other hand, public entities are obliged to borrow with high interest rates. With this new system, that unfair order would be reversed. Instead of borrowing at 140% overnight rate, state will ask the all of the banks what rate they offer and will deposit its money to the one which returns highest amount of interest. State will be the entity that lent money not that of searching for borrowing money...When you, as a bank, for example, wished to attract 300 trillion in deposits, with 90% rate, computer will check all rates offered by all banks. Then the public money in the bank accounts will be transferred from the bank that offers lower interest rates to that bank which offers most favourable interest. No need to negotiate intrerest rate. All will be done by computer automatically. In this case, all banks will try to give higher interest. State will not need to borrow, God willing. Banks will desire to obtain this money and then will need to lend it to most profitable investments and productive activities. From this point onwards there will be no more 140% interest rates paid by the treasury. That door is going

to close. Money will need to go to productive activities rather than rentiers." (cited in: Ayyıldız, 2011: 144)

From its inception there were strong criticisms against pool system not only from media but also from other sources. Even there were news that, some of publicly owned enterprises reporting to Ministers from DYP were transferring their money to other banks. In fact, according to the news published in Yeni Şafak daily that, the pool system where 1 quadrillion TL was accumulated was instrumental in crumbling of interest rates of the treasury bills. This situation that was not suiting to the purposes of the bank owners was clearly one of the reasons behind the coup.

What military won from their cooperation with the capitalists revealed after a couple of years when a number of retired generals took positions at the boards of major banks and large companies. In this respect, three examples of retired generals taking positions are noteworhty: Former Chief of General Staff General Ismail Hakkı Karadayı, became the chairman of the board at the companies of Korkmaz Yigit, who was involved in the Turkbank corruption scandal. General Teoman Koman became board member of Interbank and retired Naval Forces Commander Admiral Vural Beyazıt became Etibank board member. It is evident that none of these were by chance. Yet, it is strange that prominent generals of the February 28 coup started to work in banking sector, that requires specialization in the field.[7]

3.3. Decree on Car Imports Exempt from the Customs Duties

[7] The list of the retired generals taking positions in the boards of banks is not limited to these three. The full list as determined by a TBMM Investigation Commission covers: Ö. Feyzi AYSUN (Admiral, Bayındırbank-1991-1993); Sabri YİRMİBEŞOĞLU (General, Bayındırbank-1996); Çetin ERSARI (Vice Admiral, İnterbank-1996-1999); Teoman KOMAN (General, Interbank-1997-1999); Işık BİREN (Vice Admiral, Egebank-1989-1991); H. Vural BAYAZIT (Admiral, Etibank-1999-2000); M.Muhittin FİSUNOĞLU (General, Former Chief of General Staff, Sümerbank-1998-1999); Zahit ATAKAN (Admiral, Impexbank-1989-1991); Ekmel TOTRAKAN (Vice Admiral, Etibank-1997-till privatization); Alaettin GÜVEN (Vice Admiral, Etibank-1998-till privatization); Aydın AKSAN (General, Etibank 1994); Hüsnü ÇELENKLER (General, Halkbank-1990-1991); A. Doğan BAYAZIT (General, Kentbank-1996-1999) (TBMM, 2012, V.1: 146-147)

Another practice of the government that annoyed business circles was the Decree on car imports exempt from the customs duties. In accordance with the Decree that was adopted by the Parliament on July 31, 1996, Turkish citizens living abroad could import personal cars into Turkey exempt from the customs duties, on the condition that they deposit 50 thousands Deutsche Marks in the accounts opened in publicly owned Ziraat Bank.

Koc group and OYAK were occupying an oligopolistic position in the automotive market and soon they voiced their opposition against the exemption put into force with the said Decree. Especially, statements coming from the Koc Group that were describing this Decree as a revenge operation against domestic producers were also adopted by TÜSIAD to which he was also a member and that broadened the front against the government. The Koc Group declared that if necessary they would shut down Tofas and as a result 120 thousand people would lose their jobs (Milliyet, November 23, 1996). There were not similar objections from other automotive companies, e.g., Opel which was in the same situation with Tofas. This is a clear indication that the arguments put forward by Koc were not based on realities. Actually, the most important question to be asked on this matter should be, as also asked by Ayyıldız, " why domestic industry was not sufficiently developed to compete with imports, despite incentives they benefited for a long time?" (Ayyıldız, 2011: 147)

It became evident that over time that, all these debate that made capital owners to be supporters of coup, were in essence completely baseless. Although, the government was expecting to receive an important amount of revenue from this apllication over the summer months, President Demirel signed the Decree after delaying it for 3 months and when summer came to an end, in order to protect interests of the big capital. At the end, neither automotive industry collapsed nor employees lost their jobs. A considerable amount of revenues obtained by the government and quality it contributed to increase quality in the automotive industry with the implementation of the Decree. Yet, the price was paid by the Welfare-Path government.

3.4. Increase on the Salaries of Public Employees

The Welfare-Path era was a profitable period for employees beyond expectations. Salaries of civil servants was increased by 50% on July 1st, 1996 for six months, 30% more at the consecutive 6th month and an additional 20% on April 1st. That cumulatively meant a 56% increase in the second 6th month period (Çelik, 2004: 79).

During the Welfare-Path government for the first time, minimum wage was determined through the consent of stakeholders as both parties were satisfied with the increase in the minimum wage. The increase made was above 30% over the level of consumer prices inflation. Çelik writes that, at a time when the officially declared annual inflation rate was 75%, civil servants in pension received an increase of 110%, workers in pension received an increase of 125% and self –employed pensioners received 210% increase in their salaries. (Çelik, 2004: 78).

In addition to such increases that is well above of the real price inflation, a draft law prepared with the consensus of all stakeholders, during the Welfare-Path government regarding social security regulations, was another proof of good intentions of the government towards employees, although it could not be debated at the plenary session of the Parliament. Nevertheless, this draft law which is important for the subject matter of the present study, was not paid any attention by the trade unions of both employers and that of employees. Despite the fact that in the draft law there were considerable increases in the social and economic rigts of the employees, and real wages of both pensioners and those on work were increased, some trade unions gave priority to interests of other groups rather than that of their own members.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In order to be able to make correct assesments in the present study, that focuses on the attitude and activities of the trade unions during the February 28 period, the conceptual framework must be drawn appropriately. In this respect, in this part, the basic concepts about trade unionism, and different types and activities of trade unions based on their organizational characteristics will be defined.

1.1. Trade Union

The concept of trade unionism first emerged in the UK "as a result of the wage payment arrangements that emerged due to the industrial revolution" (Işıklı, 2003: 17). Unionism has gained strength with the increasing power of the labor movement after 19th century. Having gained strength, the movement began to involve in economic and political matters that led to an increase in the motivation of employers and states tried to keep the unions under control. Öz, states that "the economical struggle that the workers have been carrying out to gain better economic conditions for labor and to achieve better living and working conditions have reached the present day, having been transformed into the form of collective struggle" (Öz, 2010: 15).

Based on this processes, it is possible to define trade unions, which have come into existence as a result of the need for organizing and solidarity, as it is also case for all other organizations, in the most general terms, as follows: "Unions are an organizational model formed by workers with a view to claim, win, protect and further promote economical, legal and social rights of the workers and it is formed by the workers themselves." (Öz, 2010: 15).
No definitions were provided regarding the unions in the Constitution adopted in 1982. In the Article 51 of the Constitution, titled as "The Right to Form Trade Unions", it is stipulated that:

> "Employees and employers have the right to form labor unions and employers' associations and higher organizations, without prior permission, in order to safeguard and develop their economic and social rights and the interests of their members in their labor relations and to become a member in them or withdraw from membership freely o freely become members of these organizations or withdraw from their membership."

According to this provision, the right to form trade unions have gained an independent status and, it was accepted as "a social and economic right" (Tup, 2006: 5).

The legal definition for the trade unions is provided in 'the Law no.6356, on Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreements' as follows:

> "A trade union refers to the organizations having legal personality to carry out activities in a branch of activity established by the association of at least seven workers or employers in order to protect and promote their common economic and social rights and interests in labor relations". (Article 2)

1.1.1.Trade Unions According to the Principles of Organisation

Unions can be organized in various forms according to the principles on which they were established (Işıklı, 2002: 189-190).

1.1.1.1.Craftsmen Unions

Craftsmen unions are those unions which can accept only members of a certain craftsmanship. Electricians union or shoemakers union can be given as the examples for these types of unions.

1.1.1.2.Workplace and Business Trade Unions

Workplace unions are those unions that have members from different occupations who work in the same workplace. Business unions are similar in their organizations, but they are formed if the union is formed across the business level.

1.1.1.3.Sectoral Trade Unions

Sectoral unions include workers of various occupations who work in the same sector. The legislation in Turkey allows establishment of this type of organization (i.e. Harb-İş, Şeker-İş etc.). If a particular business holds the legal or de facto monopoly over a sector, the sector union may also possess the characteristics of a business union.

1.1.1.4.Trade Unions Established on a Regional Basis

Regional unions are established by workers in a particular geographical or administrative region. Sectoral or craftsman unions that include workers in a certain region (such as Akçaabat Tobacco Workers Union, which ceased its activities) can also be considered within this category. Nevertheless, these type of unions are established primarily through merger of the various sector and craftsman unions on the basis of region. In Turkey, these types of unions have a special name and this name is “association (birlik)”. Regional unions, for example Ankara Labor Union Association, were largely in place prior to 1960.

1.1.1.5.Trade Unions Established at the National Level

Confederations such as TÜRK-İŞ and HAK-İŞ that are formed through association of the various trade unions on the national level. On the other hand, it would not be wrong to include federations or central union types within this category, provided that they are formed country wide, even though they are not formed as a confederation.

The organizational form of the Unions is closely related to the historical process of the union movements in a country. However, there are certain prerequisites for unions to be established

and to carry out its activities successfully. according to Korkusuz, these prerequisites can be cited as follows: "industrialization, awareness of workers in the sense that they are aware that their interests are different from the other groups, the conflict of interests between the workers and employers getting tense, a leading cadre that would guide the workers, no legal barriers before the establishment of unions and the existence of a democracy" (Korkusuz, 2003: 11).

1.2. Activities of Trade Unions

Activities carried out by the trade unions may vary from one country to the other. The unions are influenced by impacts of the socio-cultural characteristics of the societies where they carry out their activities and also they affect the societies where they exist through a variety of activities they carry out. The point of departure for the unionist movements was making a collective struggle for betterment of the adverse working conditions but in contemporary world, they have been transformed into organizations involved in various activities that were not possible to be foreseen at the beginning. Korkusuz, stresses the fact that, "the social, cultural and political responsibilities of the unions have increased, especially following the "social welfare state" understanding gained in global prevalence" (Korkusuz: 2003: 16).

As put forward by Hyman and McCormick in their study conducted over the trade unions in Europe, unionism is no longer an apparatus just focusing on bargainings for wage increse, rather it is increasingly turning into a political actor that is influential to determine general economic policies (Hyman and McCormick, 2010: 327).

According to Korkusuz, it is imperative for unions to take following goals into consideration when carrying out their activities:

- Increasing the education and cultural awareness of workers.
- Promoting economic and health conditions of their members and their families.
- Making economic and social projections in order to develop living levels and economic conditions of the workers.
- Performing activities that will increase the education and productivity levels of the workers.

- Keeping in mind that they have responsibilities against the society, while carrying out their activities. (Korkusuz, 2003:19)

1.2.1. Professional Activities

The activities that will be cited under this title are activities that constitute raison d'etre of trade unions and those activities that must be performed due to their occupational identities. Activities that can be classified under this category covers all of the activities that are being carried out since the days of classical unionism and continued on to this day. It is also possible to describe activities classified under this category as "activities of trade unions related to working life" (Korkusuz, 2003: 20).

According to Işıklı, activities of trade unions related to working life can be summarized as follows:

- Negotiating and concluding collective bargaining contracts,
- In cases of collective labor disputes, resorting to the related authorities, arbiters, arbitration committees, industrial relations courts and other judicial organs,
- Upon written requests received from their members and heirs of the members taking legal action as well as following suits, in cases of disputes arising from industrial relations, legislation or general customs as well as their rights stemming from labor contracts or working relations or social security rights.
- Taking decisions with respect to strikes and lock-outs and managing them. (Işıklı, 2002: 225-226):

1.2.2.Social Activities

Social activities of trade unions can be cited as follows:

- Providing legal assistance to the members and their heirs in legal relations with respect to utilizing rights stemming from social security, retirement, and similar rights.
- Appointing representatives to meetings that gather pursuant to the provisions of relevant laws and international agreements.

- Organizing courses and conferences that will contribute to increase professional knowledge of workers or employers, to develop national savings, to promote investments, and to increase the real productivity; establishing health and sport facilities, where employees can spend their spare time ,
- Contributing to help setting up aid agencies that will help their members in cases of events like marriage, childbirth, illness, old age, death or unemployment. Trade unions can provide credits to such agencies up to 5% of their cash, provided that it is not in the form of donation.
- Helping for setting up cooperatives for its members and providing credits to such cooperatives with up to 10% of their cash, provided that it is not in the form of donation.
- Establishing technical or professional training facilities in order to develop occupational knowledge levels, and experience of the members and carry out activities to this end.
- Investing in industrial or commercial entities with 40% of the cash on hand.

1.2.3. Political Activities

Political activities of the trade unions can be defined as all of the activities that aim at affecting, guiding or taking over the political power. In the literature political activities of the trade unions are defined in two different ways: "in terms of broad and narrow senses" (Akgeyik, 1994: 79).

1.2.3.1. Political activities in broad sense

An union that carry out political activities in broad sense of the matter, puts emphasis over economic and social activities that would further promote interests of its members without forming organic ties with any political parties. These unions have a narrow focus that is limited with their members. They do not pay any attention to the interests of the society and they act with a pragmatist understanding that aims at maximizing benefits of their members. The characteristics of the trade unions that can be included in this category can be listed as follows:

- They try to achieve their goals through collective bargaining and professional struggle.
- Their political activities aims at realizing occupational or economic benefits.
- The interests set out as goals are limited and well defined in nature.

- They try to obtain a broader range of rights to their members through pressure they put over legislative organs.
- They do not establish relations that might undermine their independence with political parties.

On the other hand, according to Mahiroğulları, political activities of the trade unions that conduct politics in broad sense can be specified as follows:

- They carry out lobbying activities through establishing good relations with any political party that come to power with a view to promote living conditions of employees.
- They put members of unions as candidates in the lists of various political parties and try to get them elected.
- They try to influence the government and the public opinion and promote their views on specific issues through periodicals published by themselves or via journals and newspapers or other media outlets.
- They organize political awareness raising courses in order to inform their manager cadres or those members who represent the unions at various fora, about the political activities carried out within the country and policies pursued by the government.
- In elections, they call upon their members to vote in favor or against a certain political party or a particular candidate. (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 353)

1.2.3.2.Political activities in narrow sense

Political activities in narrow sense refers to the situation whereby a trade union supporting a political party in every possible way and achieving political benefits in the parliament through that party. Political demands of the trade unions that carry out political activities in narrow sense, are not limited to their members only; they aim at changing entire society. These types of unions are generally characterized as "reformist" or "doctrinaire" (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 354). The basic characteristics of unions who perform political activities in this manner are as follows:

- They use the political struggle as an instrument while trying to achieve their goals.
- They have unlimited and long term goals.
- They would like to reform the society.
- They would like to give the unionism a characteristic of a mass movement and they desire to become a political power based on this mass.

- They want their leaders to be in a consensus in terms of ideology, and they generally have enlightened leaders.
- They are in cooperation with a political party. This cooperation doesn't always have to be of a type that would undermine independence of the unions. (Akgeyik,1994: 80)

Activities of the trade unions who carry out political activities in the narrow sense can be exemplified as follows:

- They resort to mass movements like strikes to achieve their goals that are not related to economic and occupational interests.
- They organize broadly participated activities such as meetings, protests and strikes to attract attention to the problems of the country and employees. These activities generally aim at giving trade unionism the characteristic of a mass movement.
- They can support a political party explicitly and in an effective manner, including financial support.
- They can be represented in administrative organs of a political party or they can establish political parties on their own. (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 354)

2.RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS

2.1. Why Trade Unions Build Relationships with Political Parties?

Trade unions had linkages with political parties from the day they were first emerged, although scope and dimension of such linkages varied. Considering the fact that, any kind of outcome of the political process directly affect the society and the interest groups that form the unions, it is inevitable for unions to be within the political process (Han, 2013: 135). The union-politics relations emerge from the mutual necessities. In order to protect rights and benefits of the groups they are representing and promoting such interests as much as they can, the trade unions would like to form linkages, with a view to influence the decision-making process, at the very least with the party in power that regulates the industrial relations through the legislation they enact. From the point of view of political parties, which are in need of votes, as Mahiroğulları wrote, "the trade unions are valuable allies considering that they are well organized and have a broad basis" (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 354).

According to a study conducted by Özaydın and Han, motivations of trade unions established by the public employees to establish relations with the politics can be analyzed under two different categories: First group consists of motivations that arise due to mutual interactions based on rights and benefits. Considering the fact that politics is the determining factor of the administrative process that govern public employees, this relation becomes inevitable. The fact that most of the administrative acts such as recruitment of the public employees as well as their promotions, relocations and assignments are regulated by legislative regulations, adopted by political power leads trade unions established by the public employees to cooperate with the political parties to be able to exert influence over such regulations and acts of the politicians. Other motivations leading trade unions to establish such relationship can be explained with the ideological terms. Ideological beliefs and resulting political attitudes of the members of such unions are determining factor when choosing the union to join. In other words, they will prefer unions that are at the same frequency with that of their beliefs (Özaydın and Han, 2014:61).

It is known that political views of trade unions sometimes get influenced from a conflicting axis and they sometimes display an uncompromising attitude. With the emergence of anti-capitalist ideologies, a political understanding got prevalence that economic demands pursued by the trade unions were not sufficient by themselves for solving the problems of the employees, and capitalism which is the main source of those problems should be totally eliminated for a long lasting solution (Aydanoğlu, 2012: 17). Marxist ideology looks at the unions as a vanguard for the abolishment of capitalism and reconstruction of a new social order (Öz, 2010: 30). Lenin views unions as "primary schools of communism" and he suggested to communists never cut their contacts off with the unions even though they are under control of their adversaries. For this reason, in many countries communists have infiltrated and took control of the trade unions and then through their support to the political parties were able to take Marxist ideology in to power. Mahiroğulları cites France, Italy and Spain as good examples whereby such relationships has been observed (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 356).

While Marxism views the unions as tools for their political goals, other political parties who have religious or nationalistic tendencies have also tried to influence, control and establish relations with the unions with the aim of benefiting from their high electorate potential. In this respect, "either trade unions based on various ideologies were established or political parties and ideological organizations supported already existing unions with a view to manipulate them in line with their ideological goals" (Özaydın and Han, 2014: 61). "Christian unionism" that has emerged in some countries can be seen both as related to the religious tradition and also as an alternative for Marxist unionism. This understanding is based on the "Papal encyclicals" on the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church (Işıklı, 1995: 2791). These encyclicals affected not only trade unionism but also the programs of the Christian democrat parties and consequently the industrial democracy as a whole (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 356).

2.2. Patterns Explaining the Relationship between Politics and Trade Unions

Socio-political analysts Georges Cella and TizianoTreu, have placed the models of the union-politics relations under three broad categories based on their appearances throughout the world:

- Temporary relations formed by trade unions with all of the political parties in a given country, while keeping an equal distance to all of the political parties (independent model),
- Relations formed by going under full-control of a government/political party (dependent model),
- Relations formed based on close cooperation with only one of the political parties, and having no alternative in this regard (inter-dependent model). (Mahiroğulları, 2013:45)

2.2.1.Independent Model

Independent model is the model where the trade unions have total independence from the government, political parties and the capital (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 357).

Trade unions classified within this model are involved in politics in broad terms and act as a pressure group. As pluralistic democracy characteristics of the society improves, the union's chance to act as an effective pressure group increases as well. However, there are other factors that affect this influence. Factors such as the level of unionization and the alliance of unions affect the efficiency of the unions' role as pressure groups. Hence, it means that achieving communal goals is not always easy (Akgeyik, 1994: 81).

The independence of trade unions from the state means avoiding to be instruments of fundamental state policies and having the administrative autonomy in terms of being able to decide on activities they carry out and freely realize them (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 357).

Independence from the political parties doesn't mean totally severing relations between the trade unions and political parties. Temporary relations can always be formed based on programs of the political parties while keeping the organizational benefits in mind. The primary concern here should be not going under control of a political party, avoiding from establishing organic relations and paying attention to the fact that activities of the union are being determined only by the decision making bodies of the organization (Dereli,1988: 36).

Independence of the union from the capital is based on the fact that, they are not put in the position of a "yellow union" (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 357).

In this model, union activities are generally focused on collective bargaining. Political activities are considered as means for carrying out economic and social functions rather than being considered as an end. Trade unions can form indirect relations with political parties which are regarded as helping them to reach their goals. As a result, contrary to "doctrinaire" and "reformist" trade union concepts, the priority is given to bettering the living and working conditions of their members rather than to the large scale societal goals. In this context, this

type of trade unionism is called “occupational-economic” (business) unionism or “pragmatic” unionism (Millen, 1968:6, Mahiroğulları, 2004: 357).

This independent model is practiced most successfully in the USA but it is also put into practice in other countries like Turkey and Canada. The typical representatives of this model are the unions in the USA and their most significant political activity is political lobbying. Unions run special offices to propose draft pieces of legislation to be adopted in day-to-day matters to the government officials and members of the Congress. In these permanent offices economists, lawyers and specialists in various fields are employed. These activities generally prove to be effective. The trade unions also use the media outlets including newspapers, radio and television channels very effectively to influence public opinion (Akgeyik: 1994: 82).

2.2.2.Inter-dependent Model

In the interdependent model, relations are formed between unions and political parties that share the same world view and have similar goals while preserving the independence of the both organizations involved. In this model, the criteria is not whether organic relations are formed or not but, the degree of dependence or independence (Akyalçın, 2002: 18).

The union-politics relations in the inter-dependent model can be analyzed under two categories: while the first category comprises inter-dependent relationship through organic bonds; the second category covers those inter-dependent relationship which are established without formation of organic bonds.

2.2.2.1 Inter-dependent Relationship through Organic Bonds

The examples of unions that can be evaluated under this group can be generally found in the UK and Scandinavian countries. In these countries, some of the unions that have close relations with the labor, socialist or social democratic parties that have a pro-worker class

orientation were established by these parties or some of the political parties having such a character were founded by trade unions themselves (Dereli, 1988: 38).

The unions included in the first group of the interdependent model can support the parties that they have organic bonds with both financial resources and morally, they can also take managerial positions in the decision making bodies of the parties. However, when there is an organic relationship between the parties and unions, the main principle for the unions is not losing its independence and in case there is conflict between the supported party and the union, interests of the members of the union should be primarily taken into consideration. Otherwise, this relation is transformed into the dependent relations model (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 361).

This type of relation model is also called the "British Model", as the typical example for this relation model that is based on organic relations is found in the United Kingdom. British Confederation of Trade Unions TUC (Trade Union Congress) has played a primary role during the foundation of the Labor Party in 1906, which was founded to defend the interests of the workers, in the parliament. TUC has been dominant in this relationship where it supports the party also materially, and it has never became dependent to the party (Işıklı, 1995:162-163).

2.2.2.2. Interdependent Relationship without Organic Bonds

The unions that can be classified in this group support a "certain political party" which they consider as close to themselves, and aims at getting involved in politics in narrow sense, without forming organic relations and they provide their support in various forms and modalities. Unions in this group can support the political party that they see as close to themselves directly or indirectly during the elections; and they can get some unionist candidates selected through putting them in the party candidate lists. But they need to keep in mind their responsibilities towards their members and they need to protect "independency of the union" while carrying out its activities (Akyalçın, 2002: 19).

The reason behind why these unions are considered to be in the interdependent model is the fact that they are not in the same distance to every political party in a country.
The best example for this model in Europe is the German Unionism. In Turkey, HAK-İŞ and DİSK can be given as examples especially for the pre-1980 period (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 363).

2.2.3. Dependent Model

The dependent relation model which the unions form with political parties can be categorized in two different groups: "compulsory dependent model" seen in totalitarian countries and "voluntary dependent model" seen in democratic countries (Akyalçın, 2002: 17).

2.2.3.1. CompulsoryDependent Model

The political structure in the countries where the compulsory dependent model seen generally shows totalitarian characteristics. While there are civilian dictatorships based on a single party that consecrates the state in some of the countries, in some others there are military juntas and in some others, communist parties that aim to realize the socialist revolution are in power (Akyalçın, 2002: 17).

In the countries where there is no liberal democracy, the unions are organizations that have been integrated with the states. For this reason, it is compulsory for unions to form relations with the political power. Therefore, in such countries, the tasks given to the unions are limited to increasing the production, ensuring the discipline of workers and helping in the application of economic and social plans that the political power will put into force (Akgeyik, 1994: 84).
Typical examples for the compulsory dependent relations model can be seen in the former Soviet Union, Cuba and China (Mahiroğulları, 2004: 359).

2.2.3.2Voluntary Dependent Model

In the voluntary dependent relationship model between unions and political parties a union that is involved in politics in a narrow sense forms a voluntary "organic relation" with a political party that shares the same ideology or the world view with the union, without having any concern with respect to protecting the "independence of the union" (Akyalçın, 2002: 18).

An example for the arbitrary dependent model can be seen in the relation between DİSK and Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) in the pre-1980 period.

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS IN TURKEY

In Turkey, unionism was accepted as a legal activity in 1946. It is possible to evaluate the union-politics relationship during the last 70 years, in terms of three different periods: From the beginning till 1960, when the first military coup occurred. From 1960 up to 1980 when the second military coup took place and a new constitution put into force subsequently. Lastly, from 1980 up to today.

3.1. 1946- 1960 Period

Unionism in Turkey did not emerge as an outcome of the struggles of the labor movement. On the contrary, it was thought by the political authority as a complimentary institution which is necessary for the democratization process. For this reason, the unionist movement in Turkey neither had an "ideological" basis, nor did it have become a movement that display "class consciousness" (Koray, 1994:155).

With the first law on unions put into force in 1947, necessary measures were taken to make sure that unions were not used as institutions that might support or fuel class struggles. A general political ban was placed on the unions and their function was determined as serving to development of the country in cooperation with the state and the employers (Dereli, 1975: 329). Article 5 of the Law, no.5018, on Worker and Employer Unions and Union Federations, dated 20 February 1947, clearly stipulates this political ban: "Worker and employer unions

cannot involve in politics, political propaganda and political publishing activities and they cannot be used as an instruments of any political organization." Despite the political ban put in force with the said law, the first unions in Turkey were established by the Socialist Workers and Villagers Party and the Socialist Party. These political parties and unions established by these parties were shut down with the martial law dated 17 December 1947 based on concerns that they would organize with a sense of "class unionism" on (Işıklı, 1995:157-158).

However, this ban and the following developments were not dissuasive enough to keep the unions impartial and the unions were drawn apart into two poles, as supporters of the CHP or as supporters of the DP. Federation of Istanbul Workers Unions was an umbrella organization which was established in 1948 with the support of the CHP. On the other hand, the Union of Free Trade Unions were established in 1950, which had supported the DP (Işıklı, 1995: 159-161).

At this period, trade unionists tried to get political power in order to become much more influential. 'Support Committee of Turkish Worker Parliamentarians' established before 1954 elections is a concrete example of such efforts. The Committe that was aiming at supporting worker representatives who were candidates at the Parliamentary elections, with a view to get an increased amount of representation at the Parliament, has been shut down by the court (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2007:96-97).

In this period, the decisive side in the union-politics relations was the political parties and they paid utmost efforts, including financial supports, to draw the unions into their camps. In order to avoid the risk of being shut down, the unions have developed maneuvers such as giving seats to the supporters of political parties in their management, especially to the members of the party in power (Dereli, 1975: 299).

3.2.1960-1980 Period

The unionist movement in Turkey gained a new dimension with the new constitution which was put into force following the military coup of 1960 which guaranteed rights of "establishing trade unions" and "collective bargaining and strikes". The significant increase in union membership has in turn attracted attention paid to them by the political parties. However, the dominant side in this relationship has ceased to be the political parties and the unions have started to form relations with political parties pursuant to their ideological or philosophical views or with a view to further the benefits of their members.

In this period, there were two important developments that need to be considered in terms of union-politics relations: Firstly, TÜRK-İŞ adopted an understanding of being at an equal distance to all parties and included in its regulations the clause of "politics above parties". This was the first appearance of the independent relationship model in Turkey. Secondly, DİSK (the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions), was established by the working class which also involved in the establishment of the Workers Party of Turkey which led establishment of DISK. As a continuation of this movement, MİSK (Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions) was founded with the support of the MHP and HAK-İŞ was founded with the support of the MSP. As a result of all of these developments, examples for the interdependent relations have emerged.

Kenan Durukan, who used to be the General Director of Harb-İş between 1960 and 1964 and a CHP deputy between 1973 and 1980, narrates his impressions about those days as follows:

> "It was strange because all the trade unionists were far away from the class consciousness. They were only the fans of the CHP or the DP. There was not a concept as class consciousness and there was not education. There was fear of communism. In addition, there was DP adoration. In those years, most people were the DP fans. People used to cry when they heard the name, Adnan Menderes." (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2007: 110).

3.3. Post- 1980 Period

The period following 1980 military coup was a period when great losses for the unionist movement were recorded. Immediately after the coup, DİSK was shut down and all of its assets were seized. Activities of HAK-İŞ were stopped. During the interim period ruled by the military, drawing up collective labor agreements, which is in essence the most important function of the unions, was put on hold and no collective agreements were signed during the interim period. The unionist activities were seriously limited by the government established following the military coup through legislative amendments that did not take into consideration even suggestions and demands of the Minister of Social Security, who was previously the Secretary General of TÜRK-İŞ. Provisions regarding the political ban were included in the Constitution (Article. 52). In parallel to the general principles laid down in the new Constitution, Article 37 of the Law no. 2821 on Trade Unions the political ban put on the unions were cited in detail as follows:

> "Trade unions and confederations cannot pursue political goals, they cannot perform political activities, they cannot receive aid or donations from political parties, they cannot form relations with political parties, they cannot cooperate with political parties, they cannot act jointly under any circumstances, they cannot support or be supported by political parties, they cannot receive aid or donations from them and they cannot give aids or donations to them. They cannot act jointly for political goals with other unions, confederations, associations, professional organizations considered as of being public institutions and foundations. They cannot use names, signs or symbols of any political party. Occupational activities that aim at protection and promotion of economic and social rights and benefits of the members of the unions and confederations are not being considered as political activities."

Fundamental modifications in these prohibitions could only be realized in 1995 within the context of "democratization" packages. The Article 37 mentioned above, was amended and scope of prohibitions were narrowed that "trade unions and confederations shall not engage in any activity which is not in line with their objectives. They shall not use the names, signs or symbols of any political parties".

The unionist activities now include civil servants and scope of their freedom has increased with the fundamental changes made in 2004. Now it can be argued that, the union-politics relations continue in the form of independent relations model.

CHAPTER III

THE TRADE UNIONS DURING THE FEBRUARY 28 PERIOD

As pointed out by one of masterminds behind the 28 February coup, Admiral Güven Erkaya, former Commander of the Turkish Naval Forces, the coup d'état of the February 28 was done through the "unarmed forces". One of the components of the unarmed forces was a group of organizations named as "Five in One" of "Initiative of the Five" by the supporters and the 'Gang of the Five' by both themselves[8] and those criticize it. It was composed of two confederations of workers unions, namely TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK, two craftsmen and tradesmen confederations, namely TESK and TOBB, and an employer's union, TİSK. They have performed joint activities to protest against the government[9] (TBMM Report, 2012:22, 191).

In this part, firstly, individual actions and statements of the unions, which were part of the group called the 'Gang of the Five' will be analyzed. Then, collective actions, after they started acting together as the 'Gang of the Five' will be evaluated under two different categories, activities carried out during the period when the Welfare-Path government was in power and activities after the government was overthrown.

The 'Gang of the Five' had two important missions during the coup process. First of these missions has to do with, creating a pretext for the coup and second mission was related with

[8] Title of the book published by one of the prominent members of this initiative, Baydur, former President of the TİSK, was 'Bizim Çete' *[Our Gang]' (*Baydur, 2000). Throughout the present dissertation the term the 'Gang of the Five' is used to describe the initiative, considering that they were publicly known as such and they also adopted the term for themselves.

[9] In the report of the Parliamentary Commission established to investigate all military coups in Turkey, there is a highly critical stance against the inappropriate attitude of the civil society against military coups. With particular reference to the 'Gang of the five' it is stated that "...One of the civil society initiatives that came to the fore during the February 28 process 'the Initiative of the Five' or the 'Gang of the Five' as they describe themselves, displayed a good example of genetically modified civil society initiative. Given that they conceded to the militarism and took their position against the legitimate politics." (TBMM, 2012, V.1: 22)

activities to legitimize the coup. Actions for achieving the first of these missions were carried out up until the Welfare-Path government was overthrown and activities aiming at legitimization of the coup were done after the government was overthrown.

1. ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE 'GANG OF THE FIVE'

Two of the major confederations have supported the formation of the gang: TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK. Nevertheless, TÜRK-İŞ was at the forefront during the independent activities carried out to support the process. The underlying reason for this is the fact that TÜRK-İŞ is the largest confederation in Turkey in terms of number of members thus, their actions have created greater impact in the public opinion. The second reason was the fact that DİSK leaders were worried about the potential reaction that may come from their members for being on the same side with that of the employers. This in turn made DISK to act hesitantly during the individual actions phase.

In this respect, in the individual activities section of the present study, activities of TÜRK-İŞ as a representative of workers unions, and activities of TİSK, that represents the employers unions will be studied.

1.1. Activities of TÜRK-İŞ

1.1.1. Meeting of the Assembly of the Presidents on December 21, 1996

TÜRK-İŞ has taken up its position against the Welfare-Path government, very clearly and very strongly with the declaration published after the meeting of the Assembly of Presidents of the affiliated unions, on 21 December 1996.

In the declaration it was stated that:

> "Welfare-Path government, adopted a hostile attitude and behavior against the workers, against our people, against human rights, democracy, secularism, social law state which are the main characteristics

> of the Republic of Turkey, against the contemporary understanding of civilization as represented by the leader of the first successful war against imperialism, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk... TÜRK-İŞ is the primary safeguard for the unity and independence of the unitary state structure of the Republic of Turkey within the boundaries of the National Pact, for the contemporary understanding of contemporary civilization and spirit of independence as represented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and for the democratic and secular social law state based on human rights. The struggle to conserve Turkey is the struggle to further democratize Turkey at the foremost... The "Protect Turkey!" march and rally is going to be organized on January 5, 1997 in Ankara, in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly of Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, and it will be performed gloriously in a way that will be recorded gloriously in the annals of TÜRK-İŞ and the working class... These meetings and congregations will spread to the whole country, starting with İstanbul primarily... TÜRK-İŞ will keep walking on its path of a legitimate and democratic mass struggle for the working class, for our country and for the unity and independence of Turkey and if necessary, it will perform general demonstrations to this end... TÜRK-İŞ and our working class will not leave Turkey to thieves, robbers, profligates, bribe-takers, traitors, outlaws, assassins, gangs, tribes, separatists or to those who aim to take our country back into the darkness of the Middle Ages and to the arch enemies of Atatürk and the contemporary civilization... TÜRK-İŞ is protecting Turkey, and it will continue to do so". (Koç, 2002: 442-445).

1.1.2. "Protect Turkey" Rally on January 5, 1997

On January 5, 1997, a massive rally organized by TÜRK-İŞ, with the motto of "Protect Turkey, Fight for Democratization!" was performed in Ankara. The Sabah daily published news about the rally under headline of "Great Show of Strength by TÜRK-İŞ" and it was reported that 150 thousand people attended to the rally (Sabah, January 6, 1997).

In his speech, during the rally, the President of TÜRK-İŞ, Bayram Meral, emphasized on following points[10]:

> "…We are at the streets to protect Turkey and to find remedy to the woes of our people. We are here to do something to protect the democratic and secular social law state. We are here to protect the modern understanding of civilization and its representative, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. We are here to show to the gangs and tribal leaders that we are the real owners of this state... We are here, in the streets, because we

[10]Full text of the speech of Meral was translated by the author and is presented in the Appendix A

> look after Turkey, our country, our people and our state, we will continue to be here... I ask all of you again: Are you happy with the current government? Can this government solve the problems of our country? Can this government prevent robberies, corruption and bribery or can it confront with the gangs or the tribes? TÜRK-İŞ is fighting to find a solution for all of our problems, and it will keep on fighting. Without political and economic stability, these problems won't be solved. Our people desire a government that they can place their trusts on. Our people desire clean politics. TÜRK-İŞ is the pursuer of these demands... TÜRK-İŞ will continue its legitimate and democratic fight to achieve these goals. If these righteous demands are not met, these squares will be filled with thousands of workers, civil servants, retirees and unemployed for many more times. If the government turns a deaf ear to the voices of our people, more extensive and more effective actions will be carried out." (Koç, 2002: 458-463).

He was emphasizing that the current government is lacking the capacity to solve these problems and that they were seeking a new government. His threat to organize new protests against the government was an indicator that his real intention was something other than reaching a reconciliation.

1.1.3. TES-İŞ Reports the Government to the MGK

Another unionist reaction during the 28 February process is important as it is a clear indicator for the general attitude against the government. As it was published on the Yeni Yüzyıl daily on January 17, 1997, the TES-İŞ union, which is affiliated to the TÜRK-İŞ, has reported to the MGK, complaining that the government opened a tender to privatize the thermal power plants. TES-İŞ claimed that these plants have strategic value and privatization of them would create problems for the national security, especially if they were transferred to foreigners and stressed that the plants would not be able to run in case of a war and even the smallest adverse conditions in their proper functioning pose a huge threat in the functioning of hospitals, airports and factories. (Yeni Yüzyıl, January 17, 1997).

This attitude of a union attitude that took a sensitive issue pertaining to the national security to the MGK, which is just an advisory board, rather than to the government which is the executive branch of the state gives impression that the MGK was considered as a superior power over the government. That is an extremely strange status and very difficult to be

perceived in terms of functioning and established practice of the state. The main motivation behind this action was to show that the government was not protecting the national interests and try to give an impression that only institution that is sensitive over national interest in the country is the military.

1.1.4. TÜRK-İŞ Supports the "No to the Shari'a" Demonstration

On February 15, 1997, the "Women's Protest against the Shari'a" was organized by the 52 civil society organizations, on the grounds that they were on the brink of losing all of the rights acquired since the foundation of the Republic. A delegation representing organizations that organized this demonstration, led by the President of the Contemporary Lawyers' Association, Şenal Sarıhan, has visited the President of TÜRK-İŞ, Bayram Meral, in order to ask for his support. During the visit, Meral has emphasized that "Turkey is a secular, democratic and social state of law, and TÜRK-İŞ sides with this" in an attempt to show solidarity of TÜRK-İŞ (Sabah, February 13, 1997).

President of the Sağlık-İş Union and a member of the TÜRK-İŞ Assembly of the Presidents, Mustafa Başoğlu has strongly opposed the support of TÜRK-İŞ to the "Women's Protest against the Shari'a". Başoğlu stressed that this issue had not been discussed at the TÜRK-İŞ Assembly of the Presidents and stated that these kinds of non-sense steps could cause divisions within the confederation. Some other presidents of the unions affiliated to TÜRK-İŞ has also criticized support of TÜRK-İŞ to the disruptive and agitating activities, especially during a period when meetings for the collective labor agreements had commenced. These critics defended that every individual had the right to choose his/her way of live depending on their faith and stated that TÜRK-İŞ support to this protest was in sharp contrast with its principle of being democratic (Zaman, February 15, 1997).

After the said demonstration was realized, the TÜRK-İŞ member workers in Malatya stated that they will be quitting their unions if Bayram Meral keeps on making statements against Islam due to his fear of the shari'a (Akit, February 21, 1997). This reaction shows that the

attitude and the statements of Bayram Meral were not reflecting those of the people that he was representing.

1.1.5. Joint Declaration of Turkish Metal and Turkish Employers' Association of Metal Industries (MESS)

Turkish Metal, the largest workers union in the metal industry and affiliated to TÜRK-İŞ and Employers Union MESS (Metal Industrialists Union) made a joint declaration, which could be considered as a memorandum against the government, on February 21, 1997. The full text of the joint statement made by Turk Metal and MESS, which condemns the attacks against secularism, is as follows:

- The government must stop its works on unnecessary matters and must seriously involve in structural reforms.

- The people expect high quality in the politics, and success and modernism in the acts of the government.

- The government must realize restructuring in line with the requirements brought on by the information age.

- Implementations such as turban, hajj by land, hides of sacrificed animal, mosques in Çankaya and Taksim, glorification of and cooperation with the religious cults, longing for a regime resembling that of Iran, transforming the secular law into a religious law and limiting the woman's rights are definitely not the desires and expectations of Turkish people.

- We expect from the government high quality politics at globally recognized standards, not small town politics. We condemn any thought, movement or political organization that fills agenda of the country with outdated topics. We call for politicians to be responsible.

- We inform that both two of the unions are very sensitive and very disturbed about the attempts against our republic, whether these attempts are loud or silent, open or covert.

- Any group or individual that attempt to misguide our Turkey from the path of Atatürk will be faced with a number of democratic organizations, our unions being at the forefront (Sabah, February 21, 1997).

1.1.6. Meeting of the Assembly of the Presidents on March 10 and division within TÜRK-İŞ

Meeting of the TÜRK-İŞ Assembly of the Presidents held on March 10, 1997 lasted for 8.5 hours and especially during the closed session where the press wasn't allowed to follow, a very hot debate regarding a potential coup took place. A statement proposed by the President of TÜRK-İŞ, Bayram Meral, that "the MGK will be supported" to be included in the final declaration has increased the tension at the meeting. During the meeting, Mustafa Başoğlu, the President of Sağlık-İş, who very strongly criticized the support for MGK, and Nazım Türe, the President of Dok Gemi-İş Union refused to sign the declaration (Gündüz, March 12, 1997).

Upon the reactions of affiliated unions to TÜRK-İŞ, at that time when there was a hot debate about possibility of a military coup, it was expected from TÜRK-İŞ, which was criticized for preparing grounds for a coup due to its policies, to give a clear message that it was against a coup. On the contrary to the general expectations, in the declaration of the Assembly of the Presidents a statement that "we are against the discussions of a coup" was included. In the declaration, it was asked that, the MGK decisions against reactionary activities to be put into force and it was stressed that to achieve this aim, cooperation with every organization would be sought. While in the TÜRK-İŞ declaration there was not any statements contrary to a coup, it was stated that they were "against any discussions regarding coup that aims at wearing out TSK" (Zaman, March 12, 1997).

Board of Directors of the Turkish Dok Gemi-İş Union explained with a statement why they did not sign the declaration of the Assembly of Presidents: "Our democratic and solemn attitude, aims at preserving dignity and respectability of TÜRK-İŞ. The primary agenda item of TÜRK-İŞ should be carrying out necessary work towards concluding the collective labor agreements that is expected by 600 thousand public workers, who are groaning bitterly under the pressure of today's inflationary conditions... It is impossible for an organization like TÜRK-İŞ, existence of which depends on democracy to show tolerance to any actions that would damage the parliamentary regime, justified on the grounds of constitution adopted

following a military coup, which has been criticized at the every meeting of TÜRK-İŞ for the last 17 years. For this reason, Turkish Dok Gemi-İş Union rejected to sign the declaration which involved topics that were not discussed during the meeting and presented for signature as a fait accompli" (National, March 14, 1997).

The statement made by DİSK showing its support to the decisions of the MGK also caused a hot debate within DİSK. During the special session of extraordinary meeting of the Council of Presidents of the affiliated unions to DİSK, this statement was heavily criticized. Some of the affiliated unions accused the confederation of changing its orientation towards the right which is not acceptable. Some of the affiliated unions stated their concerns about how DİSK's current behavior was shifting DİSK towards being on the same side with rightists and reactionaryists (Demokrasi, March 13, 1997).

1.2. Activities of the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK)

1.2.1.First Encounter with the Welfare Party

After the elections of 1995, the leader of RP, Necmettin Erbakan, accompanied by Necati Çelik and Ertan Yülek paid a visit to TISK to meet President Refik Baydur, In his own words, Baydur gave orders to his staff "to sit Necmettin Erbakan under the biggest Atatürk Portrait in the meeting room and to record the conversation" (Baydur, 2000: 20) This visit happened in a period when Baydur, one of the important actors in this period, voicing statements like "Welfare Party must be included in the government" and his attitude during the visit was a good indication about degree of his sincerity.

At that meeting, Baydur stated that as TISK they were at the same distance to all of the political parties and added that any party that upholds the values of democracy, secularism, parliamentary regime and principles of Atatürk's are valuable to them and also added that they will support RP being part of the coalition government on the condition that they shared these values. The positive atmosphere created by this conversation held in a "sincere" setting, where

Erbakan said that they were in full agreement with these thoughts (Baydur, 2000: 21) would not last very long.

1.2.2.First Criticisms against the Government

The President of TİSK, Refik Baydur, had stated that RP must be included in the coalition government after the 1995 elections since they received the largest amount of votes. He defended this idea for a while after Welfare-Path was founded. His attitude changed following a meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister, Tansu Çiller, held after a dinner organized by TOBB on February 4 at Hilton Hotel. The meeting which was attended by the Presidents of TOBB, HAK-İŞ, TİSK and TÜRK-İŞ and some prominent figures from DYP would be described as an "artificial attempt", and he criticized the government for the first time in the subsequent morning at a press conference. He stated that "no political party has the right to divide the people by using religion as a tool in politics". Upon a question asked by a journalist whether he regretted his previous position of supporting RP taking part in the government, he replied that "I do not regret it, Turkey needed an experiment like that. It was natural for a legitimate party with the largest amount of votes to take part in the government. The army must not be provoked and their attitude to stay within their barracks must be supported. The Prime Minister must keep his promises he gave us during the meeting at our Confederation" (Baydur, 2000: 27-28).

1.2.3.TİSK Reports the Government to the President of the Republic

Ever since the Mother-Path government period, there was some tension between the media bosses and the leader of DYP, Tansu Çiller, due to alleged corruption news. Due to this tension, Çiller was putting forward criticisms against media at every possible occasion.

In January 1997, President of TİSK, Refik Baydur accompanied by the members of the board paid a visit to the President Demirel. The agenda of this meeting was not composed of economic matters as expected, instead only current political problems were discussed. Among

the items discussed during the visit, there were conflictual relations between political parties and "the government's attack against the capital". Baydur indicated that, on the matter of government's attitude against the capital, Demirel was not considering an intentional attitude by the government against capital, and he was assessing it only a slip of tongue. However, at a subsequent press conference, he was distorting these words and was saying that the President was also concerned about the developments taking place at that time (Baydur, 2000: 25).

1.2.4. Extraordinary General Assembly of TİSK

Extraordinary general assembly meeting of TİSK was held on 22 February 1997. Baydur's speech made at the meeting was very important in terms of developments during the process. In his speech, Baydur stated that they will not allow those who do propaganda on Kurdism or who long for an Iranian type regime. He stressed that as confederation, they had used the method of reconciliation for the last 34 years to resolve conflicts and they were committed to keep using this method on both interior and exterior matters. Baydur writes that, this speech was a first step to convince firstly the confederation with respect to forthcoming reconciliation with the workers organizations and the support provided to him by the general assembly was actually a support given to the formation of the 'Gang of the Five' (Baydur, 2000: 29-30).

2. ACTIVITIES OF THE 'GANG OF THE FIVE'

2.1. Activities during the Welfare-Path Period

2.1.1. Mobilization of Non-Governmental Organizations

MPs from both DSP and CHP played an important role in terms of the mobilization of non-governmental organizations. Participating in the meetings of the non-governmental organizations, prominent social democrat figures, such as BülentTanla and HilmiDeveli and other MPs have suggested to "take action" to the leaders of these organizations and this has served as a catalyst for the start of an organized opposition. For the first time in the history of the Republic, a number of different unions had gathered on the same side, not to protect or

promote their own interests, rather for a political goal. Thus, first organized political opposition movement composed of civil society has been formed in this way (Akpınar, 2006: 198).

The first step taken by the organized opposition was to meet with the leaders of DSP and CHP on January 31, 1997. A delegation made up of presidents of various organizations including BayramMeral, (TÜRK-İŞ), RıdvanBudak (DİSK), DervişGünday (TESK), SuphiGürsoytrak (Atatürkist Thought Association), Mehmet Domaç (Turkish Pharmacists' Association) and FüsunSayek (Turkish Medical Association) met the leaders of DSP and CHP, BülentEcevit and Deniz Baykal respectively.

In his article titled "Unarmed Forces" dated February 1, columnist GüngörMengi praised this with a great enthusiasm with the following words:

> "9 mass organizations have taken the first steps to protect democracy...
> "... The state cannot protect itself. While the hope and trust of the public is fading, Turkey's future is swollen and its international reputation is degrading.
> These days are no longer about hunting votes.
> Yesterday, Ankara was the stage for a promising event in this regard. 9 largest mass organizations took steps towards protecting democracy.
>
> Representatives of some organizations that include TESK, TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and Union of Bar Associations have met the leaders of DSP and CHP to voice their common requests.
>
> The same meeting will be realized with the leaders of ANAP and DYP within the forthcoming week." (Sabah, February 1, 1997).

2.1.2. Call to the Public Opinion

The Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK have published a declaration entitled "Call to the Public" on 5 February 1997[11]. In the declaration especially planned activities that would be taken in the forthcoming period were mentioned as follows:

> "Today, there are large scale attacks against the unity, independence and basic characteristics, which are democratic, secular and social state of law of the Republic of Turkey. These attacks also extend to our great savior Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, both to his person and the ideas he represents: the concept of modernization and the process of enlightenment. Due to terror and the increasing amount of unemployment and the increased cost of living, our people are being dominated by hopelessness and pessimism. This pessimism is getting worse due various entities, like drug related gangs and organizations founded upon the exploitation of the religious feelings of the people that are trying to take over the State of the Republic of Turkey, which was founded as a result of the first successful anti-imperialist national war of independence. The problems of our country, our people and our state are getting worse day by day and no steps are being taken with respect to further develop democratization process. Moreover, attitudes and behaviors that damage international reputation of Turkey's are increasing. While in power for the last 7 months, the Welfare-Path government, has not taken any steps to solve any of these problems. On the contrary, it created new problems; and with the concern of securing a political future, it undertook actions that have damaged our country, our people and our state.
>
> The arena where a solution for the problems of Turkey would be found is the parliament. We invite the political parties and MPs, democratic mass organizations and our fellow countrymen to protect our people, our state and Turkey. The greatest responsibility, in this respect falls over the valuable leaders of the political parties. In case, egoistic narrow minded calculations of self-interest and political gains put the today and future of our country in danger, with our unions being at the forefront, every democratic mass organization and every politician that has a sense of responsibility towards the people will break its silence and will fulfill whatever is necessary to meet their responsibilities. (Koç, 2002:468)

The news titled "Civilians have met with the Generals in ATO: Military Expects A Coup From The Civilians" dated 6 February 1997 published in the Hürriyet daily is good

[11]Full text of the Call to the Public Opinion is translated by the Author into English and is presented in Annex B

explanation of how the civilian groups which had never acted in unity previously has come together to fulfill a common goal:

> Turkish Armed Forces informed non-governmental organizations about its extreme discomfort with the actions of Welfare-Path government and gave the message of "fulfill your duty for ending this situation".
>
> It is argued that, the military will continue to organize secret meetings to mobilize the non-governmental organizations and it was also learned that TSK will declare its views on several different platforms.
>
> In the previous week, a very secret meeting was held in the office of AhmetÇavuşoğlu, the Chairman of the Ankara Chamber of Commerce and as representatives of TSK and the MGK, one lieutenant general and two major generals attended the meeting, where President of TÜRK-İŞ Bayram Meral, and President of Türk Metal, Mustafa Özbek, a representative of the business world and representatives of the Atatürkist Thought Association from Hacettepe and Istanbul universities have listened to the concerns of the generals." (Hürriyet, February 6, 1997).

2.1.3.SolidarityDecision of the 'Gang of the Five'

On 25 February 1997, the presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK declared that they will go beyond issuing joint declarations for the public opinion one step further, and stated that they will be acting in solidarity from that point onwards. Statements of all of the presidents during the meeting were quite noteworthy.

President of DİSK, Rıdvan Budak indicated that "we do not want to be stuck between the shari'a and a coup. Any businessmen who doesn't desire ruled by the shari'a should pull themselves together. Central right and left parties should combine their forces" (Milliyet, February 27, 1997). With these words he was warning other political or civil forces to move towards the same goal. Statement made by the presidents of the two other unions included "we will write letters and publish bulletins. We will start protesting. We can start a march from all of the provinces towards Ankara. We will discuss this" (Milliyet, February 27, 1997). With these words he was giving some clues about the road map for planned moves.

Statement of Derviş Günday that, “We put our necks for the sake of regime. Yesterday, a place next to the place where Atatürk held the Erzurum Congress was decorated with posters of Khomeini. This situation occurred very blatantly. Welfare Party cannot control its fanatical supporters anymore. The situation is about to blow up” (Milliyet, February 26, 1997) was a clear indication showing that this solidarity was formed due to ideological reasons, and had nothing to do with the defending or promoting interests of the groups that they are representing.

2.1.4. Visit of Trade Unions to the President of the Republic

Presidents of the unions met with the President Demirel in the Presidential Palace in this period. In this meeting, which took place behind closed doors, the President voiced the unrest of the military clearly. Demirel listened to the discomforts of the unionists and suggested them to be careful and prudent in these difficult days (Akpınar, 2006: 198).

The details about the meeting in question were made public in 2007 by union leaders who talked to the press on the subject. Rıdvan Budak, who was the President of DİSK at that period, stated that the mastermind behind the ‘Gang of the Five’ was in fact, the President Suleyman Demirel. Budak stated that Demirel summoned them and asked for their assistance. He stated that Demirel told them that “We do not need to use force of the bayonets every time my brothers. Democracy solves its own problems. Help me and let’s prevent a possible military intervention. Would democracy function if the soldiers put on their bayonets every time there are problems in the politics?” (Zaman, February 27, 2007).

There was an important media attention and lots of news were published about the activities of the ‘Gang of the Five’, components of which had never cooperated on any subject ever before. According to a news published in Gündüz daily on 27 February 1997, it was argued that presidents of TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK and TESK had formed this unity for a “secular and democratic republic” and they have formed it upon the suggestion from “a” high level commander in the military. It was put forward that presidents of these organizations, namely

Bayram Meral, Rıdvan Budak and Derviş Günday, who came together upon invitation of "a" general after famous parade of tanks performed in Sincan were assigned task of establishing contacts and making statements in order to exert pressure over the coalition government. It was claimed that efforts by military to form a climate whereby non-governmental organizations were exerting pressure was aimed to give the generals necessary tools to be able to say to the government by saying "if you can't see the tanks, then look at the reaction of the civil society" (Gündüz, February 27, 1997).

2.1.5. Reactions from the pro-Democracy Unions

The "pro-coup campaign" commenced jointly by the presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK has caused an anxiety over workers or employers organizations that are not part of this campaign and they put forward their reaction to this initiative. Three of such reactions are remarkable and worth briefly mentioning in this section.

The President of HAK-İŞ, Salim Uslu, showed his reaction to the attempts made by union leaders to form a consensus on a government model that did not include RP by meeting with the President, politicians and other non-governmental organizations via a statement he published. He blamed TÜRK-İŞ for playing a double game and added that "President of TÜRK-İŞ takes the righteous reactions of workers (on a different matter) from a rally conducted in Trace region, puts it in an envelope and knocks on the government's door and present it as if it was an "ideological reaction". This is extremely unsound. The unions must show their reactions to any interim regime rumors that are circling around, more so than anyone else. If the reaction shown to the rumors of a coup are lesser than the reaction shown to the political power, then this alliance and its goals do not make any contribution to the process of democratization in Turkey. "For us, to be in this kind of alliance is totally out of consideration." (Yeni Şafak, February 27, 1997; Akit, February 28, 1997).

President of Turkish Kamu-Sen, Resul Akay stated that, "Representatives of workers and craftsmen must deal with the problems of their members first and foremost. The fact that they

have never put forward their demands to the President and to the TBMM to inform them about problems faced by their members seems having a particular meaning. Presidents of the unions have responsibilities against their members. They must think about them thoroughly. One day their members can ask them "what are you doing when we have huge problems?" (Yeni Şafak, February 28, 1997).

President of Turk Sağlık-İş Union, Mustafa Başoğlucriticizied the initiatives of the 'Gang' with following words in an interview conducted with him by Yeni Şafak daily:

> "It is natural for unions to be against activities of the governments, but for the unions to involve in discussions on artificial matters is contrary to democracy. The group made up of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK desire to end the government led by RP. It is presented in such a way that as if the current government quits, the regime will be saved. Changing the regime is within the purview of the national assembly. In extraordinary situations, the people can change the regime. However, topics that are discussed, like a mosque in Taksim, hides of the sacrificed animals, hajj by land are topics that have been on the agenda for quite a long time. Moreover, discussions ongoing over these topics are not enough to change the regime. On the other hand, we will not support activities of alliance formed by TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK on the pretext of a possible regime change" (Yeni Şafak, February 28, 1998).

2.1.6.Trade Unions Support the Decisions of the Febuary 28

The leaders of the Unions that form the 'Gang of the Five' welcomed the decisions adopted by the February 28 MGK meeting.

President of TESK, Derviş Günday was blaming the RP having a secret agenda and voicing his support to the MGK decisions with the following words:

> "The whole world admires Atatürk, but these people curse his name. We support the warnings of the MGK wholeheartedly. All of our members support these decisions. Everyone is excited about them. They take Iran as an example, but this country is sided with the secular and modern democracy and the principles of Atatürk will last forever... RP acts in accordance with some secret plans, as they are

forming organizations like MUSIAD or MÜSDER to divide our members. They are deliberately trying to destroy the secular, democratic and modern and law based Turkey to replace it with an Iranian regime. We, as TESK, are against bigotry and the reactionary movements and we are expecting a solution to this from the national assembly." (Hürriyet, March 5, 1997).

President of TÜRK-İŞ Bayram Meral was considering the decisions of the MGK and was in the opinion that they achieved for the first time as labor unions to come together for finding solutions to a serious national problem.

"The reactionary movement is not new issue. In a year, 1500 new mosques and countless religious imam hatip schools are being opened. Rightist organizations, cults, foundations and external enemies provide them resources... We pay for 65 thousand mosques and 85 thousand imams. The decisions of the MGK are positive. Erbakan has lost his persuasiveness. He should not attend 9 hour long meetings and then squirm to keep his supporters firm. In the past, I used to get angry at Abdullah Baştürk and HalilTunç, presidents of TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK, during the pre-12 September period, saying "why don't they get together to find solutions to problems of the country". If they managed to get together, may be September 12 military coup would not have taken place. Thus, we decided to cooperate for this very reason. ... We informed the leaders that the country is not getting better, and the regime is in danger, the secular and modern democratic regime is under threat and that there are serious efforts being made to eliminate the principles of Atatürk. We warned the leaders before the MGK meeting. The MGK fulfilled its duty, and now, it is the turn of the parliament." (Hürriyet, March 5, 1997)

President of DISK, Rıdvan Budak declared his full support to the decisions and called civilians to take the matter to its logical conclusions:

The decision of the MGK does not ban İslam. It doesn't say hajj is banned, do not perform prayers, do not give zakat or do not believe. On the contrary, it says; do not exploit beliefs of people. The MGK went on the threats against the regime. We fully support and are in total agreement with this decision. However, from now on it is up to the civilians to fulfill their duties. The Armed Forces have performed their duty. It is the turn of the civilians". (Hürriyet, March 5, 1997)

2.1.7.Clear Promise by a Trade Unionist to Support a Military Coup

General Secretary of Education of TÜRK-İŞ and President of Genel Maden İş Union, Şemsi Denizer, used the term "coup" for the first time during a press conference he hold on March 2, 1997. His statements that, "…the regime is under a threat. But we are guarantor of regime. It should be kept in mind that the Turkish Armed Forces and non-governmental organizations are in cooperation. If a coup is needed, armed forces will step in, and we will support them. No one can compromise the principles and revolutions of Atatürk" (Hürriyet, March 3, 1997) has created great controversy and discussed extensively. Despite all of the controversy created by his words, he refused to step back. The uncompromising attitude of Denizer was very important in terms of showing expectations of the unions at that time.

2.1.8.ALetter from the 'Gang of the Five' to the Members of the Parliament

The presidents of the unions sent a letter[12] to all MPs in the parliament, without regard to their parties, on March 6, and asked them to keep their vows to be loyal to secularism and to the republic. The main message given in the letter is as follows:

> "We speak in the name of the people who elected you, who are wholeheartedly loyal to democracy, who will not give any compromises on the democracy, secularism and social state of law principles and the people who work and produce for the Turkish Republic, which was established by great Atatürk. We came together for the first time in the history of the Republic for this very purpose. Our expectation from you is for you to shed this attitude that has drawn this country to this situation due to pressures exerted by leadership and party discipline, with the decisions, made by a narrow circle that is against the expectations of the people and interests of the country, and get together without paying regards to the party boundaries and cooperate on the life and death matters for our nation and our country.
>
> You may have reasons that you cannot justify even to yourself and cannot tell even to your family. Despite all of these, considering dire situation in our country, we believe that you need to take decisions freely just listening to your conscience. Today is a day when to be MP free from all bonds. We

[12]Full text of the Letter was translated by the author and is presented in the Appendix C

wholeheartedly believe that you will do whatever is needed for Republic of Turkey and our beautiful homeland and you will be loyal to the vows you made in TBMM." (Koç, 2002: 469-470)

2.1.9.Ultimatum by the Trade Unions to the Government

Presidents of TESK, TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK has issued a joint declaration[13] on March 14, to express their word: "this is our country". The three organizations had formed a secretariat and they announced that they will be following up gangs and reactionaryists and if necessary they would act together.

In the press conference organized at the Sheraton Hotel in Ankara, TÜRK-İŞ President, Bayram Meral, said that they desire to end the pessimism in this country and also explained their goals as "protecting the secular and social state of law characteristics of Turkey, which is the only democratic country in the region." President of the DİSK, Rıdvan Budak said "you can protect secularism not with weapons, but with democracy" (Yeni Yüzyıl, March 15, 1997).

Main points included in the declaration were as follows:

- The necessary democratization steps must be taken to make sure that Turkey becomes a secular, social and transparent state of law. Secularism must be protected and violation of the laws of the revolution must be prevented.
- Any organization that involved in racists thoughts, exploitation of religious beliefs and drug and weapons smuggling that are trying to take over the state must be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the relevant laws. Unsolved murders must be solved.
- In foreign policy, independent path laid out by Atatürk, which puts our national interests above everything else, must be preserved diligently, and a dignified and honorable policy that is in line with the understanding of "peace at home, peace in the world" must be followed.
- The public agenda must not be dominated by controversies that aim to divide Turkey and even threaten to cause a fight between siblings and to destroy the gains achieved by the Republic in the past 74 years with a single stroke. The stability must be achieved through democratic methods.

[13]Full text of the Declaration was translated by the author and is presented in the Appendix D

- The immunity of the MPs must be limited to their legislative duties; the independence of the judiciary and supremacy of the law must be ensured. Attempts to limit the freedom of the press must be ended. Law on political parties must be reconsidered with the aim to improve the democracy within the parties.
- Measures aiming at decreasing unemployment, price inflation and unfair distribution of income must be taken.
- We are against privatizations that would endanger the country's economy and national defense. No privatization that would benefit the people or the country must be made.
- Political recruitment based on the exploitation of faith and religion in workplaces must be stopped.
- Turkey must become a country where producers and workers are respected.
- Education must be provided free and it must be based on an understanding that takes the common values of the modern civilization as its basis. Social security systems for self-employed (Bağ-Kur) and workers (SSK) must be strengthened.
- Informal economy must be put under control and be reformed.
- Masses of educated unemployed people must be given a chance for employment; the plots of hostile headquarters that aim to plant the seeds of division between the young populations must be invalidated.
- Antiquated understandings that aim to imprison women to their homes and degrade them into the secondary class of citizens must be fought.
- Problems of the disabled, elderly, retired, widowed and orphaned must be solved.
- The state must support small scale craftsmen and artisans, and it must take measures against the growing problems of this industry.
- The workers must be paid enough salaries to ensure them to live properly and improve their standards of living. (Koç, 2002: 483-488).

2.1.10.Statements of the President of Türk Metal-İş

Mustafa Özbek, who was the President of Türk Metal İş, met with General Çevik Bir on May 9, 1997 to give a donation check to the Mehmetçik Foundation. During the meeting, Özbek made a statement to the press and accused the politicians of being "cowardly and clumsy". On the top of that, he added "we have a struggle against those who would separate the people from the military. The hope of the 70 million people of Turkey is first Allah and then the army. I say this clearly and strongly, we trust in our army, our military and our people... We are ashamed of these politicians..." (Sabah, May 10, 1997). With these words Özbek, who was

put on trial within the scope of the Ergenekon Case after almost a decade, did not hesitate to promote openly a coup without any reservations.

2.1.11.A Call from TISK to Employees and Employers for a Joint Declaration

On May 15, President of the Confederation of Employers' Unions of Turkey (TİSK), Refik Baydur made a statement stating that the Turkish business world preferred to exist under a secular and democratic regime. His message calling for unification, made by a representative of an important part of the civil society, was very meaningful, especially given the conditions of that period. The main points put forward in his statement can be summarized as follows:

- Even if the Welfare-Path government is dissolved under these negative conditions, Turkish private sector will be shaken at the worst, but it will not be destroyed. It will sap the courage for investment.
- Turkish business community insists on a democratic and parliamentary regime. We are able to make gains under any condition. But the salvation of the country is above all else.
- We must stop making individual declarations as workers and employers organizations, business associations and non-governmental organizations. We must voice our reaction towards the government altogether. I call for publishing of a joint declaration which will be much more effective.
- As TİSK, we do not agree with the statement that "in Turkey there are not any more realistic politicians". We believe that there is a silent majority with sufficient numbers in the national assembly and we ask them to take action.
- One of the greatest warranties for the secular regime of the Turkish Republic is esteemed President Süleyman Demirel. The President has created a new forum with his trust in democracy. We must support his good intentions.
- The decisions of the MGK have articulated the feelings of the Turkish people. We expect a hasty application of these decisions. (Hürriyet, May 16, 1997).

2.1.12.Memorandum for Common Action by the 'Gang of the Five'

The Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK, TOBB and TİSK has met on May 21, and issued a joint press release[14] after the meeting. In the press release, they emphasized specifically that the regime is in danger and underlined that the people doesn't trust the current government anymore. They reminded that Turkey is not unattended and they invited the patriotic people of the country to protect Turkey and democracy (Koç, 2002:492-494).

The joint actions announced with the declaration would start with temporary strikes and reading of the declaration during the strikes. Simultaneously, representatives of the five organizations would visit the President of Republic to submit information him about the declaration. If political instability problem is not solved within the given time, five thousand members of the non-governmental organizations would visit the Turkish Parliamentary Speaker, Mustafa Kalemli to ask him to complete legalization of the draft laws waiting in the Parliament. If no results are achieved by this, a protest involving an hour of turning off the switch would be conducted and a rally would be organized afterwards (Baydur, 2000: 77).

On 6 June 1997, the first stage of the joint action plan prepared by TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK, TOBB and TİSK to achieve the goal of "Overthrowing Welfare-Path and protecting secular democratic order" was realized. Between 11:00 and 13:00, stopping work protest was realized (Hürriyet and Sabah, June 7, 1997) and it was planned that during this time, the following declaration would be read at the work places:

> "Today, the Turkish Republic, founded upon great heroism and sacrifice of our ancestors, is under a great danger. Atatürk's principles and revolutions and the democratic and social state of law, which are the foundation stones of the Republic, are under the greatest attack of our history. They desire to destroy the acquisitions of our Republic; to darken the bright future of our country; to bring Turkey back to the dark days of the middle ages where democracy and human rights were destroyed by fundamentalism. The constitution and laws are being violated systematically; a subversive path is being taken to erode our state; and no words are being voiced about the attitudes and behaviors that damage international

[14]Full text of the press release issued on May 21, was translated by the author and is presented in the Appendix E

reputation and honor of our Republic. They desire to wave the green flag of reactionaryism instead of the crest and moon flag that represents the unity and integrity of the Turkish nation and they maintain an attitude that encourages those who would disrespect our flag. Some traitors exploit our sacred religion and they try to replace the ummah order in place of Turkish nation based on Atatürk's contemporary understanding of nationalism. Due to the government's unreliable attitude and behavior, investments has almost stopped; the unemployment and inflation is ever increasing; various social problems are arising and those already exist get heavier due to increased migration caused by erroneous agriculture and animal breeding policies.

TÜRK-İŞ, TESK, TİSK, TOBB and DİSK that represent a great deal of the Turkish population, have put aside all of differences among themselves in order to join forces in full unity and integrity against these great dangers that the Republic is facing today, with a view to protect Turkey and acquisitions of the Republic. Our alliance is supported all over the country and from all walks of life by hundreds of democratic mass organizations and millions of our fellow countrymen. Our unity is the voice of the bright future of our Republic of Turkey. The real proprietors of Turkey are ourselves and the people that represented by us and our people. With this understanding, as TÜRK-İŞ, TESK, DİSK, TOBB and TİSK, so far we have protected this country and we are continuing to do so.

In the past, we have warned the political parties in power to solve the problems of the country either one by one or jointly and we fought a legitimate and democratic struggle to ensure the promises given to our people are being kept properly. As it was case in the past, today our goal is not to create problems, but to solve these problems under a parliamentary and democratic order.

Our goals, as stated by the relevant articles of our Constitution, are:

- To protect the indivisible integrity of our country with its state and its people,
- To protect the Republic founded upon respect to the human rights, Atatürk's understanding of nationalism, and being a secular and social state of law; to protect our crest and start flag and the idea of "sovereignty rests unconditionally with the nation"; and to protect 74 years of acquisitions of the republic,
- To prevent any attempt that would base the "social, economic, political or judicial systems of our state on religious rules, even if partly" or exploitation attempts based on using our sacred religion or people's religious feelings to gain personal or political influence, while defending the freedom of religion and conscience to the very end,
- To defend the integrity and independence of our Republic against its greatest enemy today, reactionaryism and separatism, by any means necessary.

> Our organizations have gathered together to achieve these goals and we expect our deputies, who were elected with the votes of our people to be loyal to their vows they made over their honors and political parties to put the interests of our country above their partisan agenda and interests; we expect maintenance of political stability based on a parliamentary democratic order, and realization of the grand potential of Turkey, an increase in investments and employment, a decrease in unemployment, and keeping inflation down and a promotion of peace and prosperity of our people. After using every single channel for dialog, our organizations will carry out legitimate and democratic actions with a view to protect Turkey. (Koç: 495,496)

The lack of participation to the protest designed as the last warning to the government before taking the streets made the organizations to postpone actions that were planned to be carried out subsequently (Akit, Emek, Gündüz, Öncü, June 8, 1997).

2.1.13. "Protect the Enlighted Turkey" Rally

The "Protect the Enlighted Turkey" rally, organized on June 14, alerted the anti-coup groups, especially within TÜRK-İŞ, to lift their voices up.

Ten different trade unions, affiliated to TÜRK-İŞ, published a declaration titled "A Call to Protect Democracy" and they stated that they have nothing to do with the entity nicknamed the coup lobby, which is led by Bayram Meral. In the declaration, all organizations, including workers unions, occupational associations, associations and all other institutions having a legal personality, were called to be loyal to and protect the democracy. The joint declaration was signed by Sağlık-İş, Demiryol-İş, DokGemi-İş, Toleyis, Şeker-İş, Turk Koop-İş, Turk Maden-İş, Teksif, Bass and Turk Haber-İş and it was read by the President of Sağlık-İş, Mustafa Başoğlu. It was underlined that the declaration was prepared pursuant to the Constitution, the laws, the regulations and the decisions of the general assemblies of TÜRK-İŞ and affiliated unions.

The main points put forward in the declaration titled "A Call to Protect Democracy" is as follows:

"We do not find the joint declaration of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TİSK, TESK and TOBB fitting to our understanding of democracy and the rights of the workers that we are representing. Democracy is the best method of governance but it is not always found in a good form. The full or partial suspensions of democracy in our country has never solved any problems, in fact, it has left many more problems that needed to be solved. It also damaged our development, growth and our standing in the civilized world. No matter the form or method being used, we are against any coup or governance method that excludes democracy and targets it in an attempt to prevent it from resolving its problematic function within its own rules.

Forming governments and overthrowing them on orders will gain a permanent form and this in turn, would be applicable for all subsequent governments to be formed in future. This is the greatest threat against democracy. The most important thing for the workers is the activities of the government. The deep rooted tradition of TÜRK-İŞ involves supporting the right moves of the governments and fighting against the wrong actions.

... We would like to see a stronger Turkish Armed Forces that is able to fulfill its duties in peace and comfort, and we consider that members of the armed forces should be kept out of any sort of political controversy and be preserved from being worn out.

... This joint declaration is not against TÜRK-İŞ and it should not be considered a factionalist or a dividing attitude. Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK, TOBB, TİSK were late to protect democracy and they are not sincere" (Yeni Şafak, Akit, Türkiye, Ortadoğu, Zaman, Posta, Cumhuriyet and Milli Gazete, June 18 1997; Nokta magazine).

2.2. Activities of the 'Gang of the Five' during Post-Welfare-Path Period

Acting as unarmed forces, non-governmental organizations reached their goal. On 18 June 1997, Erbakan offered his resignation to Demirel and the term of the 54th government came to an end. At those days, presidents of the five organizations visited Demirel and informed him about the road map, they had drawn for themselves, consulted with him and got his suggestions that their duty to protect democracy is still underway (Baydur, 2000: 84).

2.2.1. Visit of the 'Gang of the Five' to the European Parliament

The European Parliament invited the presidents of five organizations along with the President of TÜSİAD to Strasburg, on September 16-18, 1997. At the meeting with the MPs of the European Parliament, it was stated that the EU was placing great importance to the initiative of the Turkish non-governmental organizations, and the delegation echoed the same by saying they also would like to see continuation of this dialogue (Baydur, 2000: 92).

On 16 September, the presidents were invited to the group meeting of the Green Party, and the President of the Green Party, Claudia Roth, has passed on their desires to be in cooperation and dialogue. At the following day, the presidents met the group called "Turkey Watch" formed within the Socialist Group, to inform them about the political developments in Turkey (Koç, 2002: 508).

On 17 September, the presidents hold a joint press conference and their visits were reflected by Turkish media to the public as an event having great importance (Baydur, 2000: 92).

2.2.2. Joint Press Release on February 23, 1998

While the discussions to modify the structure of Economic and Social Council were ongoing, the 'Gang of the Five' had another meeting under the leadership of TİSK. The presidents placed an emphasis on stating that this meeting was not held against any party, institution or association and they have declared their goal of sharing some of their views on some social and economic developments as well as the institutionalization of the Economic and Social Council.

Following their meeting held on February 23, 1998, a joint Declaration, covering following points, was issued:

"As a group formed by five civil society organizations who have come together to protect and further develop liberal, secular and democratic regime, we have seen it necessary to explain some matters to the public, considering the economic, social and political developments:

The main goals of our views are, as stated in the detailed ruling of the Constitutional Court, is the continuation of a secular state and protection of democratic rights. Considering current conditions valid in Turkey, all institutions and associations need a new understanding and a new approach.

... Turkish public believes that our cooperation, which was formed by needs beyond politics, aims at the greater benefits of the country. Our goal is to ensure economic stability and social peace and make sure that political institutions and organs perform their duties in an appropriate manner. We consider that the future of our country will be in the hands of a population which have no concern on their social security, have a fair share in terms of distribution of wealth and whose basic rights are guaranteed.

We, as not only representatives of their respective members, but also as institutions which suggest thoughts and policies to the political power, consider that if the proposals laid down in the present declaration are not realized, it is inevitable to change the laws on election and political parties, and then an early election should be realized.

We, as the five organizations, have decided to continue meeting periodically. Our organizations have gathered despite our different political and social interests and we represent a great deal of people, and we will continue this cooperation with great sensitivity. We suggest the same sensitivity to the parliament and to the political parties". (Baydur, 2000:115-118)

2.2.3. Declaration of Civilians on March 27, 1998

At the joint press conference held at TÜRK-İŞ, the 'Gang of the Five' stated that their fundamental objective was primarily fight against reactionary forces and announced a new declaration, named as "Civil Declaration" in the press.

The Declaration was covering following points:

"Turkey's urgent political problems are fundamentalism being at the first place, separatism and gangs which had tried to seize the government; while urgent economic and social problems are unemployment,

inflation, unfair income distribution and poverty. 55th government has been established with the support of the democratic forces, unprecedented in the history of the republic, in order to solve the problems of our country and our people and to protect the secular and democratic republic. As being the forces of production and industry, workers and artisans unions, we are sincerely supporting the efforts of the parliament and government against the reactionary forces. We are expecting the government to implement the program to fight against reactionaryism in a serious and stable manner without any compromise. As non-governmental organizations we are ready to undertake all sorts of responsibilities in our part at this struggle. For eradicating the sources of reactionary forces, the uninterrupted education for 8 years is a positive step, yet it will not be sufficient to implement it alone. A permanent solution to problems like inflation, unemployment, illiteracy, social injustice, distrust of the people to the state which are the source of the most problems is a fundamental requirement. For this purpose, tax reform, social security reform, putting informal sector under control, increasing the employment, the promotion of investments and entrepreneurship should be realized in accordance with the principles of social justice. We are against the privatization practices aiming at providing benefits to specific groups.

If these demands could not be executed, our common desire from the parliament is to show an example of sacrifice and transfer of the duty to those who will be capable to realize them, by deciding to hold an early election in accordance with the people's demand." (Koç, 540-541).

Despite the fact that they have announced that they are going to held regular meetings and continued to meet for a while, after this declaration was published, the effectiveness of the 'Gang of the Five' eroded rapidly. They duly fulfilled the task given to them in order to perform and to legitimize the last of the coups in Turkish history as "unarmed forces". History will remember them as active perpetrators of the coup.

Election of president of DİSK, Rıdvan Budak as a MP at the first elections carried out following the February 28, and election of the presidents of TESK, Derviş Günday and TÜRK-İŞ, Bayram Meral as MPs at the subsequent elections is widely regarded as a return for their support to the coup process.

CONCLUSIONS

We may argue that, as pointed out by Şerif Mardin at the basis of all military coup d'états, which can also be taken as the breaking points of the Turkish political life, lies a tension between the 'center' and 'periphery', beyond the visible reasons or those factors presented as reasons. In Turkey, where a productive class having an autonomy from the government could not been formed, lack of willingness by bureaucratic elite and capital owners who has been grown through their engagement with the state, to share the "pie" contributed to increase tension between "center" and "periphery" and when the struggle turned against the "center", the "gunstock" comes to the fore.

Although the February 28 period seemingly is an operation against the Islamic groups, it is, in essence, a reaction of the "center" against the "periphery" which emerged as a force in the public sphere as a result of Özal's policies that promoted pluralism and increased civilian influence. Demirel's statement that "I came to construct the state" (Ayyıldız, 2011: 173) during the first interview he gave right after becoming the President, means re-construction of the rentier system which started to degrade to the detriment of the "center".

In this study, the positions and activities of the unions which are representing the working and producing classes during the February 28 period have been tried to be presented. As stated above, being a defender of the coup which had been carried out in order to serve to the political and economic interests of the capital owners and the military-civil elites, means that the fulfillment of the responsibilities against the workers has not been given the top priority. Considering the fact that, the coup was the precursor of the 2001 economic crisis, the heaviest price of the coup paid by the working class which was represented by those unions. The joint actions of the unions representing the workers, together with the organizations of employers with which they have contradictive interests, is also the clearest indication that they acted in a way that violated their very reason of existence.

Trade unions are one of the indispensable institutions of the democratic life. Within this context, unions have functions such as promoting democracy along with their economic and social functions. In other words, considering that unions are the basic institutions of democracy, they are obliged to contribute to the settlement and development of the democracy in the countries where they carry out their activities. Although one of the basic functions of the unions is promoting democracy, during the February 28 period, the unions overtly supported the coup. In this process, on the one hand the unions have used their members to prepare a suitable ground for the coup, and on the other hand right after the coup, they were involved in efforts and activities which would justify the coup. In this period, the administration of some of the unions have supported the coup process contrary to the will of their members, and that caused erosion of confidence against the unions. The February 28 period which was recorded as one of the black pages in the history unionist movement, has also led to considerable losses in rights of the workers both during the February 28 period as well as during the subsequent period. As an example, following this period, the public sector started to delegate works carried out by the public workers to subcontractors, which employed temporary workers. Moreover, due to 2001 crisis, caused mainly by the coup, real income of the workers has been reduced considerably.

In the process leading to the 2001 crisis, the most important factor was the impact of the tensions started after March 1997 on the capital markets. Credit rating agencies had lowered the ratings of Turkey, taxes and prices were raised and with the shortening of maturities and sharp increase in real interest rates, the treasury faced a huge difficulty in terms of borrowing. Moreover, while domestic debt to GDP ratio was around 21 % during 1996 and 1997, this ratio has increased to 21.7% in 1998 and 29.3 % in 1999. In 2001, that ratio peaked to reach 69.2% (Dikbaş, 2007).

While the amount of interest paid from the budget was around 40 % of total budget in 1995 and 1996; it decreased to 29% in 1997. However, the tensions started in 1997 caused to increase the costs of the borrowing and this ratio has risen to 40% in 1998. In terms of

revenues, while 48% of revenue coming from taxes have been used for interest payments in 1997, in 1998 it reached to 67% and in 1999 it peaked to reach to 72% of tax revenues (ibid).

As a result of all these economic downturns the income distribution gap between the poorest 20% of the population and the richest 20% increased up to 12 times. It is clear that, the heaviest price caused by the crisis, has been paid by working and producing class.
During the September 12 military coup, the President of TÜRK-İŞ, İbrahim Denizcier has declared his support to the coup on the third day, by stating that "as the presidency of TÜRK-İŞ, we are supporting the military coup". Moreover, TÜRK-İŞ displayed its support to the government formed by the military more concretely, through assigning its Secretary General Sadık Şide as Minister of Social Security. However, he performed an extremely low profile in terms of legislative activities, and was unable to gain any benefits in favor of workers. None of the proposals which TÜRK-İŞ had submitted to the government during the preparation stage of the new Constitution, the Law on Unions No. 2821, and the Law on Trade Unions Collective Bargaining Agreements No. 2822 have been taken into consideration. As indicated in the Chapter II of the present dissertation with these legislation, acquisitions of the working class dating back to decades were seriously curbed. Taking into account this unfortunate experience, it is extremely difficult to understand, huge support provided by trade unions to a new undemocratic process, when the memories from the September 12 period were still alive.

The situation is even stranger when the other confederation of workers unions, namely, DİSK is considered. The heaviest losses, in terms of unionism, were faced by DİSK during the September 12 period. DİSK was closed down and all of its assets were seized, allegedly on the grounds of political activities. In this context, it is not conceivable from the point of view of the workers that DİSK collaborated for a new coup with the military, which previously confiscated all assets obtained through contributions of the workers. In other words, through labor of the workers whose contributions to the unions constitute main source of the revenue for the unions.

Support provided for a new coup, without taking any lessons from previously lived unfortunate experiences, is considered as a non-recoverable mistake in terms of the history of unionism. It is surprising to see that even the most ardent supporters of the coup process were aware of this grave mistake. The statements of Meral, Baydur and Budak published in the newspapers on the tenth anniversary of the coup is noteworthy both in terms of perceiving real motivations of their support to the process as well as acknowledgement that the workers do not benefit when the democratic process is hindered by non-democratic means.

Baydur's words that "…neither during those days nor today, regime faced a threat. The interests of the bosses were damaged. The groups, whose economic interests have been affected, had encouraged the coup. We are so much self-seekers, I am among them." were revealing clearly what was the underlying motivation of the businessmen to support the process and encourage a coup against the government. Budak told that, "I wish February 28 had never occurred and civilian political process had never been hindered. The February 28 period will not be recorded as a positive page in our history." Meral's statement were a kind of confession that workers never benefit from the coups, as he admitted that, "…workers always had suffered the biggest losses due to the coups. We are still unable to get our rights usurped by the September 12 coup."

To conclude, the active role played by the trade unions during the February 28 process, was in clear contrast to their raison d'etre and the process did not produce positive outcome for the workers. On the contrary, the process that led to the political instability and a huge economic crisis caused working class to lose their gains acquired through decades and real income

REFERENCES

1. BOOKS

- Akel, A., (1999). *Erbakan ve Generaller [Erbakan and Generals]*. İstanbul: Sura Yayınevi

- Akpınar, H. (2006). *28 Şubat Postmodern Darbenin Öyküsü [A Story of the February 28 Post modern Coup]*. İstanbul: Bir Harf Yayınları

- Aksoy, E. (2000). *28 Şubat'tan Balgat'a Mücahit!.. [A Mujaheed From the February 28 to Balgat!..]* Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık

- Aydanoğlu, E. (2009). *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Sendika-Siyaset İlişkisi.[Relationship Between Trade Unioons and Politics in the World and in Turkey]* Ankara: Mattek Matbaacılık

- Balcı, M. (2000). *MGK ve Demokrasi-Hukuk-Ordu-Siyaset [MGK and Democracy-Law-Army-Politics]*. İstanbul: Yöneliş Yayınevi

- Baydur, R. (2000). *Bizim Çete [Our Gang]*. Ankara: Cem Ofset Matbaacılık

- Bayramoğlu, A. (2001). *28 Şubat Bir Müdahalenin Güncesi [The February 28: Diary of an Intervention]*. İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık

- Bayramoğlu, A. (2006). "*Asker ve Siyaset" [Military and Politics]*. Ahmet İnsel, Ali Bayramoğlu (ed.). *Bir Zümre Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu (p. 59-118) [A Social Group and a Party: Army in Turkey]*. İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları

- Birand, M. A. (2012). *Son Darbe: 28 Şubat [The Last of the Coups: The February 28]*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap

- Bölügiray, N. (1999). *28 Şubat Süreci -1 [The February 28 Process-1]*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi

- Cevizoğlu, H. (1998). *28 Şubat Bir Hükümet Nasıl Devrildi [The February 28: How a Government was Overthrown]*. İstanbul: Beyaz Yayınları
- Cevizoğlu, H. (2001). *Generalinden 28 Şubat İtirafı: "Postmodern Darbe" [Confession from its General: "Postmodern Coup]*.Ankara: Ceviz Kabuğu Yayınları
- Cook, S. (2007). *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press
- Çelik, N. (2003). *28 Şubat ve İrtica Tehdidi [The February 28 and Threat of Reactionaryism]*. Ankara: Sinemis Yayınları
- Dereli, T. (1975). *Aydınlar, Sendika Hareketi ve Endüstriyel İlişkiler Sistemi [Intellectuals, Unionist Movement and Industrial Relations System]*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayını
- Donat, Y. (1999). *Öncesi ve Sonrasıyla 28 Şubat [The February 28: Before and After]*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi
- Erbakan, N. (2010). *Yeni Bir Dünya ve Adil Düzen [A New World and Just Order]* . Ankara: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi (ESAM) Yayınları
- Gürsoy, İ. (2011). *Darbenin Şahitleri [Witnesses of the Coup]*. İzmir: Kaynak Yayınları
- Işıklı, A. (2002). *İş Hukuku [Labor Law]*. Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi
- Işıklı, A. (2003). *Gerçek Örgütlenme: Sendikacılık [The Real Organization: Unionism]*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları
- Işıklı, A.(1995). *Sendikacılık ve Siyaset [Unionism and Politics]*. Ankara: Öteki Yayınevi
- Karatepe, Ş. (2009). *Darbeler, Anayasalar ve Modernleşme [Coups, Constitutions and Modernizations]*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık

- Karatepe, Ş. (2015). *Ara Rejimin Adaleti [Justice of the Interim Regime]*. İstanbul: İz yayıncılık
- Kazan, Ş. (2000). *Öncesi ve Sonrasıyla 28 Şubat [The February 28: Before and After]*. Ankara: Keşif Yayınları
- Kocabaş, S. (1998). *Postmodern Darbe Süreci: 28 Şubat'a Doping [Postmodern Coup Process: Doping to the February 28]*. Kayseri: Vatan Yayınları
- Koc, Y. (2002). *Belgelerle Türk-İş Tarihi, C. 4 (1992-1999) [History of Turk-İş, V.4]*.Ankara: Türk-İş Yayınları
- Koray, M. (1994). *Değişen Koşullarda Sendikacılık [Unionism under Changed Circumstances*]. İstanbul: TÜSES Yayını
- Korkusuz, M. R. (2003). *Dünyada İşçi Sendikalarının Faaliyetleri [Activities of the Workers Unions in the World]*. İzmir: Birleşik Matbaacılık
- Mahiroğulları, A. (2013). *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Sendikacılık [Unionism in the World and in Turkey]*. Bursa: Ekin Basım Yayın
- Özcan, G. (1998). "Giriş". Gencer Özcan, içinde (ed.). *Onbir Aylık Saltanat: Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Dış Politikada Refahyol Dönemi* (p.13-20) *["Introduction" in "Kingdom that lasts 11 months: Politics, Economics and Foreign Policy in Welfare-Path Period"]*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık
- Saybaşılı, K. (1998). "Refahyol Dönemi'nde Siyasal Yaşam". içinde Gencer Özcan(ed.). *Onbir Aylık Saltanat: Siyaset, Ekonomi ve Dış Politikada Refahyol Dönemi* (p. 21-44) *["Political Life during Welfare-Path" in "Kingdom that lasts 11 months: Politics, Economics and Foreign Policy in Welfare-Path Period"]*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık

- Şen, S. (1995). *Refah Partisi'nin Teori ve Pratiği: Refah Partisi, Adil Düzen, Kapitalizm [Theory and Practice of Welfare Party: Just Order, Welfare Party and Capitalism]*. İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi

- Tayyar, Ş. (2009). *Kıt'a Dur [Stand Fast!]*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları

- TBMM (2012). *Darbeleri Araştırma Komisyonu Raporu (Cilt 1 ve Cilt 2) [Parliamentary Commission Investigating Military Coups- Volumes 1 and 2]*. Ankara: TBMM

- Yıldız, A. (2000). *28 Şubat-Belgeler [The February 28- Documents]*. İstanbul:Pınar Yayınları,

2. ARTICLES

- Akgeyik, T. (1994). "Sendika Siyaset İlişkisi" [Relationships between Trade Union and Politics]. *Kamu- İş Dergisi,* (Oct..1994): 77-87

- Bayramoğlu, A. (2006). "Asker ve Siyaset". Ahmet İnsel, Ali Bayramoğlu (ed.). *Bir Zümre Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu* (p. 59-118). İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları.

- Bugra, A. (1998). "Class, Culture, and State: An Analysis of Interest Representation by Two Turkish Business Associations." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Nov., 1998), pp. 521-539

- Chaudhary M.; Koch L. 2001. "February 2001 Crisis in Turkey: Causes and Consequences" *The Pakistan Development Review*, vol. 40:467-486.

- Cizre Ü.; Çınar M. (2003). "Turkey 2002: Kemalism,Islamism, and Politics in the light of the February 28 Process". *The South Atlantic Quarterly* ,Vol. 102: 309-332.

- Çağlar, İ. (2012). "The Welfare Party and the February 28 Process: A Historical Analysis of Turkish Conservatives' Move to the Center" *Turkish Journal of Politics* Vol. 3 No. 1 Summer 2012

- Dikbaş, K.(2007). "28 Şubat'tan 21 Şubat'a." [From the February 28 to the February 21] *Aksiyon Magazine*. No: 638

- Gulalp, H. (1999). "Political Islam in Turkey: The Rise and Fall of the Refah Party". *The Muslim World*, 89(1): 22-41

- Günay, N. (2001). "Implementing the 'February 28' Recommendations: A Scoreboard."

  Research Notes, 10, Washington Institute for Near East Policy (May 2001)

- Heper, M.; Güney, A. (2000). "The Military and Consolidation of Democracy: The Recent Turkish Experience''. *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 26, No.4 : 635-657

- Hyman, R.; Gumbrell-McCormick R. (2010). "Trade Unions, politics and parties: is a new configuration possible?". *Transfer: European Rewiev of Labour and Research.* (August, 2010), Vol.16: 315-331.

- Lombardi, B. (1997). "Turkey- The Return of the Reluctant Generals?". *Political Science Quarterly.*(Summer, 1997), Vol. 112, No. 2: 191-215.

- Mahiroğulları, A. (2004). "Teorik Çerçevesi ve Dünyadaki Uygulamalarıyla Sendika-Siyaset, Sendika-Siyasal Parti İlişkisi" *[The Relationship Between Trade Union-Policy, Trade Union-Political Party in the World, Its Theoretical Framework and Its Application].Marmara University the Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 29, No. 1: 349-371

- Özaydın, M. M. and Han, E. (2014). "A Field Research on the Union- Politics Attitude of Union Member Public Employees". *Süleyman Demirel University the Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences,* Vol. 19,No. 2: 57-73

- Sakallıoğlu, Ü. C. (1996). "24 Aralık 1995 Alacakaranlık Kuşağı Seçimleri" *[Twilight Elections of December 24,1995]*. *Birikim*, 81: 26-30

- Yavuz, H. (1997). "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey". *Comparative Politics,* Vol.30, No. 1.(Oct.,1997): 63-82

- Yılmaz, M. (2012). "The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey: The Case of the Welfare Party" *Turkish Studies* Vol. 13, No. 3, 363–378, September 2012

- Yıldız, U.B. (2014). "Rethinking Civil–Military Relations in Turkey: The Problems of the Democratic Governance of the Defense and Security Sectors". *Turkish Studies,* 2014 Vol. 15, No. 3, 386–401

3. THESES

- Agdag, B. (2010). *28 Şubat Askeri Müdahalesi ve Türk Siyasetine Etkileri: Türkiye'de Asker- Siyaset İlişkisinin Tarihsel Serüveni Bağlamında Bir İnceleme. [February 28 military intervention and its effects on Turkish politics: A research in the context of historical story of army - politics relations in Turkey]* Institute of Social Sciences, Nigde University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Niğde

- Akyalçın, S. (2002). *Türkiye'de Geçmişten Günümüze İşçi Sendikaları ve Siyasi Partiler Arasındaki İlişkiler. [Relations between labor unions and political parties past to now in Turkey]*. Institute of Social Sciences, Anadolu University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ekişehir

- Arikan, N. (2010). *Siyasal Propaganda Açısından Televizyon Haber Programları (Örnek Olay: 28 Şubat Sürecinde Arena Programı). [The TV shows in terms of political propaganda (Case study: Arena program in the period of February 28).]* Institute of Social Sciences, Gazi University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara

- Arslantaş, C. Ç.(2008). *February 2001 Crisis in Turkey*. Institute of Social Sciences, Bilgi University, Unpublished Master Thesis, İstanbul.

- Ayyıldız, İ. N. (2011). *28 Şubat: Bir Müdahalenin Ekonomi Politiği [February 28th: Political economy of a coup]*. Institute of Social Sciences, Kırıkkale University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Kırıkkale

- Burak, B. (2009). *Türkiye'nin Siyasal ve Yönetsel Yaşamında 28 Şubat Süreci'nin Yeri Üzerine Bir İnceleme. [A Study Over the Place of the February 28 Process in Turkey's Political and Administrative Life]* Institute of Social Sciences, Istanbul University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul

- Gürses, E. (2009). *Türk Siyasal Hayatında Milli Güvenlik Kurulu'nun Yeri: 28 Şubat Süreci Örneği [The place of National Security Council in Turkish political life: Example of the february 28 process]*. Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Institute of Social Sciences, Gazi University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara

- Han, E. (2013). *Kamu Sendikacılığı Siyaset İlişkisi (Türkiye'de Kamu Görevlilerinin Siyasi Eğiliminin Sendika Tercihindeki Rolü Üzerine Alan Araştırması) [The relationship between public unionism and politics: Regional research about the role of public servants' political tendency on their union preference in Turkey]*. Institute of Social Sciences, Gazi University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara

- Öz, Ü. (2010). *Bir Siyasal Katılma Aracı Olarak Memur Sendikaları: Isparta Örnek Olayı.[Civil servant unions as a way of political participation: Isparta case]*. Institute of Social Sciences, Süleyman Demirel University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Isparta

- Özer, N. P. (2011). *Gazete Haberlerinde Manipülasyon: 28 Şubat Örneği. Institute of Social Sciences, Selcuk University, [Manipulation in newspaper: 28 Fabruary example]*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Konya

- Özgan, A. (2008). *28 Şubat Sürecinin Siyasal Açıdan Neden ve Sonuçları. [The reasons and consequences of 28 February as a political point of view]*. Institute of Social Sciences, M University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Muğla

- Öztürk, N.(2006). *28 Şubat'a Giden Yolda Türk Basını.[Turkish Press on the Way towards the February 28]* Institute of Social Sciences, Ankara University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara

- Tup, İ. (2006). *Türk İş Hukuku'nda Sendikaların Faaliyetleri [Activities of Trade Unions in Turkish Labor Law]*. Institute of Social Sciences, Sakarya University, Unpublished Master Thesis, Sakarya
- Yirmibeşoğlu, G. (2007). *Trade Unionism in Turkey:The Self-Understanding of Türk-İş and Its Role in Society and Politics (1950-1982).* Middle East Technical University School of Social Sciences, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ankara.

ARCHIVES OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS: (March 1996- August 1997)

- Akit
- Demokrasi
- Gündüz
- Hürriyet
- Milli Gazete
- Milliyet
- Sabah
- Yeni Şafak
- Yeni Yüzyıl

APPENDIX A: Speech of the President of TÜRK-İŞ, BayramMeral delivered at the "Protect Turkey! Fight for Democratization" Rally (January 5, 1997)

Esteemed members and managers of the unions affiliated to TÜRK-İŞ,
Members and managers of the organizations that honoured our rally,
Dear brothers who came from all over Turkey to do something for our country,
Dear employees of the press and TV channels,
I salute all of you on behalf of TÜRK-İŞ.

Why today hundreds of thousands workers, civil servants, pensioners, unemployeds gathered in this place? Why these people came from distances of hundred kilometers to fill this square? Why we are here? Why TÜRK-İŞ is here?

To protect Turkey. To find remedies to the problems of our people we are in the squares. We are here To protect democratic, secular, social law of the state characteristics of our state. To protect Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and contemporary civilization understanding represented by himsel we are here. We are here to show to those gangs and tribal leaders who try to takeover our state that we are the real owners of the state. We are here for poor people who collect bread from dumps. We are here for the pensioners who die at the ques waiting to take their pensions. We are here for our civil servants who face serious hardships, and are embarrassed as they can notgivepocket money to their children, and are walking ashamed before shops, butchers, grecories. We are here for our villagers to be able to receive value of their produce.We are here for our youth to be able to find jobs whereby can meet cost of living and don't kill time at coffeshops and unemployed people can be employed. We are here for a modern health system, where patients don't need to wait in the line for an operation and patients are not taken hostage as they could not pay cost of treatment at hospitals. We are here to ensure that everyone could get education possibility, when our children go to schools they have books, notebooks, uniforms necessary for them. We are in the streets because we want to do something and look after Turkey, our country, our people and our state and we will continue to be here.

Esteemed Friends,

The current government did not solve any problems, instead it continuously created new ones. Those promised to lower the price inflation to 10%, caused it to soaring to three digits. Those promised to save workers, civil servants andpensioners from the effects of the inflation now are raising prices of basic goods needed by people on a daily basis. Is this the Just Order? Is the Just Order is dishonoring your promises when you come to power.

Those who promised to decrease unemployment to the lowest level, are increasing unemployment level at every passing day. The policies followed cause collapse of farming and stockbreeding. Villagers are migrating to the cities with the hope to find their bread there. Villages are getting empty. Thousands of workers are losing their jobs due to looting and robbery called privatizations. Compulsory retirement is again on the agenda. Is this justorder? Is the just order behaving contrary to your promises when you come to power? Is the just order organizing fake examinations, giving fake hopes to 100 thousand poor people and recruiting your own relatives at the end?

Robberies, corruptions, bribery continues at an increasing scale. The government does not fight against corruptions, on the contrary tries to cover them. Those who gave parliamentary investigation motions regarding corruptions, today are voting against their own motions and try to prevent opening of an investigation and forgive the culprits. Is this integrity? Does the just order mean protecting robbers?

The gangs and tribes try to take over the state. Some politicians try to use our state for their personal interests and want to drive it into new adventures. The government even did not initiate a serious investigation against these matters. Is this protecting the state?

Those who previously claimed, together with ourselves, that privatization means looting and robbery, today are banner bearer of this looting and robbery and are offering the state

opportunities to their friends and relatives. Is this the just order? Is this protecting rights of unfledged orphans?
Those who previously talking about a fair taxation order as we did, today are trying to cancel tax debts of the rich people and interest over premiums paid to SSK.Is this respect to value of labor?Is this protecting workers?

Those who previously claiming that they were in favor of employment security, together with ourselves, today are trying to fire workers. Is this integrity?

Those who were claiming that they were against compulsory saving system, who criticized the interest takers as the rentiers, today, only within December, paid 462 trillion Turkish Liras in the form of domestic borrowing, yet they try to cause to forget compulsory savings of the workers.

Esteemed Friends,

Those who have not nailed a single nail in the country, today are trying to unnail the country. Through looting and plunder named as privatization, trade unions are made weaker, workers are degraded to be slaves and unemployment ever increases.

Terror and unsolved murders continue. Due to terror, inflation soars and democratization is delayed. Law of the state is damaged due to unsolved murders. Security of our state is desired to be awarded to gangs and tribes.

I ask to the government: whichever of your positive steps for workers, for civil servants, for pensioners, for unemployed, for villagers, for tradesmen have not been supported by ourselves so far?

I ask to the government: were you trying to prevent those robbing the state and did we oppose to you? Were you collecting lesser tax from those gaining less and more tax from those

gaining much and did we oppose to you? Did you make any investments and did we hinder you? Did you prevent the MPs not to misuse their immunities and you saw us opposing to you? Did you defend independence of the judiciary, tried to expand boundaries of the press freedom, improved the functioning of the SSK and did we criticize you? Were youamending the September 12 constitution, align legislation in the field of labor with that of the approved ILO Conventions and did we oppose it? Are we who responsible to push our people into pessimism and hopelessness. Were you extending the same salary increase to civil servants and pensioners, even though insufficient, you made for the military and did we prevent it? Were you providing employment security and establish unemployment insurance and did we prevent it? Were you ending subcontracting and prevent black labor market and provide indefinite contracts to temporary workers and did you face reaction from TÜRK-İŞ? Were you reacting to the Gaddafi's insults, yet remained silent because we prevented you?

Dear Friends,

I ask all of you once again. Are you happy with the existing government? Can this government solve problems of our country? Can it prevent robberies, corruptions, bribery? Can it fight with the gangs and tribes?

TÜRK-İŞ is fighting to find a solution to these problems and will keep on fighting. Unless political stability is maintained it is not possible to ensure economic stability and these problems cannot be solved. Our people desire a government that they can place their trusts on. Our people desire clean politics. TÜRK-İŞ is the pursuer of these demands.

September 12 Constitution and all other anti-democratic legislation should be amended.

- State security should be ensured only by official and legitimate security forces, all gangs must be eliminated and tribes must be unarmed. Terrorism and unsolved murders must be prevented.

- Priority must be given to the solution of the problems of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia, conditions necessary to ensure all our people living together in a brotherly manner should be created.

- Inflation must be taken under control.

- Unemployment must be decreased to the lowest possible level. Investments that create new jobs must be given priority and employment security for employees should be provided.

- Justice in the taxation should be ensured, and everyone should pay taxes in line with their gains.

- In the strategic industries like energy, communication, mining and ports, privatization must be stopped and plundering and looting going on under the name of privatization should be ended.

- Our ports should not be offered to mafia.

- Robbery, corruption and bribery should be prevented.

- New employment opportunities should be provided for unemployed.

- Compulsory savings should be paid back together with accumulated interest.

- Barriers before negotiating collective agreements that also includes right to strike for the civil servants must be eliminated.

- Salaries of workers, civil servants, pensioners should be increased to a level which will ensure them to live humanly.

- Produce of the villagers should be purchased at its real value.

- Small scale tradesmen and artisans should be provided credits with low interest rates.

- Independence of judiciary should be ensured, immunity of MPs should be limited to their parliamentary works.

- At the collective agreements to be concluded in 1997, humanly life and work conditions must be ensured.

- Problems of SSK must be resolved, a social state understanding must be adopted in the field of education and health.

In line with these targets, TÜRK-İŞ would keep on its legitimate struggle. If righteous demands are not met, these squares will be filled with thousands of workers, civil servants, retirees and unemployed for many more times. If the government turns a deaf ear to the voices of our people, more extensive and more effective actions will be carried out.

Esteemed Friends,

Are you ready to fight against an understanding that made his supporters to plunder great opportunities of our country, that handed public workplaces to subcontractors mafia, that is trying to offerworkplaces having strategical value like energy, mining, communication, ports and Erdemir to its supporters and aiming at firing thousands of workers?

Dear workers in energy industry, if they go on insisting to offer these important institutions to their supporters, despite all of our good intentions, are you ready to switch off? Esteemed workers are you together with the committed attitude of energy workers?

Real increase made by the current government in the salaries of the military is not 72%, when considered with the inflation, in reality it is just 10%. And this increase is not sufficient to compensate losses recorded over the years. Even such an amount was not provided to the civil servants and pensioners. We know what they will offer us during the forthcoming negotiations on collective agreements. Are you ready to fight till the end, against this understanding that turns a deaf ear to the voices of employees and do not consider workers, civil servants and pensioners deserving to live a humanly life.

While opportunities of our state are made plundered to certain circles, only within December, 462 trillion Turkish Liras were paid to rentiers through the domestic borrowing. Our compulsory savings are tried to be seized. Are you ready to keep our struggle on and fill these squares till our compulsory savings together with their interests are fully paid to us?

Are you ready to protect Turkey and fight against lies, against looting, against those who are unashamed and faceless,against politicians who forgot their promises andcheated on our people?

Are you ready to fight against those who once again consider compulsory retirement, encourage subcontractor mafia, against those who do not adopt laws on unemployment insurance and employment security, and against the political understanding that continue to rule the country with the September 12 legal order.

Esteemed Friends,

There may be our mistakes or emissions. However, serious problems facing our country, and the grave mistakes conducted by those who rule country forces us to integrate and try to find solutions to the problems of our country and protect our country and tell "it is enough, stop!"

Today is day of protecting Turkey. Today is, day of protecting integrity, independence and unitary state structure of Republic of Turkey within the boundaries of National Pact, and

secular state of law based on principles of Atatürk and human rights. Today is a day when working class should felt its impact over the politics and made others to say there is TÜRK-İŞ in Ankara and there is TÜRK-İŞ in Turkey.

Today is, day of calling those politicians who give priority to their personal interests and forgetting the people and leaving aside problems of the people to account. Today is a day when an order is established to ensure that, those elected are serving to the people who elect them and are accountable to those elect them.

Today is day of creating a Turkey where not capital, but workers and their labor are respected. Today is a day to live brotherly, regardless of ethnic origin or whether being from eastern or western parts of Turkey, regardless of possessing this or that opinionor belief. Today is day of protecting Turkey and day of fighting for solving problems of our people.

With this belief, I salute all of you on behalf of TÜRK-İŞ, with my deepest respect and love.

APPENDIX B: "Call to the Public" declaration by the Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK (February 5, 1997)

Today, there are large scale attacks against the unity, independence and basic characteristics, which are democratic, secular and social state of law of the Republic of Turkey. These attacks also extend to our great saviour Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, both to his person and the ideas he represented: the concept of modernization and the process of enlightenment. Due to terror and the increasing amount of unemployment and the increased cost of living, our people are being dominated by hopelessness and pessimism. This pessimism is getting worse due various entities, like drug related gangs and organizations founded upon the exploitation of the religious feelings of the people that are trying to take over the State of the Republic of Turkey, which was founded as a result of the first successful anti-imperialist national war of independence. The problems of our country, our people and our state are getting worse day by day and no steps are being with respect to further the process of democratization. Moreover, attitudes and behaviours that damage international reputation of Turkey are increasing. While in power for the last 7 months, the Welfare-Path Government, has not taken any steps to solve any of these problems. On the contrary, it created new problems; and with the concern of securing a political future, it undertook actions that have damaged our country, our people and our state.

The place where a solution for the problems of Turkey would be found is the parliament. We invite the political parties and MPs, democratic mass organizations and our fellow countrymen to protect our people, our state and Turkey. The greatest responsibility, in this respect falls over the valuable leaders of the political parties. In case, egoistic narrow minded calculations of self-interest and political gains put the today and future of our country in danger, with our unions being at the forefront, every democratic mass organization and every politician that has a sense of responsibility towards the people will break its silence and will do whatever is necessary to meet their responsibilities

APPENDIXC:Letter from the Presidents of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK to the MPs (March 6, 1997)

Dear Members of the Parliament,

With this letter we would like to remind you once again, during a period when our country is passing through difficult days, that, as a valuable member of the indispensable monument of Turkish democracy, starting from the day when you were elected, in addition to the province you were elected and your party, you have certain responsibilities, as stated in the Article 80 of our Constitution, towards our grand nation.

We are confident that, problems faced by the Republic of Turkey, can be solved at the Grand Assembly, through your precious efforts.

We speak in the name of the people who elected you, who are wholeheartedly loyal to democracy, who will not give any compromises on the democracy, secularism and social state of law principles and the people who work and produce for the Turkish Republic, which was established by great Atatürk.

We, as TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK came together for the first time in the history of the Republic for this very purpose. Our expectation from you is to shed this attitude that has drawn this country to this situation due to pressures exerted by leadership and party discipline, with the decisions, made by a narrow circle that is against the expectations of the people and interests of the country, and get together without paying regards to the party boundaries and cooperate on the life and death matters for our nation and our country.

You may have reasons that you cannot justify even to yourself and cannot tell even to your families. Despite all of these, considering dire situation in our country, we believethat you need to take decisions freely just listening to your conscience.

In this respect, we have full confidence to you and democratic parliamentary system. Today is a day when to be a MP free from all bonds. As the representatives of the people, we wholeheartedly believe that you will do whatever is needed for Republic of Turkey and our beautiful motherland and you will be loyal to the vows you made in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, in the presence of our grand nation.

This beautiful country belongs to all of us. The people, who fought the first successful national independence war, under the leadership of our great savior Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and established first and unique democratic and secular republic in its region, preserved its beliefs and traditions and achieved modernization is our people. Our people, does not want conflict, instead desire an understanding that will solve the problems and take Turkey to the place it deserved in the world, ensure democratization, tranquility, social peace being prevalent both within the country and in the parliament.

This task fall upon, primarily on you as valuable members of the parliament and all of the politicians and then upon us.

We as TESK, TÜRK-İŞ and DİSK, would like to inform you that, we will evaluate your activities in this sense and will support you, in your political career accordingly. We invite you to fulfill this sacred duty all together.

Best regards,

APPENDIXD: Joint Declaration by the Presidents of the TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK (March 14, 1997)

The problems faced by Turkey are getting heavier as time passes.The society is driven into an endless chaos. Turkish Confederation of Trade Unions of Workers (TÜRK-İŞ), Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions(DİSK) and Turkish Tradesmen and Artisans Confederation (TESK) which are aware of their great responsibilities towards not only millions of their members and their families, but also towards their country and people, consider to declare their common views with respect to the matters regarding future of the regime vitally, as a task that cannot be postponed.

We, as the presidents of three confederations, being representatives of patriotic people who earn their lives with their small capital, labor and elbow grease, who are tolerant, productive, and honest, will indicate our views with respect to issues in the agenda of Turkey. However, this declaration has important differences compared to the previous declarations made on daily matters.

These three organizations that could not come togetherpreviously, for the first time are coming together as they saw that it is played by future of Republic of Atatürk, and in order to contribute to the solution of problems faced by secular and democratic Turkey and parliamentary democracy with respect to the regime.

We are indicating our demands, arising from this unity, purified from framework of personal, group and narrow focused political career interests, and with the same sincerity, lucidity and decisivenessas those of ordinary people atthe factories, at the workshops, at the worksites, at the shops, in the streets and in the cars.

As the country we are really passing through dark days. Depression in the economy joins the corruption and a serious regime crisis emerges as a result. The agenda of Turkey is disordered.

It is a country where, a group of reactionary and self-seeking people pretend to be owners of the state and there are unsolved murders... This is not destiny of Turkey!

These obscure people who are longing for shari'a, now try to take over the state and endanger parliamentary democratic system, take the society back to dark ages using democracy as an instrument and orient the country towards their obscure aims. This is not destiny of Turkey!

Democracy is the most humanely outcome of evolution of thousands of years of the mankind. In this country, unfortunately there are, antiquated forces which are against democracy, democratic and secular and social law state understanding; ideals of Atatürk on modernization, and sharing common values of contemporary civilization and enlightenment process. They impose over the society, a fake prescription rejecting entire heritage of republican era and try to dominate their obscure desires to all country.We firmly repeat once again: This is not destiny of Turkey!

Cost of living of our people is increasing each passing day. The society feels suffocated under this situation where democracy could not be made fully functional with all of its rules. Looking for solutions and struggles with good faith to find remedies. The protest of "one minute darkening for incessant enlightening" is a very important warning for those rule state and politicians, who need to take lessons. Civil society is standing and is seeking for a solution with a patient, peaceful and civilized attitude which is taken as an example all over the world.

Despite this mature and democratic struggle of our people, some obscure centers, are imposing to the society between a rock and a hard place, and desire to drive the Republic of Turkey, "either darkness of middle ages or a military rule" dichotomy. We repeat once again and once again: Thisis not destiny of Turkey! The solution is neither darkness nor a military coup! The only solution is,purely and simply democracy and democratization of Turkey!

Within this basic framework, our concrete demands that reflect our common views are as follows:

1. The necessary democratization steps must be immediately taken in order to make sure that Turkey becomes a secular, social and transparent state of law. This is sole guarantee for unity of the country and the society.

   Independence and unitary structure of the Republic of Turkey should be carefully preserved. Requirements of the freedom of religion and belief in Turkey and should be as such. This characteristic of the republic should be preserved sensibly. The principle of secularism which is embraced and defended by the majority of our people. As stated in the Article 174 of the constitution, violation of the "laws of the revolution" must be prevented.

   The Constitution and Law on Political Parties, Law on Elections, Law on Associations and other legal arrangements, adopted during the September 12 period, should be democratized. The legislation on working life, should be aligned with that of ILO Conventions and other international agreements that were signed and approved by our country. Political ban over the democratic mass organizations should be abolished. The most effective fight should be carried out against terrorism, within the democratic system and transparent state of law understanding.

2. Any organization that involved in racists thoughts, exploitation of religious beliefs and drug and weapons smuggling that are trying to take over the state must be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the relevant laws. Unsolved murders must be solved.

3. In foreign policy, independent path laid out by Atatürk, that reject to go under domination of any external force, puts our national interests above everything else, must be preserved diligently, and a dignified and honourable policy that is in line with the understanding of "peace at home, peace in the world" must be followed.

4. The public agenda must not be dominated by controversies that aim to divide Turkey and even threaten to cause a fight between siblings and to destroy the gains achieved

by the Republic in the past 74 years with a single stroke. The political stability, which is the prerequisite of humanely living for tradesmen, artisans, workers and the whole society must be achieved through democratic methods.

5. The immunity of the MPs must be limited to their legislative duties; the independence of the judiciary and supremacy of the law must be ensured. Attempts to further limit the freedom of the press must be ended. Freedom of press does not mean freedom of press for itself. It is right and freedom of people to get informed. Law on political parties must be reconsidered with a view to improve the democracy within the parties.

6. Measures aiming at decreasing unemployment, price inflation and unfair distribution of income must be taken. A more effective fight should be carried out with the poverty, within the social state understanding.

7. We are against privatizations that would endanger the country's economy and national defense. No privatization that is not beneficial to the people or the country be carried out.

8. Political recruitment based on the exploitation of faith and religion in workplaces must be stopped. Political interventions in the economy that result in dominance of certain circles should be prevented.

9. Turkey must become a country where producers and workers are respected.

10. Education must be provided freely and it must be based on an understanding that takes the common values of the modern civilization as its basis. Social security systems for self-employed (Bağ-Kur) and workers (SSK) must be strengthened. High quality health services should be widely provided, under the guarantee of the state and with the public opportunities.

11. Informal economy must be put under control and be reformed. Taxation system should be reformed, Justice in the taxation should be ensured, and everyone should pay taxes in line with their gains. Living and working conditions in villages should be improved, farming and stockbreeding must be supported, and immigration from rural areas to cities should be disincentivized. Humanely living conditions must be provided for people who immigrated to the cities due to security concerns or economic reasons, via building houses and neighborhoods and new working opportunities should be created.

12. Masses of educated unemployed people, which emerged due to erroneous government policies, must be given a chance for employment. Problems of the youth must be handled with a contemporary understanding and the plots of hostile headquarters that aim to plant the seeds of division between the young populations must be invalidated.

13. All barriers before participation of women in economic, social and political life equally with the men must be abolished. Antiquated understandings that aim to imprison women to their homes and degrade them into the secondary class of citizens must be fought.

14. Conditions must be created in a way that, problems of the disabled were decreased to the lowest possible level, and ensuring them participating in social life more effectively, productively and happily.

15. The state must support small scale craftsmen and artisans, who are one of the backbones of the economy and it must take measures against the growing problems of this industry.

    It is no doubt that, sufficient amount of credits with low interest rate to be provided to the small scale craftsmen and artisans can contribute considerably to the solution of the unemployment problem. Long term policies to find problems, of this industry which created a considerable amount of employment, with respect to education, health and social security.

Necessary support must be provided to ensure them to learn and be able to use advanced technology. Taxation legislation regarding small scale craftsmen and artisansmustbe simplified. Greater support should be provided for the establishment of industrial zones. Quality of services provided in these zones must be improved.

As far as following points included in the first statement delivered by the Prime Minister:

a. Application of the living standard must be ended;
b. Payment of taxation in advance must be eliminated;
c. Minimum wage must be exempted from the taxation.

16. The problems of elderly, retired, widowed and orphaned are getting heavier at each passing day. They are people. Their problems are ours. Necessary steps must be taken in order to solve their problems, within the context of "social state understanding".

17. A sufficient amount of increase in the salaries of workers and civil servants must be provided, to ensure a humanely living and improving their living standards.

    Unregistered employment must be prevented, security of employment and insurance for unemployment must be provided. All attempts to fire workers and enslaving them must be stopped. Exploitation of children should be prevented, temporary and seasonal workers must be provided permanent contracts.

    Rights of civil servants regarding negotiating collective agreements that include right to strike, stemming from ILO conventions must be provided. All pressures over the civil servants and workers that uses their democratic rights to join unions must be stopped.

    Children who works as apprentices must be provided necessary training by the support of state.

18. We are obliged to give utmost importance to preserve our environment in our Turkey, which we borrowed from our children. We must fight against erosion and pollution of environment. Desertization of soils of our country must be prevented.

CONCLUSION

We as TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK, once again emphasize that, solution for all of the problems faced by our country is "democratization". We are declaring that, we firmly and without giving any concessions and at any costsprotect, integrity of unitary structure and independence of the Republic of Turkey, principles and revolutions of Atatürk, understanding of democratic, secular and social state of law and 74 years of acquisitionsof the Republican era to the people.

The decisions of the National Security Council adopted unanimously and conveyed to the Council of Minister aims at protecting these characteristics of our republic. Necessary steps to be taken by the Council of Ministers, to protect basic characteristics of the republic in accordance with the said decisions, will decrease tension in the country.

No one will be able to use democracy as a tool and turn the country into Algeria, Iran, or Afghanistan, while paying a lipservice to democracy. We are sufficiently, patriotic, farsighted, and democratic to prevent this happen in Turkey. We cannot close our eyes to those who are working as woodworms at the backstage, while democrats are put in forefront with a discourse of being against a military coup. We as real democrats must urgently expose and isolate those fake democrats. We must prevent their hypocrisy! We must not be deceived!

We as the presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and TESK will behave jointly, remaining within the parliamentary and democratic order, legitimate, civilized and democratic platform in order to ensure realization of these demands which are opinion and longing of the majority of our people, those at homes, at offices, at the workshops, at the factories, at the shops, at the work,

in their cars, in the streets. We are committed to behave jointly with any organizations that defend secularism and democracy, on the basis of principles of Atatürk.

All our struggle is for integrity and unity of our country and happiness of our people and for democracy.

We invite all patriotic people, all democratic persons, institutions and organizations of our country to share these basic demands and protect Turkey.

With our best regards.

APPENDIX E: Joint Press Release by the Presidents of TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, TESK, TOBB and TİSK (May 21, 1997)

Today, the Turkish Republicis faced with the greatest problems of its history. Our country is driven into an internal chaos, our people is pushed towards an environment of pessimism and unhappiness. Social and economic problems get heavier as each days passes and the country is driven into a political instability.

Modern, secular republic founded by Atatürk is under threat. Basic characteristics of the Republic of Turkey are eroded, reactionary movements are supported, and our country is driven into an obscurity. Reactionary movements turned out to be the greatest threat to our democracy.

Our state and regime is under threat.

Democratization has been stopped. Basic institutions of democracy are being eroded. The freedom of press is faced with economic and armed attacks. Investments have stopped due to economic developments and lack of trust and existing businesses to close one by one. Some politicians are adopting a divisive attitude vis-à-vis business community by favoring some of the companies and taking on some other and an artificial division is imposed on society by blaming real investors.

Business circles stopped their investments due to insecurity. Turkey was transformed into a heaven for rentiers. Wages of workers were decreased compared to inflation. The tradesmen are closing their shops and are forced to pay taxes in advance without knowing what will be their gains. Unemployment is growing like a snowslide.

Social state understanding is desired to be destroyed. This erosion in the social state understanding is shaking the trust of our people to the state and prepare the ground for all kinds of social and political unrest in our country.

Understanding of the state of law cannot be implemented as it should be. Instead of an understanding of contemporary state of law, an antiquated understanding of state is desired to be implemented.

Those who wave green flag instead of the sacred flag of the Republic of Turkey, those who disrespect spiritual personality of Atatürk and to the common values, stated in the constitution of the Republic of Turkey are encouraged. It is desired to destroy all of the acquisitions of the Republic gained during the last 74 years.

In the foreign policy, honorable and pro-independence line of the Atatürk is deviated and a foreign policy that harm national pride of the Republic of Turkey is being followed.

The government is in a conflictual relationship with constitutional institutions of the state, with workers, with pensioners, with tradesmen, with youth, with women, shortly with the people of the country.

We as the producers and taxpayers of the country, as the citizens of secular and democratic Republic of Turkey came together in order to stop this course of events.

We have already presented our views, concerns and proposals to the public opinion and made our warnings to our 550 parliamentarians and invited them to perform their duties. Yet, from that time onwards, the problems faced by the country continued with an increasing trend.

We are not political parties or politicians. We, as the people, as the representatives of the people, as those who live the problems by themselves are voicing our problems and are demanding for a solution. We wholeheartedly believe that the solution will be found within democracy.

In democracies, place where solutions would be found to the problems is the parliaments. However, the current parliament cannot respond to the expectations and demands for a solution. The parliament which is an indispensable institution of the regime endangers the democratic regime, as long as it could not find solutions to the problems.
History is full of the examples of frustrations of politicians who could not respond to the longings of their people.

We, as the under signers of this declaration, stress once again that, all problems faced by our country should be solved within democratic parliamentary regime. We are declaring that, weare, away from any personal, group or political interests, firmly and without giving any concessions and at any costs protecting, integrity of unitary structure and independence of the Republic of Turkey, principles and revolutions of Atatürk, understanding of democratic, secular and social state of law and 74 years of gains of the Republican era.

We as the voice of millions of people who gathered togetherat the May 19 ceremonies; firmly, enthusiastically and consciously, peacefully and with friendly feelings and showed that secular and democratic Turkey was not unattended, would like to see a government in power that is not fueling polarization, but ensuring an environment of unity, togetherness and friendship.

We expect formation of a new government, that will enhance our unity and solve our problems instead of the current government that create tension within the country, that aims at dividing our people into camps by using our sacred religious feelings as an instrument of politics, that gives priority to personal and party interests and could not find solution to any of the problems of the country. We are concerned that the current government may cause our people to lose faith in democratic parliamentary order and parliamentarians. Such a development will be extremely harmful for our democracy.

Our people don't have any trust in the current government. Instead of a government with such an understanding, a new government that is devoted to principles and revolutions of Atatürk, defending secular and democratic republic, responding to longings of the people and finding a

solution to the problems should be immediately formed and we invite the Parliament to fulfill its duty.

Turkey is not unattended.

We invite all patriotic people, all democratic persons, institutions and organizations and our parliamentarians who were elected by our people to share these demands and to protect our country.

Bayram MERAL (President of TÜRK-İŞ)

Derviş GÜNDAY (President of TESK)

Rıdvan BUDAK (President of DİSK)