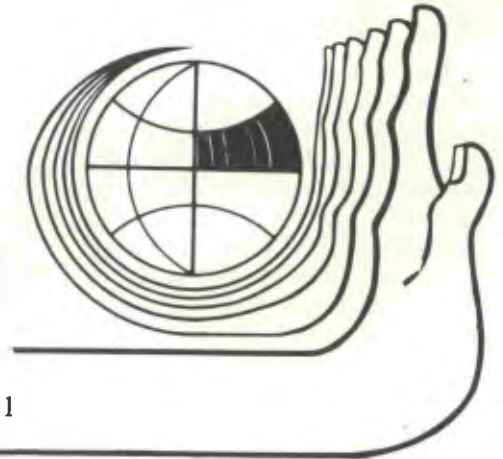


Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey

NEWS- LETTER



Issue No:18 December 1981

ZIA AND EVREN LINK ARMS

General Evren, head of the fascist junta in Turkey, visited Pakistan officially at the end of November. The visit was to return President Zia's visit to Turkey last January and to sign trade, military, political and cultural agreements between the two countries. It was a very well chosen comment when Evren said "It is my first official visit abroad as Head of State. To start with Pakistan was most appropriate. The ties which link our countries are unique" (27 October 1981, *Tercüman*). Perhaps the most unique tie between the two countries is that the people in both do not like their leaders. Despite the efforts of the press Evren was not welcomed in Pakistan. Turkish journalists found it impossible to photograph the so-called enchanted crowds. Could it be that both Zia and Evren are too frightened of the people even to force them to line up in the streets!

Evren and finance capital in Turkey were expecting new profits and new developments from this visit. They made no secret of it. It took Evren quite a while to fly to Islamabad. He made sure that he passed over the air space of as many future markets as possible. He sent messages to six Arab countries and spent an hour with the Saudi Prince at the airport while the plane was refuelling. As soon as he stepped on Pakistan soil he criticised Israel for the invasion of the Arab territories and demanded their withdrawal from the occupied land including Jerusalem. He also "defend" the rights of the Palestinian people. It is ironic that somebody who denies every democratic right to his own people and who does not even accept the existence of the ten million Kurds living in Turkey should go this far. He finally welcomed the Fahd plan for a solution in the middle East.

Turkish finance-capital was delighted with developments. *Hürriyet*, in its leading article on 28 November wrote: "This year we have started an exports offensive. We understand that the export sales which had been achieved were considered satisfactory. What has really been done besides a few show-off exports to Europe?"

"This is an easy and short term trade. However, vast markets are needed for continuous exports... Pakistan has a population of over eighty million... Yes, it is necessary to explore Pakistan."

The visit was aimed at starting this exploration. Agreements were signed: Turkey is going to build a tractor plant there. Of greater significance, however is the agreement on *co-operation in manufacture of arms and military equipment*. *Reuters* reported (28 November 1981). "The emphasis was on military matters during General Evren's six-day visit his first overseas trip since coming to power 14 months ago." The degree of military co-operation remains secret, though it is assumed to be extensive since "A Pakistani technical delegation would visit Turkey soon to discuss establishing defence industry plants, General Evren said..." (28 November 1981, *Financial Times*).

Military adventurism of Turkey's junta is hardly veiled at present: it has issued threats of war against Greece over the Greek Islands' territorial waters, Iraq's Kerkuk and Mosul oilfields have been claimed, and occupation of the northern 40% of Cyprus continues. Even so, US imperialism wishes to add fuel to the coming conflagration. Caspar Weinberger's visit to Ankara at the beginning of December confirmed the aid hike to \$703.5M for next year (up from \$574M



in 1981, and \$450M in 1980). Also decided was US assistance in updating army equipment and establishing a military aircraft industry in Turkey.

Turkish finance-capital might have realised that the methods of their ancestors of plundering other countries, which they used in Cyprus, are long gone. They are adopting more familiar methods which they were longing for. They know that the suppression and exploitation of the working class of Turkey alone will not solve their problems. Relying on Western aid is not safe since it can be affected by strong working class oppositions in those countries and they cannot then be their own bosses. Hence Evren started a crusade of Turkish capital: Pakistan was the first stop. Zia has accepted the leadership of Turkey in the Islamic World. He provides the market and Evren offers the money. It is for their mutual benefit since otherwise neither regimes will be long-lived. They, however, will not be able to save their skins. The people in both countries will fight with ardour to dig the graves of their oppressors. That is the only way to save the world from a new imperialist menace which threatens peace in the region.

WE SAY...

The junta's propaganda offensive in Western Europe is in turmoil. From the day in September this year when the Danish Cabinet decided to block their manoeuvres wherever it could, Western European support for the junta has declined dramatically. The events of the last two months have made clearer the face of the fascist junta to world democratic opinion.

Establishment of the "consultative assembly" was intended to illustrate the much-vaunted "move to democracy" that the generals wished to put over. When it became obvious that its decisions were unimportant, since the National Security Council — the junta — was always to have the final say in every matter, even some of the assembly appointees were reported in Turkish newspapers as querulously wondering "Aren't we allowed even to ask questions here?"

What put the tin hat on it for democratic opinion was undoubtedly the permanent banning of all political parties at the same time as the convening of this assembly. Head of State General Kenan Evren's bad-mouthing towards widely-respected politicians only made matters worse. His calumnies aroused the ire of former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit to the extent that he was moved to write to the state radio and television authorities repudiating the assertions. The result is still with us. Ecevit has been jailed for four months and there is uproar around the world.

The Socialist International and its member parties have made strident protests crystallised around Ecevit's case. However, as Denis Healey said in his statement of the 4 November (carried in *Newsletter* No.17), quashing Ecevit's sentence would only go "some way towards removing doubts as to whether they ever intend to restore democracy in Turkey."

Prime Minister Admiral Bülent Ulusu tried to put on a bold face on 7 December when he threatened that Turkey "might withdraw voluntarily from the Council of Europe," presumably before it gets kicked out in the New Year. Indications are that 1982 will also see a final EEC decision on the already-suspended £340M aid package to Turkey as well as cessation of £100M aid from West Germany alone. In fact, a total shortfall in aid of one billion pounds is predicted for 1982 if the generals remain adamant in their grisly course.

The newly-prominent factor, against the stream of anti-fascist developments,

is an expansion of aid from the good old USA. US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's visit to Turkey early December did nothing to encourage the junta's opponents and everything to please the fascist generals. US aid for 1982 will increase by over 40% to £360M, of which £210M is military aid. General Haig will also visit Turkey, on 13 December, to further bolster the regime. The strategic aim of arming the Middle East's new policeman is there for all to see. The danger for the region is increased tremendously.

Turkey is littered with NATO bases directed against the Soviet Union. Greece's disgust at lack of NATO guarantees against Turkish aggression has led its government towards military disengagement: hence NATO's southern flak is to be beefed up *in Turkey!* Many of the former Shah's army officers are training in Turkey for a royalist onslaught against Iran. If this does not provide oil for Turkey there are always "our blood brothers in Kerkuk and Mosul", conveniently in the middle of Iraq's oilfields, who may need "liberating" soon. The "daughterland" Cyprus is soon to be "bound ever closer to the motherland" by the dissolution of the parliament in the northern 40% of that island occupied by the Turkish army. To cap it all Evren's visit to Zia in Pakistan (see main article in this issue) has come up with an agreement to jointly establish an armaments industry.

The bellicosity of fascist regimes is well-known. Troops were recently despatched to the East to contain the 9 million Kurds' discontent in a way experienced by the Armenians previously — guns, grenades and genocide.

What increases the desperation of Turkey's junta is that its social base is insecure — fascism came from above. Any improvements in export performance have come from a severely depressed domestic demand as there has been no increase in production since the fascist coup. Still industry is working at quarter capacity, there is massive under and unemployment (around 20%) and inflation continues to bite into working class standards of living at 40% p.a. Little wonder that chauvinistic Atatürkism is being whipped up to justify crack-downs within the country and expansionism abroad.

One lesson which the junta hopes to teach the working class in Turkey is that only state-run fascist trade unions will be permitted.

On 24 December starts the long-awaited trial of 52 leaders of the DISK (Revolutionary Confederation of Trade Unions), predominantly supporters of the Republican Peoples Party, of which Ecevit was Chairman. The fate of these 52 is death, is the junta gets its way: that is the sentence already demanded by the prosecution even before they enter court. Despite the seasonal problems in the West posed by the deliberate choice of Christmas Eve for this first court appearance, CDDRT expects to send observers to this trial. **We appeal urgently to all trade unionists** to respond in a true spirit of working class internationalism and give generously to CDDRT in order that observers do attend and eventually report back at first-hand. A form appears elsewhere to accompany your individual or trade union donation.



Growing doubts over the restoration of democracy

In a trial lasting less than half-an-hour, Bülent Ecevit, Turkey's former Prime Minister, was sentenced to be jailed for four months on 2 November. He was accused of violating a decree of the National Security Council which bans everyone from stating their own opinions except General Kenan Evren. The sentence was confirmed at the end of November.

The sentence must be considered an extremely light one by Turkish standards, almost certainly because of the international furore which the jailing of Ecevit was expected to provoke.

The Common Market Commission has warned the Turkish junta that the important new financial agreement between the EEC and Turkey which was planned for the end of November will be frozen as a result of the imprisonment of the former Turkish Prime Minister.

A recent statement made by Turkey's financial head, Deputy Prime Minister Özal, (5 November 1981, *Guardian*) saying "European threats to cut off aid until democracy is restored will have less and less impact because of Turkey's improving economic performance" is a clear bluff. It is well known that the fascist junta is out begging for every penny that it can get. They are ready to sell their mothers for a promise of a credit! They claim that inflation has been reduced to an acceptable level (over 30%), exports have been increased considerably and the economy is improving.

But why don't they tell us how they managed to achieve their claimed improvement in the economy?

Since the fascist coup (12 Sept 1980) all trade union activities have been banned and the right of collective bargaining has been revoked. Of course inflation will come down if working class people can buy less and less day by day and of course exports will increase if most of the goods produced are being exported and very few, if any, are left for the home market with its extremely high prices.

"There has been growing concern in the EEC at the plans announced by the military regime in Ankara for returning to parliamentary rule" (23 October 1981, *Guardian*).

The fascist junta is finding it more and more difficult to pursue its policies, as was made clear during the visit to Turkey by the West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "The

military junta has run into unexpected difficulties due to pressure from West Germany and may be forced to change course. Mr. Genscher made it clear that his Government wants to see a rapid return to genuine democracy" (12 November 1981, *Guardian*).

Following his discussions on human rights, Herr Genscher raised grave implications in his departure speech when he said "When our country was ruled by a dictatorship, many German democrats found a second home in Turkey" (6 November 1981, *Times*).

An EEC official said "We have been a little shocked at the ban on all the constitutional political parties which seems to make a nonsense of the Turkish Government's commitment to restore democracy" (23 October 1981, *Guardian*). Opinion in the EEC has been influenced by the reports of the torture of political prisoners in Turkish jails and the banning of trade unions and other organisations.

Turkey's political parties were disbanded in October and recently, on 10 November, the fascist junta ordered the sale of the financial assets of the political parties in question. Now the fascist junta has indicated that it will form special "Atatürkist" parties having no connection with any of the former politicians. On November 30 the *Guardian* wrote as follows: "The idea of replacing conservative and social democratic parties with artificial groupings which would have a monopoly of the right to contest elections has been privately greeted as 'clearly undemocratic' by some western European countries."

It is very clearly known what is meant by Atatürkist parties. "Atatürk hanged, jailed and exiled the trouble-makers of his time and free elections did not come until 12 years after his death. Each time the armed forces have intervened they have done so, as they said, for Atatürk and democracy." (6 November 1981, *Guardian*). Atatürkism (Kemalism) has a deeply authoritarian side with great attractions for the present fascist regime. "The authoritarian Kemalist tradition and the simplistic military mind now seem to have combined to place the restoration of democracy in Turkey in considerable doubt" (6 November 1981, *Guardian*).

The only way to remove the doubts as regards the restoration of democracy in Turkey is by removing the fascist junta in Turkey.

Letters from Turkey

The Supreme Arbitration Council* has drawn up and ratified the latest collective bargaining agreement at the Ereğli Coal-Mining Works (ECW).

Putting into effect the collective bargaining agreement for the coming period, the Supreme Arbitration Council has, on behalf of nearly fifty thousand workers at ECW, amended 54 Articles and abolished another 20 Articles (5 of which were provisional) in the old agreement:

The period of training courses which the employer was obliged to set up in order to prevent industrial accidents has been reduced from 15 days to 3 days. Workers returning from sickness leave, army service or professional trade-union work need no longer be re-employed. The period allowed for paid and unpaid leave has also been reduced.

The article which prescribed that the employment contracts of disabled workers cannot be terminated has also been repealed by the Supreme Arbitration Council. Furthermore, the following sentence in Article 1 of the old Agreement: "development of the workers' social and cultural level of knowledge, the strengthening of their economic power, securing for the worker the safest working conditions" has been erased from the text of the new agreement.

To Article 14 which prescribed that "workers undergoing training are to be paid their full wages" were added the words "except such pay as includes bonuses for skilled and heavy labour". The amendment to Article 20 deleted the condition that "the worker's consent is to be taken in cases of permanent changes of workplace from the central works to outside branches and vice versa". Holidays and leaves have been shortened.

Another amendment is related to workers who have been under arrest. "If a worker is arrested for any crime whatsoever, and if he is detained for more than 30 days, his service will be considered redundant." ... Wage increases have been the lowest for years.

This agreement which denies almost all social and cultural rights has led to fierce opposition in the Zonguldak region. It has become the main topic of conversation in the workers' quarters and cafes. Feelings of opposition and hatred are openly expressed by the workers.

* A state-controlled body set up by the junta after 12 September whose decisions in relation to industrial disputes are absolutely binding — *Newsletter*.

COMMONS PROTEST

AT ECEVIT JAILING

The President of CDDRT, Stan Newens MP, put down an Early Day Motion on 4 November 1981. It was subsequently signed by a total of 75 MPs. We give the Motion and its supporters below. Is your MP amongst them? If he/she is, write and offer congratulations on their stand. If not, find out why not!

That this House utterly deplores the sentence of imprisonment imposed upon Mr Bülent Ecevit, former Prime Minister of Turkey, without right of appeal, for sending a letter to the state television and radio network asking for the right of reply to allegations made against him on television and radio by General Kenan Evren, head of the Turkish military junta, which seized power in 1980; and, considering that this illustrates yet again the completely undemocratic nature of the regime, calls upon Her Majesty's Government to lodge a strong protest and to cut off all military aid to the regime.

Eric Deakins
Ken Eastham
Norman Buchan
Ann Taylor
Tom Torney
William McKelvey
George Cunningham
John Home Robertson
Edwin Wainwright
Dr John Gilbert
William Whitlock
Guy Barnett
Stan Thorne
Gordon A T Bagier
Donald Dewar
Michael Meacher
Bruce George
Doug Hoyle
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Jim Marshall
Joe Dean
Peter Hardy
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Donald Coleman
William Wilson
Robert Edwards
Sidney Bidwell
Lawrence Cunliffe
Bob Cryer
Ted Graham
John Golding
David Winnick
Lewis Carter-Jones
Thomas McNally
Ian Mikardo
Clive Soley
David Ennals
Laurie Pavitt

George Robertson
Martin Flannery
David Stoddart
Harry Ewing
Allen McKay
Dick Douglas
Ernie Roberts
Sheila Wright
David Watkins
Ron Lewis
J W Rooker
Dr David Clark
Bill Homewood
Leslie Spriggs
Hugh McCartney
Bob McTaggart
Stanley Newens
Giles Radice
Eric S Heffer
Norman Atkinson
Ioan Evans
Bryan Magee
Ronald Leighton
Alfred Dubs
Joan Maynard
D. Campbell-Savours
Ernie Ross
Tom Cox
Neil Carmichael
Denzil Davies
Betty Boothroyd
Tony Benn
James Johnson
Russell Kerr
John Tilley
Frank Dobson
George Morton
Norman Hogg

IN BRIEF

Cheap labour cheap life

"We can't compete in the high technology bidding, but for the civil engineering projects — housing, pipelines, roads, water treatments plants — we can do the work cheaper than anyone else.

"Turkey is the largest source of cheap skilled labour closest to the Middle East. This keeps our prices down. Europeans and Americans inevitably have problems and extra costs bringing in foreign workers from South Asia and expensive western supervisors." (Mustafa Yol-aşan, an Enka Holdings executive, in *Newspot*, official paper of the junta).

W men under fascism

Speaking on a new draft Civil War prepared by a Commission which stated "man and woman are jointly responsible for the family", Prime Minister Admiral (Retd.) Bülent Ulusu recently expressed his opposition to it thus:

"The leader of the family is definitely the husband. A property without an owner will be left derelict, therefore every property has to have an owner. The family cannot be left derelict, so it has to have an owner, a responsible one. The only one responsible is the man."

Defeatism and Society

Is it only football?
Is it only sports?
Look in the shopwindows — there are no books to read.
Universities — numbed.
Theatres — numbed.
Theatres and cinemas — dissident.
Poetry and music — lifeless.
Literature — nondescript.
Politics — characterless.
Polemics — immoral.
What happened to us?
When did this happen?

(Rauf Tamer in *Tercüman* 6 September 1981 *ostensibly* writing about yet another World Cup soccer defeat for Turkey's national team. It's not only football, says Rauf!)

Purifying Television

102 broadcasting staff have been dismissed for political reasons. All were offered incomparable jobs elsewhere in the Civil Service. The head of TV News in Ankara, Enver Delikçi, was assigned as an accounts clerk in the Ministry of Construction, a ministry which also was to have received, as an archivist, Melek Dener, Istanbul TV's leading newsreader. Others were given postings outside of broadcasting to Kurdistan.

...Newspapers

Ali Sirmen's passport was confiscated and he was refused permission to leave Turkey on 19 November 1981. He is a journalist on *Cumhuriyet* and was due to visit West Germany. No reason for the junta's action was given.

Metin Çulhaoğlu has been sentenced to 7½ years in prison plus 3½ years internal exile. This was for an article published in a left-wing magazine 4 months before the fascist coup.

Criticism of press censorship in *Universal Friendship* led to the arrest at the end of November of the editor, Hüseyin Acuntaş.

....and films

Yılmaz Güney, the popular film director, was sentenced to 7½ years in prison in his absence at the end of November. His films have been exhibited at Cannes, London and Berlin.

Güney's film "*The Herd*", starring Melike Demirağ (whose Turkish citizenship has been taken away), is to be shown at the ICA, The Mall SW1 in March 1982.

DIGEST OF TURKEY'S PRESS

Evren commented on television: "There will again certainly be a system based on political parties, though not on the existing ones" (12 October 1981, *Tercüman*).

"The state body governing industrial disputes and collective bargaining (YHK) has rejected almost all of the objections made by trade unions against collective bargaining agreements for the coming period" (30 October 1981, *Milliyet*).

Even Türk-İş, the yellow trade union says that "The YHK's (Supreme Arbitration Board) evaluations regarding workers wages are not well-balanced. It was announced that wage rises this year would be 'comparatively less' than last year, they will also be linked to the inflation rate, the *official*

inflation rate that is" (30 October 1981, *Tercüman*).

Von Hassel who had submitted a Report to the European Commission on Turkey some months ago has visited Turkey. At the time the Report was regarded by many MEP's as a "blatant whitewash job". Despite mounting opposition in the EEC, he still maintains that "The European Community should help Turkey more" (24 October 1981, *Milliyet*).

"A house identical to that of Atatürk's house in Salonika has been built in Ankara. Evren in his opening speech commented: "Turkish mothers will give birth to many more Atatürk's. But Mustafa Kemal will always have a place at their head and enlighten their path" (12 November 1981, *Tercüman*).



The DISK defendants listen to the indictment in an Istanbul martial law court room.

Save trad uni nists' lives

December 24 sees the start of the trial of 52 DISK (Revolutionary Trade Union Confederation) leaders, held since the fascist coup on 12 September 1980. The Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey intends to send at least one observer to this trial. To do this we require donations, the larger the better, from you and your organisation as soon as possible. The urgency of the situation demands a swift response, a response which we confidently expect to be in the best traditions of working class internationalism.

For your convenience, we include a detachable form to accompany your remittance.

I/we enclose £ to help send an observer to the trial of 52 DISK trade unionists. Please send the receipt to:

.....

 When completed return to CDDRT, 29 Parkfield St, London N1.

The Ambassador,
Embassy of the Republic of Turkey,
43 Belgrave Square,
London SW1.

7 September 1981

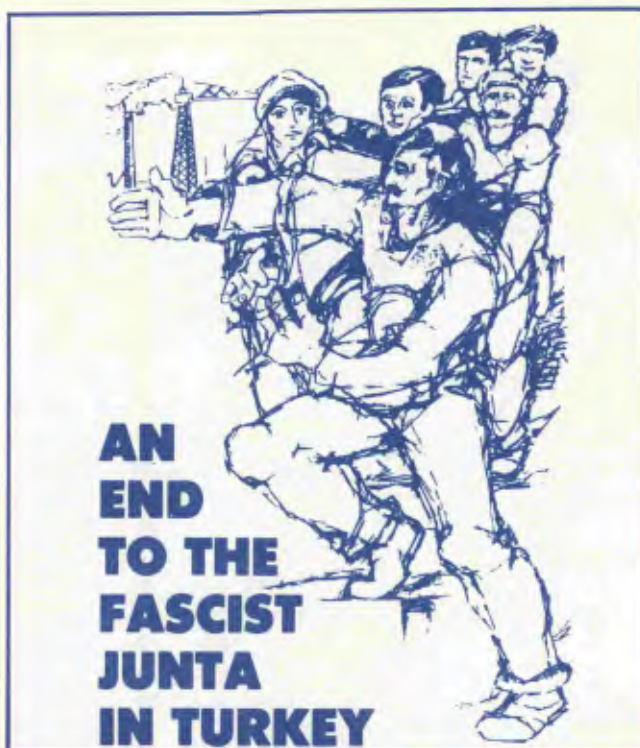
Dear Sir,

This Trades Council has become increasingly horrified at the persecution which has been meted out against the trade union organisation, DISK, by your Government. The savagery with which the Turkish Government deals with its own people, our brothers and sisters, places it alongside the most vicious regimes.

The existence of a strong, healthy, autonomous trade union movement is an essential constituent of any society with pretensions to freedom. The events in your country only confirm the worst fears of trade unionists in this country and utterly discredit the Turkish name in the eyes of world opinion. It is clear that your Government, however, cares little for either world opinion or basic human rights, bear witness, as the toll of executions and imprisonments bear witness.

We therefore declare our support for our Turkish brothers and sisters and call upon you to reverse your policy with respect to Turkish working people. We cannot stand by while such depredations continue, and can assure you that until Turkish trade unionists are left in liberty and peace your Government will earn the enmity of the international trade union movement.

Rod Robertson
Secretary, Southwark Trades Council



Help CDDRT funds and keep in touch with friends — cards bearing this design are now available from CDDRT. Inside each is the message "Season's Greetings to all supporters of the struggle of Turkey's working people against the fascist junta."

Cards are £2.00 for 10 including postage.

Sponsors to date include:

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Phillip Whitehead, MP
Sheila Wright, MP
Richard Balfe, MEP
Roland Boyes, MEP
Richard Caborn, MEP
Ann Clwyd, MEP
Kenneth D Collins, MEP
Brian Key, MEP
Alf Lomas, MEP
Dave Aaronovitch, Pres. NUS
Colin Barnett, Sec., NW TUC
Ken Brett, AGS AUEW
Stan Cole, AUEW NC
Harry Conroy, Pres., NUJ
Lawrence Daly, NUM
J. Davidson, NW Dist. Sec. FTAT
Frances Dean, Sec., Manchester TUC Council
Beryl Hufinley, Yorks and Humberside TUC
E.W. Hughes, Vice Pres., NW TUC
Alex Kitson, TGWU

Mick McGahey, NUM
Alan Sapper, ACTT
Bob Wright, AGS AUEW
APEX — Holborn Branch
ASTMS — Manchester HS Branch
AUEW — Kingston District
AUEW — N. Manchester District
AUEW — Sheffield District
GMWU 115 Manchester Branch
NALGO — Hackney Branch
NUM
NUPE
NUR — Manchester
TGWU
TGWU Reg. No. 1
UCATT — NW Region
Cambridge & District Trades Council
Greenwich Trades Council
Hackney Trades Council
Leeds Trades Council
Cities of London & Westminster Trades Council
Rotherham Trades Council
Stockport Trades Council
Waltham Forest Trades Council
GEC Openshaw JSSC
Ardwich CLP
Hazelgrove CLP
Runcorn CLP
St. Helens CLP

Wavertree CLP
LPYS
NOLS
Communist Party of Great Britain
Association of Cypriot Women in Britain
KNE — Communist Youth of Greece (org. in Britain)
Portuguese Communist Party (org. in Britain)
Cyprus Students' Society — Manchester University
Organisation of Supporters of Iranian People's Fedaii
(Maj) — Britain
Committee for the Defence of the Iranian Revolution
Iraqi Student's Society — UK (Branch of GUSIR)
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (UK)
City of London Polytechnic Students' Union
UMIST — Students' Union
Manchester Poly Students' Union
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
London Co-op Political Committee
Lord Fenner Brockway
Lord Jenkins of Putney
Mgr. Bruce Kent
Arthur Latham
Robert J. Longuet
William Pomeroy
Marion Sarafi
Gordon Schaffer
E.P. Thompson

What is CDDRT?

CDDRT works to build solidarity in the struggle against fascist oppression of the working class, democratic and revolutionary movements in Turkey; against the genocide of the Kurdish nation; and against the expansionism of Turkey's finance capital, presently experienced by the peoples of Cyprus.

CDDRT considers it is necessary to campaign vigorously within the labour and trade union and student movements, organising demonstrations and meetings, to stop torture of political prisoners and ensure their release, bring an end to the violent judicial attack on DISK trade union confederation leaders and members, and prevent the consolidation of fascism in Turkey.

We call for an end to military rule, freedom for all democratic organisations, withdrawal of Turkey from NATO and cessation of all military, political and economic support, and an end to the occupation of Cyprus.

Wider sections of public opinion are becoming aware of the situation of the people of Turkey under the fascist junta. Ensure than you and your organisation play their part: *affiliate to CDDRT NOW!*

Affiliation to CDDRT?

Help fight the barbaric regime in Turkey. Affiliate to the Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (CDDRT). Cost of affiliation: National organisations £25, local organisations £10, individuals £5 for one year from 1 January 1982.

Name:

Address:

Send to: CDDRT, 29 Parkfield Street, London, N1. Tel: 01-226 3401. (Make cheques or postal orders payable to CDDRT)