

Turkey's New State of Emergency (OHAL) SEVERAL FACTS - From A Global Perspective**(ARTICLE IN PROGRESS)**

“The history of all societies hitherto is the history of class struggles”. This quote from Marx is my beginning point and general framework of understanding.

Situation in Turkey and latest State of Emergency (OHAL)

There was an unsuccessful coup in Turkey on 15 July 2016. The difference of this “coup attempt” from the previous ones was that;

- It was not a rank-and-file chain coup.
- It was the result of the internal power struggle between two Islamist cliques (the clique of governing Islamist party AKP / Islamist President RT Erdogan vs Islamist cleric Gulen's clique) who shared the power at that time. Both AKP/Erdogan and Gulen Movement are products/projects of USA and supported by the West.
- They are also extensions of USA's “Moderate Islam” Project (Buyuk Ortadogu Projesi) and so-called Arab Springs(!) operations.
- Turkish bourgeoisie tries to clear the way for its own imperialist/sub-imperialist demand and ambitions by way of a religious-fascist state.

Islamist Government's activities and steps taken before and after the 15 July 2016 Coup and resulting State of Emergency (OHAL)In Internal Political Arena:

- a) They have organised right after the failed coup so called “standing guard for Democracy” where their followers were brought to the streets `en masse.
- b) organised the making religious emergency news calls from the mosques all over the country and mobilised the religious crowds.
- c) made all public transport free to help mobilisation of them and supplied “free food” to those who participate in guarding the streets and squares “for democracy”.
- d) Tried successfully to bring moderate left CHP, fascist MHP and other smaller parties to the “government line” and received their solid support for declaration of SoE (OHAL); excluded and isolated the Kurdish party HDP.
- e) Organised mass meetings all over the country “for Democracy” forcing the opposition to be part (though negligible) of it as well as making them sign so called “common declaration” against coup etc.
- f) To bring the fascist-chauvinist MHP party into Islamists leeway using the patriotic / religious-nationalist discourse.
- g) Made use of this occasion to aggravate the hatred against Kurds, Alevis, socialists; to attack Kurdish party HDP centres, threatened the Kurdish MPs and local politicians in order to neutralise the Kurdish movement politically and force them out of the Parliamentary processes.
- h) Removed in almost all Kurdish cities and towns the legally elected officials and appointed people under the government control. Mass arrests of Kurdish politicians, youth, and citizens protesting these illegal/illegitimate acts;
- i) Dysfunctional the Parliament (TBMM) where Islamist AKP had simple majority by declaring in Parliament the State of Emergency (SoE-OHAL) (of course with the unflinching support of social democrat and fascist MPs) and began governing the whole country with Decrees against

which there can be no legal stand, no appeal until the end of SoE-OHAL). This was also an action which disabled the Constitution however controversial it was.

- j) Separation of legislative judiciary and executive Powers therefore no longer exist. All power is crystallised in the hands of President RT Erdogan and his special “task forces”.

2) Steps taken regarding the Foreign policy

- a) The Islamist government led by RT Erdogan has in the last 10 years changed the traditional foreign policy slogan of Turkey which was “peace in the country peace over the World” and replaced it with “zero problem with neighbours” policy before plunging into problem with almost all of them beginning with Syria and Iraq, and Israel.
- b) After the failed coup, RT Erdogan’s Government has very quickly repaired the broken relations with Russia and Israel. (Russia is known to inform Turkish Government about the impending coup some time before 15 July 2016).
- c) Successfully neutralised the EU leadership and individual EU member countries by blackmailing them with letting hundreds of thousands of migrants escaping from the regional wars (in Afghanistan and Middle East and North Africa) to borders.
- d) Tried to strengthen the already uneasy but working cooperation between the Turkish State and Kurdistan Regional Government.
- e) Tried to materialise its ambitions regarding Syria (and Iraq) by sending special forces to Gerablus, a so-called ISIS enclave and thereby created a de facto official presence in the North Syria. It tries to legitimise the presence of Turkish army there.
- f) Has already a significant presence in Northern Iraq around the Mosul area and tries to legitimise its presence internationally and claims a “share” in the war against the ISIS despite the Iraqi government’s fierce opposition.
- g) All in all, Turkey has speeded up international, military and political moves to have a forceful say in the redrawing of the borders all over the Middle East despite the counter moves by West, USA, Russia and the Arab governments.
- h) Negative and Critical attitude against the USA, holding them responsible for the coup attempt. Assuming a more conciliatory and cooperative foreign relations with Russia in the Middle East and even present Syrian regime in order to consolidate the recent military moves against the Kurdish movement in Syria.

3) Administrative and other Steps taken within the State under OHAL

- a) Began governing the country with rapidly issued Decrees (KHK-Kanun Hükmünde Kararname) bypassing the Constitution, and the Laws of the Republic.
- b) Began Mass Purge inside the State bureaucracy (in both military and civilian arms of the State) and dismissed tens of thousands of State officials and annulling their services in the State depriving them of all future pension rights and civil benefits,
- c) Began arresting and suspending based only on suspicion any State official wherever he / she may have been working and,
- d) Changed the Law of State Employees to ensure that no oppositional body in the State structure exists. It also forced many officials, appointed or elected to resign. An example is all the rectors and school heads of the university / faculties in Turkey.
- e) Began summary dismissal of the university personnel who are known or thought to be against the Islamist AKP / RT Erdogan clique. Mass purge in the Police departments.
- f) It has publicly blacklisted all those who have been dismissed, forced to resign or suspended, making it under the given circumstances, virtually impossible for them to be re-employed anywhere else, even in private.

- g) It has annulled employee and pension rights and benefits of all those “dismissed” people numbering nearly 100 000.
- h) It has also illegally and illegitimately expropriated the savings and properties and investments of those people who have been arrested / dismissed etc.,
- i) It has banned use of vocational titles (cancelling and/or annulling the licences and job certificates) like Dr, Prof etc. of those state officials who have been dismissed from their present positions, effectively sentencing them to hunger and poverty.
- j) It has also decided to employ people to Special Police forces without any public exam and/or CRB / DBS.

4) Steps taken inside the Armed Forces (TSK)

- a) The Government has arrested many officers and NCOs who are suspected as participants of the failed coup.
- b) It has been reported that there is widespread mistreatment and torture against the arrested.,
- c) It began restructuring the already “dishonoured” army on the grounds of involvement of army personnel in the coup against the government and president.
- d) It has therefore changed the Law on Armed Forces and took the control over the promotions and appointments, and changed the rule of seniority in service and competence in the appointment to the High Command in the Armed Forces.
- e) It has removed the connection of the military Gendarme organisation to the Armed Forces and chained the whole hierarchy to Ministry of Internal Affairs.
- f) It has closed all the Military High Schools and NCO Schools.,
- g) It began the practice of accepting pupils from the civilian schools to Military Academies, and founded an Armed Forces University, however removing any restrictions of acceptance of students from vocational religious high schools.
- h) It decided the abolish the historical Republican Presidential Guard and replace it with a special armed force consisting of police independently of Ministry of Justice.
- i) President Erdogan has also appointed the head of a private military outsourcing/consulting body (SADAT) as head advisor. This man is also head of a project called “Islamic Army”.
- j) It adopted the analyses of the previously retired and/or eliminated military commanders, e.g. that “a new world is being shaped after the collapse of the Soviet Union and that Turkey should adopt new definitions of ‘friend/foe’ and involve in development of more positive approaches to the East, and improve relations with Russia and Iran”,

5) Steps taken in the economy and against the “unfriendly” business circles,

- a) The AKP Government was already penalising by any legal way possible the business circles who were working with/for Gulen movement, or in opposition to his clique. The failed coup has made it rather easy to do anything possible against big group of capitalists, investors, bankers, producers, exporters etc. which were suspected or thought to be in relation with Gulen movement who’s was behind the failed coup. This reminds NAZI actions against the big capital at the beginning of the rise of Hitler and Nazism in 1930’s Germany. There are big manufacturers, exporters, chains, monopolies / SMEs / individual capitalists / well known managers / CEOs etc. being arrested, penalised, closed, banned, forced to collapse under the treatment of Erdogan’s government clique.
- b) One very efficient act under State of Emergency – OHAL is to declare that a particular company is brought under administration (kayyum) and expropriate all assets of that company, chain, monopoly, whatever and force it to bankrupt. There is no way of appeal according to OHAL rules. Confiscating their bank accounts, deleting any/all their certificates, declaring licences void, dismissing any/all personnel without any employee / pension rights, banning their

production, export, import, distribution businesses, are few of the ways being used by this illegal/illegitimate rule. There is no body to complain against, no legal framework or body to appeal to any whatsoever decision taken by the revengeful Erdogan clique. Not only that. There is no individuality of the supposed crimes, the police are arresting or mistreating or penalising the near or wider family members of the suspect person(s). There is unbridled terror regime in this respect as well. Except their own followers and lip-service payers of AKP. Kurdish and Alevi businesses are also effected from this lawless unbridled actions of Erdogan regime.

6) Steps taken against the working class in particular.

- a) Workers are not let outside this. There are decrees with the names of the workers from several sectors being summarily dismissed with no whatsoever employee/pension rights. Although there isn't a general an against strikes and demonstrations, the Erdogan-friendly governors in each province use their authority to ban any whatsoever demonstration, arrest those who insist on demonstrating, banning legally declared meetings, raiding any whatsoever union offices without giving any reason and banning, closing, shutting down workers unions in the private and public sphere. They have already banned two confederations allegedly established and run by Gulen movement's members. In one example all the workers belonging to one particular union have lost their jobs. Just like that! AKP Government led by President Erdogan wants it, that's it!
- b) Terror is not limited by that. Some Alevi associations, many Kurdish associations, foundations, legal entities are being raided, plundered, destroyed and their leaders, activists being arrested and sent into prison. There are so many thousands of people arrested and put into prisons after OHAL that, the Erdogan Government decided to let convicts (thieves, murderers, crooks, mafia people, etc. criminals) free from the jails so that there is space for the newcomers. There are several well-known Mafia leaders, murderers, criminals having contacts AKP government clique who have been released in this wave.

7) Measures taken in Social-cultural life,

- a) Many journalists were already imprisoned because of their opposition to AKP clique. Many others were also arrested because they were working in the Gulen movement's media institutions. Now, many other leftist, pro-Kurdish, or regime-critical journalists, authors, researchers, investigators, managers, editors are arrested, dismissed by OHAL or by their own bosses who fear revenge actions from the State. Many have lost everything, jobs, their rights, pensions, money in the bank, etc. etc. They are actively prevented from being re-employed by overt or covert government actions. There are plenty "spies" to do the job for the State.
- b) The government is actively involved in increasing what they call "pressure from the residential block". Several artists are made redundant because of the organised "protests" from the Muslim and patriotic (!) quarters... They wouldn't want them to live/work where they lived. So they say...
- c) Almost all state theatres/ballet/opera halls are made dysfunctional. Because some people say that they would not like to have non-Muslim pieces being played, exhibited, sung... TRT, the official radio-television corporation has been made into Erdogan's and AKP's private Islamist fiefdom. All other private media corporations are forcefully brought under the discipline which Erdogan wants. By hook or by crook! Any media group opposing Erdogan regime is either clipped in the ears, lose advertisements, or forced to bankruptcy or simply being closed by using police force. Many TV channels, private national and local radio/TV stations are banned, closed, technical offices destroyed, personnel dismissed and arrested, their press cards cancelled. They are made sure not working in the sector again.

- d) The situation is much worse than Hungary 2016, reminding more of Germany 1936. The Government is applying extreme controls on the internet, arbitrarily cutting all contact to several international or national sites. For example, if daily newspaper Cumhuriyet has uploaded some documents/news in its website, sometime later the website is made unreachable... Erdogan friendly electronic AKP-bandits or Turkish Intelligence operators make it sure that unwanted information like war news, Kurdish news, or any critical article / picture / voice recording against Erdogan is not reached, if not banned.
- e) Any private individual or commercial details are forcefully asked to be given to police etc. without the need of any court order... This has been the OHAL practice up till now. Under OHAL you don't need Law. There is Islamist Erdogan, Islamist spies and mostly Islamist Police force.

8) Other measures Erdogan's OHAL regime is taking include;

- a) Confiscation of passports, banning the re-issue of passports of ID cards to selected people.,
- b) Prevention of their leaving the country /entry to the country without any effective court order. Under OHAL one needs no courts, no law!
- c) Bringing almost all Press and Media institutions under effective government control. Using them for Islamist Government friendly agitation and propaganda. One often thinks that Erdogan's whiz kids have learned a lot from Mein Kampf and Goebbels. They are letting only news which are in accordance with their aims and objectives to guide the society for War!
- d) The government is committed to make the mosques as their more organised power base. "Diyanet", the religious affairs directorate is now "organising youth" in the mosques, making them into political centres.
- e) Religious, theist (allahci) themes are now being injected young minds from Crèches to University. It seems they are trying Selefi-Wahhabi Sunni shirt on Turkey.
- f) Any institution, picture, sculpture, sound, shape which reminds the RT Erdogan's Islamist OHAL Government the Kurds, Kurdish Liberation movement, or Ataturk, or Kemalists, or secular life style, non-religious or unbelieving practices, Western life style etc etc are being hindered, attacked, damaged, taken away. Some towns have already been declared "alcohol-free"(!)
- g) And many other examples of the practices of this OHAL regime will be shown in the near future.

If I summarize;

- The Gulen movement's and its followers' failed Coup has been "a God-given gift" to AKP Government as formulated by Erdogan himself. It has been used to bring an illegal and illegitimate regime (SoE-OHAL) to the country while the simple majority belonged to AKP government. This occasion has effectively and rapidly used for a start button for reorganisation of the State in a Islamo-fascist manner. Every move is being somehow related to Islam and every act is done by and for the strength of "single command", Erdogan. Erdogan's AKP is trying to discipline the finance-capital according to their own agenda, aims and objectives.
- It seems that this Islamist-fascist regime seeks an Ottoman-like State where Kemalist secularism is done with. Muslim "Ummah"-ID instead of Nation-ID is being tried to be brought forward. So it is not a coincidence that Erdogan followers call themselves "Osmanli"! It also coincides with Turkey's imperialist ambitions to bring "old Misaki Milli" geography under Turkey's influence if not direct physical control. It covers areas around Aleppo, Rakka, Mosul and Kirkuk.

- Erdogan is not alone in this. Turkish bourgeoisie's highest organisation TUSIAD is not complaining at all. Secular TUSIAD and Islamist bourgeoisie's organisation MUSIAD seem to have agreed with the newly declared ambitions. They want their share from the imperialist redesign of the Middle East. Gulen movement's biggest business organisation TUSKON has been banned and closed. There is no capitalist odd-voices seemingly criticising the OHAL government for the adventures it is taking Turkey to.
- One may interpret that this is the way towards Sultanate and Caliphate for Erdogan!!! If it is true, this aim and objective is irreconcilable with Democracy. We may remember what the previous AKP leaders were saying: "Democracy is a means!" Islam is the way for them. With the overt and covert support of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Gulf Council States! There is a big conspiracy!
- This requires not only partial but complete do-away with the semi-secular structures in Turkey.
- Kurdish question will be amalgamated within the "ummah" regime. "Everybody is Muslim, why you are demanding that you are Kurd!" The recent full destruction of Kurdish towns and cities by the Army is setting an example to Kurdish movement about the future for Kurds.
- The practices against the women under AKP regime before and after the failed Coup is nail-biting. Islamists are enemies of women's role in the public, let alone equality and liberation. Woman's role is primarily inside home, giving birth to as many Muslims as possible. Does this remind you anything?
- OHAL regime is instrumental for AKP government led by Erdogan to make any legal changes including the change of Constitution without any significant opposition. Most of the opposition and Kurdish MPs' existence have already been put under the AKP government's cleaver with the approval of their stripping of immunity. When the Constitution is changed the change of regime will be almost complete.
- OHAL shows that Imperialist Turkey would not be feasible with Democracy.

All this development, actually, has not happened on/after 15 July 2016. There is a background – economical-political-ideological-military – to that. It is a product of Turkey being in the imperialist stage of capitalist development. It makes Turkey as dangerous as a hungry wolf, imperialist war-monger, annexationist under any fitting pretext.

- Call it Cyprus Turks' plight, Aleppo Turkmens' plight, Kirkuk's poor Turkmen minority's plight, very old, historical Turkish graves, monuments, whatever in that area.
- Call it "Misak-ı Milli borders!" (borders name in National Pledge) which covers Kirkuk and Mosul and Rakka...
- Call it being the "caring big brother of our Kurdish brothers!"...
- Call it, "our Sunni brothers being threatened by Shiite hordes of Iraq"...
- Call it "our dear Palestinian brothers and sisters crying for our help!"
- Call it, "we want to share the natural wealth of the region if not directly control it ourselves",

Why?

Because Turkey as a capitalist country at imperialist stage must find a solution to problem of energy and natural resources.

There is a background to all these developments in recent Turkish history as well. It can be described as a set of existential/structural problems of the Turkish State.

Turkish Republic was established after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the WWI.

As a natural result of the Ottoman State structure, the new Republic did not inherit traditional bourgeoisie and the working class as there was in the West.

The Turkish Republic has been established by the Military Bureaucracy of which M. Kemal was the leader. That is quite a unique case.

Therefore.

The new semi-secular Republic oppressed the residual Ottoman traditions such as Sultanate, Caliphate, Islamic processes / practices within the State.

The Kemalist leadership chose to follow the Western Type Capitalist development and tried its best to create a bourgeoisie with induction and support of State.

All the Kemalist reforms were aimed to create a society similar to the West, maybe France. It also had helping hand from Revolutionary Russia in the industrialisation campaign between 1925 to 1938. Russians founded for example many sugar and textile factories in the republic.

However, The Kemalist one-party State turned its face more to the Western powers following several developments after the WWII. American Marshall Plans Help and Stalin factor was said to be among the factors affecting Turkish foreign policy.

Kemalist CHP government introduced “multi-party democracy” after 1946. Turkey has forced itself into NATO membership vs. “Soviet Threat” as by-product of Cold War.

Turkish Armed Forces, lost its innocence and independent character with the NATO membership, becoming a vassal organisation of US State.

Until recently the key to getting up in the Military ladder in the Turkish Armed Forces was indexed to education and training in the USA. All members of High Command had to pass - as an unwritten rule - the open / tacit approval of US Government/military.

Until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Turkish Armed Forces were replicating the US Strategy in that part of the world with a few exceptions like Cyprus problem.

After the collapse of Soviet Union, Turkish High Command began expressing the ideas and comments which the civilian bourgeois leaders were afraid to openly express.

Like there was now a new world, Turkey had to rethink her priorities, her friendships and alliances thinking about the wide and wild Central Asian plains from Azerbaijan to Mongolia to which Turks had “soft” belly historically and linguistically.

This was not well taken by the Americans. They weren't impressed at all with the explosion of Turkish own interests into areas where they could not have any control.

So, Gulen movement which was established and had always been as CIA operation all over the world was given green light and this “moderate Shariatist” movement was given all the necessary tools and technology of organisation and infiltration to Turkish State.

AKP was also established as an American operation but it was covering a different group of Islamists who had more dogmatic / bookish approach to the political life. They had more contact and relations with the Saudi Kingdom and Gulf States.

In a way, both were US operations and it was supposed to be win-win for US strategy of “moderate Islam” and “Great Middle East” project.

The reason of drastic changes in the Middle East is a topic for another discussion, but we may summarize the latest developments as follows:

AKP under the leadership of RT Erdogan, as a virtual front of “Moderate Islamic” forces, has been brought to government in 2002 elections. It helped to carry Gulen movement more and more and deeper into Turkish State, especially to Police forces, lower echelons of Turkish Armed Forces and Judiciary as well as private educational institutions and business life. This (AKP-Gulenist) alliance was an uneasy togetherness as Gulen movement was following the American agenda, whereas Erdogan clique and the other allied people had divergent ideas concerning the Muslim Brotherhood, Egyptian leadership, Palestine, Iraq and Syria, and even Afghanistan. On top of that they had an endless fight with semi-secular Turkish Army and its civilian allies like MHP and certain Kemalist circles who regard themselves the “core of the State”, “guardians of last Turkish State”. It was a huge drag camp covering the diametrically opposite views and actions on the Kurdish question, Middle east, Islam, Russia, Central Asia and USA policies.

At the very end there was a power struggle where Gulen movement and AKP-Erdogan clique turned all weapons against each other and Erdogan made an alliance with “core of the State” coalition and there was a coup attempt from Gulen and his allied within the Armed Forces and Judiciary and civilian coalition and they lost. Russians supported the not-so-pro-American clique which was also supported by Gulf Council states and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia whereas Americans seem to have put all their weight behind “moderate Islamist” Gulen movement and their military-civilian allies. The winning party seems now to exterminate the losers for a foreseeable future.

Turkish Government, President and Turkish Army seem to have turned their faces away from USA and EU to more Eastwards for the time being. They also act more proactively in demanding “a fair share” of the cake in the middle east, e.g. More of northern Syria, northern Iraq, Mosul even Kirkuk. Turkish army has already been involved in operations aiming “to exterminate the Kurdish threat to existence of Turkish State”, meaning the destruction of Kurdish military or political independent presence in Turkish Kurdistan; in military operations and presence of more stationery units in northern Syria and northern Iraq.

Turkish President RT Erdogan expressed very recently this as follows:

“Turkey cannot stay at this point. Status quo will change in any which way. We will either surge thrusting forwards and win, or will be damned to get smaller. I, for my part, am committed to make moves forward.”

The surging discussions on the lost Ottoman soil, the bringing forward the maps of Misak-ı Milli to TV screens and chat about them in every TV panel is a sign for impending war from Turkey’s side. That is not good news for the working class of Turkey. OHAL conditions won’t satisfy AKP government clique led by Erdogan, Islamo-fascist State is what they want. I am afraid Martial Law regime will follow and War Situation thereafter.

Unfortunately, seen from here, there isn’t any strong, committed, united anti-war coalition of democratic and left forces of Turkey outside of Kurdish movement or Kurdish agenda. For the time being, of course.

A few words about the situation in the world:

The situation from one angle, has striking similarities to pre-WWI conditions. Quite a lot of pressure in and around the strategically important areas and sources of energy. The probability of a global war seems to be increasing.

Following the collapse of the mighty Soviet Union, world balance of power has changed. Capitalist imperialism does not any more need to cover the wild side, naked capitalist ambition on a world market scale. USA has been utterly ambitious and aggressive all over the world, focusing mainly in the middle east and areas of previously Soviet influence. A sort of unipolar world.

An American diplomat has formulated this as follows:

“With the disintegration of the Soviet Union so many aspects of global politics changed totally. Not only the ideological element in the political process lost its value, but also with the disappearance of the Soviet competition capitalism remained the only economic system with no alternative. Globalisation came soon after and dominated the world. To all these emerged new aspects of reactions, ethnic nationalisms, religious separatisms, racism and populism. With the radically changing character of the industrial capitalism and rise of finance capitalism, the role and significance of working classes declined significantly. Trade unionism died.”

Working class hasn't of course evaporated but lost a big battle and there has been quite big retreat all over the world in the level of class consciousness. WC parties and unions have lost and still losing power and following. There are many and important reasons to that but it is a topic to other / many seminars.

The absolute number and ratio of workers in the world is increasing, we believe. But the old industries are dying and new areas are being introduced. New technologies requiring less or no workers are being introduced. This is creating new situations and new tensions but as one world market is a reality there are several new tensions, strained relations between capitalist powers, the old and new emerging powers (USA – China). Climate is changing. New areas of conflict like Arctic and Antarctic are becoming HOT areas of world politics. Africa is in the threshold of capitalist surge.

Everywhere the world map is being redrawn, the areas of influence are being re-shared, re-plundered, re-distributed between the present and NEWLY EMERGING powers. Like G-8... or G-20...

There are strained relationships between global powers, also strained relations, contradictions between the global companies global pacts and “nation-states”. Brexit is one example of developing reactions to global developments.

As Marx has pointed:

“... At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.” (K. Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 1859)

I hope this happens without a Global War. In order to guarantee such a future, I believe we as the workers of the world must follow “class against class” strategy against the world bourgeoisie in its many forms.

For a world without war without exploitation!

Mumin Koseoglu