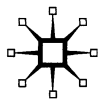


DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF
UNDEMOCRATIC INDIVIDUALS

DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF
UNDEMOCRATIC INDIVIDUALS
PRIVATIZATIONS, LABOR, AND DEMOCRACY
IN TURKEY AND ARGENTINA

Peride K. Blind

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DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF UNDEMOCRATIC INDIVIDUALS
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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

- AFL**—American Federation of Labor
- AID**—Agency of International Development
- AKP**—Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
- ANAP**—Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
- APDFA**—Asociacion de Personal de Dirección de los Ferrocarriles Argentinos (Association of Argentine Railway Managers)
- APJGas**—Asociacion de Personal Jerarquico (Union of Gas in Buenos Aires)
- ATE**—Asociacion de Trabajadores del Estado (Union of Public Employees)
- ATTAC**—La Asociacion por una Tasa a las Transacciones financieras y Ayuda a los Ciudadanos (Association for Taxing Financial Transactions and Help to Citizens)
- BASIN-IS**—Istanbul Print Workers Union in Turkey
- CATEP**—Confederacion Argentina de Trabajadores de Empresas Privatizadas (Argentine Confederation of the Workers of Privatized Enterprises)
- CCC**—La Corriente Clasista y Combativa (The Class-Conscious and Combative Current)
- Ce.P.E.Tel**—Centro de Profesionales de Empresas de Telecomunicaciones (Center of Telecommunication Professionals)
- CFSM**—Comite de Movilizacion por el Forum Social Mundial (Committee of Mobilization for the World Social Forum)
- CGT**—Confederacion General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor)
- CHP**—Cumhuriyet Halk Party (Republican Peoples Party)
- COA**—Confederacion Obrera Argentina (Argentine Workers Confederation)

- CoGT**—Comision de Gestion y Trabajo (Commission of Administration and Labor)
- CORA**—Confederacion Obrera Regional Argentina (Regional Workers Confederation of Argentina)
- CTA**— Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos (Congress of the Argentine Workers)
- CTERA**—Confederacion de Trabajadores de la Educacion de la Republica Argentina (Public Teachers Confederation)
- DIU**—Duyun-i Umumiye (Office of Foreign Debt Management)
- DISK**—Turkiye Devrimci Isci Sendikalari Konfederasyonu (The Revolutionary Labor Unions Confederation of Turkey)
- DSP**—Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)
- DSI**—Devlet Su Isleri Mudurlugu (General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works)
- DP**—Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
- DYP**—Dogru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)
- ENTEL**—La Empresa Nacional de Telecomunicaciones
- EOI**—Export-Oriented Industrialization
- ESOs**—Employee-Share Ownership Programs
- FAECYS**—Federacion Argentina de Empleados de Comercio y Servicios (Federation of Commerce Employees)
- FATEL**—Federacion Argentina de las Telecomunicaciones (Argentine Federation of Telecommunications)
- FATLyF**—Federacion de Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power Federation)
- FETERA**—Federacion de los Trabajadores de Energia de la Republica Argentina (Federation of the Workers of the Energy Sector of the Republic of Argentina)
- FETIA**—Federacion de los Trabajadores de la Industria y Afines (Industry and Industry-Related Workers Federation)
- FNC**—Federacion Nacional de la Construccion (Federation of Construction Workers)
- FNM**—Federacion Nacional Metalurgica (National Federation of Metallurgy Workers)
- FOA**—Federacion Obrera Argentina (Argentine Workers Federation)
- FOECYT**—Federacion de Obreros y Empleados de Correos y Telecomunicaciones (Federation of Workers of Postal and Telecommunication Sectors)

- FOEESITRA**—Federacion de Obreros, Especialistas y Empleados de los Servicios e Industria de las Comunicaciones de la Republica Argentina (Telephone Unions Federation)
- FOETRA**—Federacion de Obreros y Empleados Telefonicos de la Republica Argentina (Federation of Telecommunications Sector Workers)
- FORA**—Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina (Regional Workers Federation of Argentina)
- FTRA**—Federacion de los Trabajadores de la Republica Argentina (Federation of Workers of the Republic of Argentina)
- GIDA-IS**— Gida Sanayi Iscileri Sendikasi (Food Sector Union in Turkey)
- HAK-IS**—Hak Isci Sendikalari Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Turkish Just Workers Union)
- HISB**—Hur Isci Sendikalari Birliđi (Free Labor Unions Federation)
- ICFTU**—International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
- IDTs**—Iktisadi Devlet Tesekkulu (State Economic Enterprises)
- IISB**—Istanbul Isci Sendikalari Birliđi (Federation of Istanbul Labor Unions)
- IMB**—Intermediary Management Body (term describing the new role of a group of Argentine unions as a response to privatizations)
- IPOs**—Initial Public Offerings
- ISI**—Import-Substitution Industrialization
- KIGEM**—Kamu Isletmeciligini Gelistirme Merkezi (Public Administration Development Center-Foundation)
- KIKs**—Kamu Iktisadi Kuruluslari (Public Economic Enterprises)
- KITs**—Kamu Iktisadi Kuruluslari (Public Enterprises in Turkey)
- KRISTAL-IS**— Cam, Cimento, Seramik ve Toprak Sanayi Iscileri Sendikasi (Glassworkers Union in Turkey)
- LASTIK-IS**— Petrol Kimya Ve Lastik Sanayi Iscileri Sendikasi (Rubber Workers Union)
- M/EBOs**—Management or Employee Buy-Outs
- MADEN-IS**—Mineworkers Union in Turkey
- MHP**—Milliyetci Halk Partisi (Nationalist Peoples Party)
- MISK**—Milliyetci Isci Sendikalari Konfederasyonu (Nationalist Labor Unions Confederation)

- MSP**—Milliyetçi Selamet Partisi (Nationalist Security Party)
- MTA**—Movimiento de los Trabajadores Argentinos (Argentine Workers Movement)
- OAC**—Osmanlı Amele Cemiyeti (Ottoman Workers Association)
- Oİ**—Özelleştirme İdaresi (Privatization Administration)
- OM**—Özelleştirme Magdurları (Victims of Privatizations, social movement of the rank and file in Turkey)
- ON**—Oro Negro (Black Gold, social movement of the rank and file in Argentina and unionized within the CTA)
- OTC**—Osmanlı Terakki Cemiyeti (Ottoman Association for Progress)
- PAP**—Politics of Above Parties (strategies and style of negotiation employed by TURK-IS)
- PETROL-IS**— Türkiye Petrol Kimya Lastik İşçileri Sendikası (Turkish Petroleum, Chemical, Rubber Workers Union)
- PJ**—Partido Justicialista (Peronist Justice Party)
- PPP**—Programas de Propiedad Participada (Employee Share Ownership Programs)
- PSO**—Partido Socialista Obrero (Socialist Workers Party)
- SDSB**—Sosyal Demokrat Sendikalar Birliği (Movement of Social Democrat Unionism)
- SALs**—Structural Adjustment Loans
- SEKA**—Türkiye Selüloz ve Kağıt Fabrikası (privatized paper and cellulose producing former Turkish SOE)
- SHP**—Sosyal Demokrat Halk Partisi (Social Democrat Peoples Party)
- SINAPA**— El Sistema Nacional de la Profesión Administrativa (National System for the Civil Service Profession in Argentina)
- SOEs**—State-Owned Enterprises
- SPO**—Devlet Planlama Teskilati (State Planning Organization)
- SUPE**—Federación de Sindicatos Unidos Petroleros del Estado (Labor Federation of Petroleum Unions of the State)
- TBMM**—Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Turkish Grand National Assembly)
- TDİ**—Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri (privatized Turkish SOE of maritime administration)
- TİP**—Türkiye İşçi Partisi (Workers Party of Turkey)

- TISK**—Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Turkish Employers Association)
- TKKO**—Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı Kurulu (Mass Housing and Public Participation Administration)
- TURK-IS**—Türkiye İsci Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Turkish Confederation of Labor Unions)
- TURK-METAL İS**—Union of Metal, Steel, Ammunition, Machinery, and Automobile Assembly and Related Industry Workers of Turkey
- UceDe**—Union del Centro Democrático (Union of the Democratic Center)
- UCR**—Union Cívica Radical (The Radical Party)
- UF**—Union Ferroviaria (Union of Railroad Workers)
- UGT**—Union General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union)
- UGTT**—Union General de los Trabajadores del Transporte (General Union of the Transportation Workers)
- UPCN**—Union del Personal Cívico de la Nación (Union of the Civil Personnel of the Nation)
- UIA**—Union Industrial Argentina (Industrial Union of Argentina)
- UOM**—Union de los Obreros Metalúrgicos (Union of Metallurgical Workers)
- YHK**—Yüksek Hakem Kurulu (High Arbitration Board)

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I started thinking about the questions of democracy and democratization when I was a high school student at *Galatasaray Lisesi*, Istanbul. In this establishment, denominated as the “window of the East opening to the West,” I had the great opportunity and privilege to meet and discuss with students and scholars from Turkey and all around Europe the democratic and undemocratic attributes of the Turkish political system. Having pursued my university studies in the United States, I became convinced that neither Europe nor the Middle East provided a theoretically sound and subjectively immune area for grasping the democratization process in Turkey. I thus started looking around the world and thinking outside the box.

This book project came into being in its most rudimentary form when Sabri Sayari, then director of the Institute of Turkish Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., encouraged me to study Latin America in greater depth for possible comparisons to Turkey. Having received invaluable advice and constant attentiveness from experts on democratization and Latin America at Georgetown, I put forward a dissertation proposal under the guidance of John J. Bailey. George Shambaugh supported the idea of examining the globalization trends as discerned in the massive privatization programs undertaken by the developing world. Andrew Bennett’s intensive courses on qualitative research methods contributed to the forging of the methodological skeleton. Adrian Goldin engaged me in intellectually nourishing discussions tracing the historical development of labor in Argentina. It is to these experts and scholars that this book is indebted to the most.

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Every man, wherever he goes, is encompassed by a cloud of comforting institutions, which move with him like flies on a summer day.

Bertrand Russell (1872–1970)