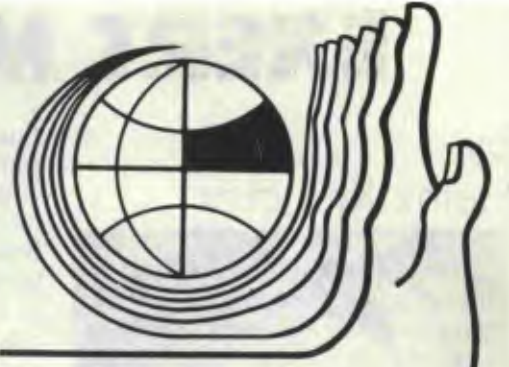


# TURKEY NEWSLETTER

Monthly publication of the Committee for  
Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey



Issue No 36

July 1983

## Hands Off Cyprus!



## Kıbrıs'tan Elinizi Çekin!

# EXERT MORE PRESSURE

by  
Heinz Kluncker



Heinz Kluncker

...Numerous Turkish trade unionists, who belong mainly to the Turkish trade union federation, DİSK, are at present standing trial in military courts. The military authorities have practically paralysed the activities of this trade union federation and its affiliated trade unions. PSI affiliate, GENEL-İŞ, the largest member organisation of the trade union federation, DİSK, is affected. This trade union is currently being tried by the military authorities.

There is no free, democratic state in the world where our imprisoned Turkish colleagues could be tried—let alone sentenced—on the basis of the accusations and insinuations which the military authorities have so far presented. This is one more reason why our demand for their immediate release is so urgent and so justified.

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Those who are concerned about trade union freedom and trade union rights in Turkey must always bear in mind that Turkey is under a state of emergency, in effect, martial law. Trade unionists in many countries know what that implies, and unfortunately, not just from historical experience.

The new Turkish constitution...has curtailed fundamental democratic rights as well as trade union freedom...The new constitution curtails not only basic democratic rights and the scope of trade union activities, but expressly gives legal acceptance to the lockout.

The complete legal framework for future trade union activities cannot be

finally assessed and judged until the new trade union law and the laws concerning collective bargaining, strikes and lockouts, have finally been passed by the National Security Council and have come into force. These laws, which have in the meantime, been submitted as a draft, are to replace the trade union law and the law dealing with collective bargaining, strikes and lockouts, which both date back to 1963.

Even the procedure adopted is telling. The preliminary work on the drafts was carried out by the Turkish Ministry of Labour. After that, a committee of the General Secretariat of the National Security Council submitted new drafts. Because of the very fact that their members come from the armed forces, the National Security Council and its committees have no democratic legitimation.

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Anyone who takes a closer look at the new Turkish constitution and the drafts of the two new laws, must conclude — if he has experience of trade union work and is guided by inalienable trade union principles—that effective trade union

activities are being made almost impossible.

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If the drafts of the trade union law concerning collective bargaining become reality, one would hardly be able to speak of any democratic life or the existence of free trade unions in Turkey.

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The free trade union movement has the...right as well as the duty to comment on the events in Turkey. We have always nailed our colours to the mast and stood our ground when peace was about to be threatened, human rights violated or trade union rights withheld or abolished.

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Trade unionists throughout the world have stood up and will stand up uncompromisingly for fundamental democratic rights and for trade union freedom.

Now we have an obligation towards our colleagues in Turkey. We must renew our protests. The Turkish trade unionists, especially those who are now being persecuted or detained, must know whose side we are on.

*This article is composed of excerpts from an article in the April issue of the PSI bulletin, INFO*

## TUC calls for sanctions

THE TUC called this week for economic and political sanctions to press for a return to democracy in Turkey.

The call was made following a meeting between TUC general secretary Len Murray and representatives of the banned Turkish trade union federation Disk on Tuesday.

A joint statement issued after the meeting called on the British government to apply economic and political pressures on the Turkish military regime until trade union and other democratic rights are restored.

Since the military coup in September 1980 the TUC's general council has been deeply concerned about curbs on trade union rights in Turkey including the banning of Disk and the imprisonment of many Disk leaders, 68 of whom are currently facing death sentences in a military tribunal, says the joint statement.

Partly as a result of international pressures some trade union leaders have been allowed bail but most, including Disk president Abdullah Basturk, are still in prison. Thousands of other trade unionists are also in jail, often kept in appal-

ling conditions. Many have been subjected to torture.

The curbs on trade unions imposed when the military took power have now been institutionalised through new legislation and a new constitution approved by referendum last November.

None of the pre-coup political parties were able to participate in the referendum which gave general Evren who heads the military government over 90 per cent of the vote.

The rules regulating trade unions curtail the right to strike and organise and are "wholly unacceptable and totally incompatible with international trade union standards, says the statement.

"A precondition for the return to genuine democracy in Turkey is the release of Disk leaders, freedom for all those who have been imprisoned on political grounds, the lifting of the ban on Disk and the restoration of basic trade union rights", it says.

Until then, the TUC will continue its efforts in support of the Turkish trade union movement and to provide relief to the families of Disk members in jail, it says.

# Closure of Great Turkey Party

When Turkey's fascist junta first decided to cover its words of a 'return to democracy' with a façade of 'political parties' and 'elections', it floated the idea of a three party system: one nominally based on social democracy, one 'right wing' and one 'centrist'. The latter was to have been so close to the junta — composed of civilians bureaucrats and dissatisfied ex-politicos — it was almost indecent.

Even in the first election, which junta head President Evren has announced for 6 November this year, the junta's 'centrist' party could not have been a political possibility. This first idea was then skillfully dropped and plan two put into operation.

The junta's best bet for absolute control was thus a right wing party. This had been set up under the leadership of a former general: the Nationalist Democracy Party. It had been formed by deserters from the long-banned Justice Party of former prime minister Süleyman Demirel.

But the ghost of Demirel's party was not laid to rest. Its activists persuaded another former general to head their own right wing party: the Great Turkey Party. This was at first allowed to form by the fascist junta. In the short time from spring to autumn this year

this party looked like getting its act together very rapidly: the ex-parliamentarians of the Justice Party (JP) applied for membership *en masse*, followed two days later by former local heads of the JP. The most right wing sections of the press gave heavy hints on the lines of 'which is the real one', lending increasingly open support to the Great Turkey Party.

This posed a threat to absolute junta control. The Great Turkey Party clearly was too independent and looked likely to gain much more support than their Nationalist Democracy Party. So the fascist junta completely banned the Great Turkey Party and imprisoned Demirel and other leading adherents, who were anyway prohibited from political activity for ten years by the Constitution.

The junta's decree banning the Great Turkey Party states that, "... it became clear that they had attempted to divide citizens into camps...to implant the seeds of hostility and to raise the banner of revenge and hatred in order to continue the philosophy of a banned party. In addition it was understood that certain persons who had lost the right to form a political party, according to the transitional Fourth Article of the Constitution, participated in the



establishment activities in person and tried to influence public opinion."

The junta has thus closed down the Great Turkey Party and has now even prohibited former leaderships at the local level in the old parties from participating in the establishment of new parties. It has also banned former mayors from parliamentary service. Sixteen former politicians, including some from Ecevit's social democratic Republican People's Party, are forced to reside in one place until the formation of the presidium of the new parliament! Just to be absolutely sure, the junta has decreed that this decision cannot be discussed in any way, including in the press, and that anyone disobeying will be punished under Martial law regulations.

## MODEL LETTER TO HMG

Following the return of a Conservative Government in Britain we urge our readers and supporters of democratic rights in Turkey to write to the Foreign Secretary for clarification of the Government's view of Turkey. In the *June Turkey Newsletter* we carried a statement from the Conservative Party on Turkey. Events since that statement was written—the invasion by Turkey of Iraq, banning a new political party and supporters of two others, and imprisonment of more politicians—will need assessing by Her Majesty's Government. In the light of that reassessment the Model Letter below questions the previously stated position.

Use the form of this model letter or write your own, as you wish. We would be interested in any replies sent to individuals or organisations.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC MP  
Secretary of State  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
Downing St  
London SW 1

Dear Sir,

A statement made on behalf of the Conservative Party and published in the *June Turkey Newsletter* said that, "The present leaders of Turkey have stated publicly that they intend to return the country to democracy by 1984, and we have no reason to doubt this."

In recent weeks Turkey's junta has: 1. Violated Iraqi territory, killing and arresting Iraqi Kurds; 2. Banned one of the political parties it had formerly allowed to be formed; 3. Prohibited several founders of two other new parties from taking any part in politics; 4. Imprisoned another former prime minister and other former political leaders.

Do these actions indicate a desire on the junta to return to democracy? Will a sham democracy through which the fascist junta continues to rule have the support of Britain's newly-elected Government?

Yours sincerely,

# Invasion of Iraq

Turkey's 300km border with Iraq was, on 26 May 1983, disregarded by Turkey's fascist junta in pursuit of its continual war against the Kurds. This attack was an extension of the continual war against Kurds within Turkey's borders, which recently led to massive troop transfers from the Aegean to Kurdistan in Turkey.

Coyness of Turkey's spokesmen has obscured the troop numbers involved, but estimates of up to 40,000 men have been suggested. The measure of their success in their objectives was the claimed prisoners captured. Many will now face torture and death in Turkish or Iraqi prisons for their just struggle for self-determination for the Kurds and for socialism in Iraq.

The Turkish junta's intervention in Iraq's internal affairs actually broke the Iraq-Turkey agreement on border 'pursuit' for military purposes (against the Kurds). The limit for these 'pursuits' (which this was not anyway) is only 18km far exceeded by Turkish armed forces in their festival of murder.

Whatever weaknesses Iraq's bloody regime exhibited in giving cur-like permission for Turkish fascist forces to enter Iraq, there is no doubt Turkey's junta was doing a military job for it. Busy as Iraq's Ba'athist regime is with the war against Iran, the Communist Party of Iraq and Iraq's Kurds represent a potent threat to its totalitarian rule. One reactionary regime helps out another—and increases its own prestige amongst such regimes by attacking "communists and separatists".

The dangers of fascist regimes is once more graphically illustrated. The chauvinism bred of fascism has once more led to military action beyond state boundaries. The ever present danger of war in the Mideast took on an extra dimension with the junta's battles inside Iraq.

World democratic opinion, including in Britain, must not remain silent in the face of such provocation. Never let us forget that Turkey's rulers hope to regain what they can of lost Ottoman territories. They may regain some in economic terms only, but their sights are set on eventual territorial 'return' of whole sections of neighbouring states. Despite cooperation with Israel in last year's Lebanon war, when the Israelis were asked to return Turkish leftists fighting with the PLO, the fascist junta is very aware that the Ottoman Empire once included present day Israel, as well as Lebanon, Syria and Iraq.



*Kurdish Peshmergas in action*

Protests at Turkey's military aggression in Iraq must come thick and fast. All democrats and progressives must urge their organisations to condemn utterly Turkey's interference in Iraq's internal affairs. We must give our solidarity to the Kurdish people in struggle against this genocidal attack. We must give our solidarity to Iraq's working people and its leading democratic and progressive organisations in opposing this murderous attack. And we must give our solidarity to the working people of Turkey in their struggle to destroy this fascist military junta, this continual threat to peace in the Mideast.

Write to your new MP, House of Commons, Westminster, London SW1A 0AA and urge her or his protest. Write to the Turkish Ambassador, Turkish Embassy, 43 Belgrave Square, London SW1 and express your outrage. We would be interested in any responses you get.

## Kurdistan in Turkey Second CDDRT Congress Resolution

Congress notes that in recent trials in Kurdistan several multiple death sentences have been demanded against members of the Kurdish national movement. Taken together with the fact of other numerous death sentences, massacres of Kurdish prisoners and the recent Turkish military actions in Kurdistan, the continuing trials and tortures underline the junta's genocidal policy towards Turkey's Kurds. This policy is further underlined by the close cooperation of the fascist regime with the bloody Ba'ath dictatorship in Iraq against the Kurdish people.

Congress condemns utterly the chauvinist, racist attacks on the Kurdish nation and its culture. We completely support the right of the Kurds to determine their own future and we uphold their right to struggle against oppression by any means necessary.

Congress pledges that in the future work of CDDRT the Kurdish question and its relation to the downfall of the fascist junta will continue to receive great prominence.

# Fascist UDI Threat to Cyprus

It is 9 years since the Turkish Army of finance capital invaded Cyprus in July 1974 and occupied 40% of the island. In the last 9 years Turkish capital has tried in every way to make Cyprus an integral part of Turkey. It occupied the northern part of Cyprus with its banks, currency, postal system and large companies, and is trying to change trade and commerce in a way that will suit its interests best.

Now 9 years after the invasion of Cyprus a new and more dangerous stage of Turkish aggression is approaching: the threat of an 'independent' Turkish State in Cyprus — UDI.

The United Nations General Assembly Decision on Cyprus in May 1983, proposed: to continue the bilateral talks, to internationalise the Cyprus question, to withdraw military forces from Cyprus, to maintain a united and independent republic and to solve the Cyprus question by peaceful means. The fascist junta in Turkey and its puppet Denktas government of "the Turkish Federal State of Cyprus" expressed their profound dissatisfaction with any peaceful solution, boycotted the bilateral talks and threatened the continued export of bloody fascism onto the backs of Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

Junta puppet President Rauf Denktas has been very busy since the UN vote trying to get support for the junta position. Some of the countries which have contingents in the UN peace-keeping force in Cyprus voted for the decision, to the dismay of the fascist junta and their puppets on the island. Denktas now says that they are no longer

neutral. He was seen busily inviting the Commander of the UN Peace-Keeping Force to his offices telling him to be more careful. He also made a tour of Europe trying to muster support. In Britain he met Margaret Thatcher but in France his application to receive a diplomatic visa was rejected by the Mitterand government, causing a new diplomatic "war of words" between Turkey and France.

It is interesting to note the new wave of chauvinism in the Turkish media on the question of Cyprus. They are claiming that a new military radar installation in southern Cyprus is being



## DEMONSTRATE!

On Sunday 17 <sup>July</sup> ~~June~~ 1983 you have the opportunity of demonstrating your opposition to Turkey's continued occupation of 40% of northern Cyprus. (This is the nearest Sunday to the exact day nine years ago when Turkey's armed forces invaded Cyprus.) Join us behind the CDDRT banner!

Provisionally the assembly point for the march is Hyde Park, London after lunch. Apart from the date, exact details were not available from the organisers when we went to press. Telephone CDDRT on 01-226-2668 for the finalised times and venue.

used to spy on the whole of Anatolia! The fascist Turkish Intelligence network claims to have received information

about an Armenian plot organised in southern Cyprus. All this is of course just a provocation preparing the groundwork for a so-called 'independent' Turkish State of Cyprus. The real threat to the peoples of the region is in the fact of a new military airfield being built in the occupied north of Cyprus to be used by the US Air Force as an operations and command centre against the whole of the peoples of the Middle East.

The fascist junta is trying to push their discredited argument of 'self-determination for Turkish Cypriots' as a basis for declaring independence. No democrat worth his salt would fall for that big lie technique. The genocide perpetrated against Turkey's Kurds, constituting 20% of the population, nails the lid on the fascists true understanding of self-determination.

On May 25 1983 the Turkish Lira became the official monetary unit in the occupied north of Cyprus. With this official transaction an important step toward unification with Turkey has been reached. Now it is only a matter of time until the fascist junta in Turkey and their puppets in Cyprus declare 'independence'.

The dangers to Cyprus' peoples are very great today. There is progressive opposition against the declaration of independence. Some mass organisations and trade unions in occupied northern Cyprus have rejected the idea. There was even an internal strike until the Turkish authorities curtailed it.

Cyprus belongs to Greek and Turkish Cypriots. All who wish to see an end to the crime against the peoples of Cyprus, Greek and Turkish, and who want to see them free to determine their own destiny, have only one choice: join us in the united struggle to overthrow Turkey's fascist junta, and kick the Turkish Army out of Cyprus!

## Second CDDRT Congress Resolutions on Cyprus

In July 1974 Turkey annexed by force 40% of Cyprus. This illegal occupation and colonisation continues unabated. The people of northern Cyprus face the danger of fascism being exported to their land by the same regime which is ruthlessly and barbarically suppressing its own people in Turkey. The junta now proposes to build a new military airfield in the occupied north of Cyprus to threaten the peoples of the region.

Recently the fascist junta in Turkey has envisaged a policy of occupying the rest of the island under the pretext of destroying so-called "Armenian Terrorist Camps."

In the light of the tragic plight of Cyprus and recent developments taking place in respect of the island, this Congress resolves:

- 1) To expose the expansionist aims of the fascist junta in Cyprus and in the Middle East, and to condemn these policies with utmost vigour;
- 2) To consolidate ties with the Cypriot people and to coordinate united mass actions against these policies on the eve of the ninth anniversary of the occupation of Cyprus.

# The Battle of the Sharks

The nearest thing to party politics in Turkey is the debate between rival factions in the Consultative Assembly over the mining Bill. Under the 1961 constitution, only the State had the right to sanction mineral extraction and exploration. The Ecevit Government took this one step further and nationalised 630 lignite mines, 224 iron ore mines and 47 boron ore mines.

What is happening now within the mineral industries is a two fold process. The exploitation of Turkish reserves of boron, a non-metallic element used to make metals hard and heat resistant, and other minerals with military applications, such as thorium and uranium, are to be exclusively under the control of the State sector. Against this, coal, lignite and iron mines are either being sold or returned to their original owners.

Turkey's reserves of boron are probably the largest in the world, being estimated as 60 per cent of the total. Controlled by one state agency it should be less difficult to set a high price for it on the world commodity markets. At least this is what the energy minister, Fahir İlkel, told the Assembly. He had recently been involved in nationalising the ASIL CELIK steel mill at Bursa which, as it happens, is closely associated with arms production.

The Assembly divided into two main camps, those who see their interests as being best served through the multinationals, the executives in the strong state. They accused one another of "Ideology" and "Socialism". Finer rhetoric on freedom of the individual, and on placing the country first, did not disguise the fact that it was something like a summit conference of Chicago gangsters. Lefty wants the Lower East Side for uranium and guns. Rico accepts his slice of the coal but wants some uranium as well. Anybody who gets in the way is locked up or shot.

The proposed state monopoly of uranium and thorium is less controversial. This is because neither are yet being produced in Turkey. There are estimates that Turkey may have over 73.5 per cent of the world's thorium deposits. This may well be overstatement. But in just one year, 1977-8, the Minerals Research Institute (MTA) were able to discover one sizeable reserve of thorium. This is in Eskişehir-Beylikahır and is believed to contain some 380,000 tons of potential nuclear fuel, ThO<sub>2</sub>, approximate grade 0.21 per cent.

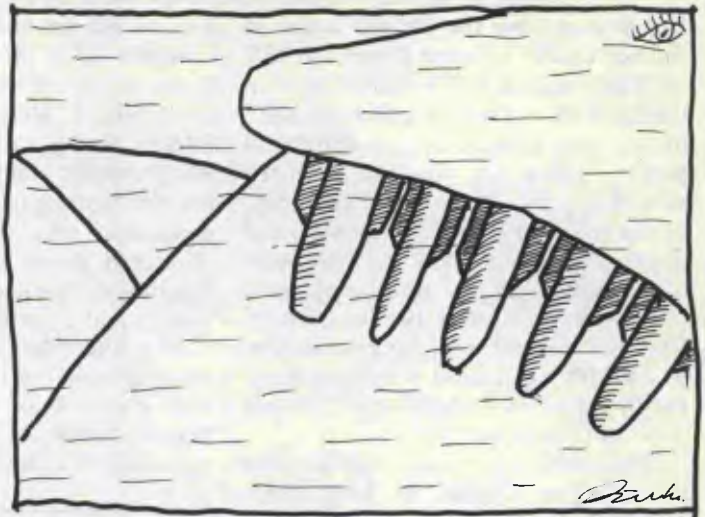
More information is available on Turkish uranium. Between 1956 and 1976 the MTA located the following uranium reserves:

## TOTAL RESERVES OF URANIUM DEPOSITS IN TURKEY

| Region                 | (tons)         | (tons)     | Total tons  |
|------------------------|----------------|------------|-------------|
|                        | Economic grade | Low grade  |             |
| Salihli-Köprübaşı      | 1969           | 560        | 2529        |
| Uşak-Güre              | 510            | —          | 510         |
| Ayvacık-Küçükuyu       | 250            | —          | 250         |
| Giresun-Sebinkarahisar | 300            | —          | 300         |
| Aydın-Kocaeli          | 500            | —          | 500         |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>3529</b>    | <b>560</b> | <b>4089</b> |

Prime Minister Bülend Ulusu recently reiterated his belief that nuclear energy was essential for Turkey. There is a reactor due for completion in 1985, but until recently had been a piece of paper in search of investment capital.

The long search seems to be ending with the announcement on 11 June that Britain's National Nuclear Corporation (NNC) intends to supply Turkey with its first



nuclear reactor. The design they want to buy is one superseded in Britain in the mid-60's. It is a 350 megawatt (MW) magnox type gas cooled reactor. NNC hope to start building a nuclear power station in Turkey as soon as possible.

The deal also includes a five year renewable export contract with NNC and British Nuclear Fuels Ltd to supply the natural uranium needed for the reactor. So like most other Turkish commodities, export is the name of the game for thorium and uranium as well.

There is however some argument among Turkish scientists with the Turkish Electricity Authority (TEK) over the choice of magnox type reactors. They propose a pressurised water reactor (PWR) which the NNC itself is arguing for at the Sizewell inquiry. This PWR type reactor a greater capacity to provide for the long term energy Turkey needs.

## MH ROOM

## DUSTBIN CORNER



The Great Turkey Party chose a symbol for itself before it was banned. It was an iron hand, which translates into Turkish as 'demir el'. Former prime minister Süleyman Demirel is one of those politicians prohibited from political activity for the next ten years. His supporters from the old Justice Party (banned at the time of the fascist coup three years ago) helped found the Great Turkey Party. The coincidence was too much for the fascist junta which cited the demirel symbol as one of the reasons for banning the newly founded Great Turkey Party.

## CONSTITUTION OF CDDRT

- The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (CDDRT).
- The aims of CDDRT are as follows:
  - End military rule, martial law, torture and executions.
  - Release of political prisoners.
  - Freedom for all democratic organisations.
  - End national oppression of the Kurds and national minorities.
  - Stop expansionism; end the occupation of Cyprus.
  - Withdraw Turkey from NATO and close all NATO bases.
  - No military, political or economic support for the fascist junta.
  - Totally oppose junta harassment of overseas opponents.

Organise solidarity on the basis of the foregoing utilising every means at our disposal.

- Organisations and individuals accepting the aims of CDDRT can apply to affiliate. Such applications are subject to the approval of the General Council. Affiliation fees shall be set by the General Council and become payable from 1 January each year.

shall meet every two years. It shall consist of delegates from Branches and affiliated organisations, and individual affiliates. Congress shall elect the General Council and consider reports and motions. The conduct of business shall be on the basis of Standing Orders approved by Congress. Pre-Congress arrangements are the responsibility of the retiring General Council. Each Congress shall decide the size of the General Council.

- The General Council is the continuing body of Congress and shall meet quarterly. It shall appoint the Executive Committee which is responsible to it. The General Council shall have the right to co-optation.
- The Executive Committee shall consist of the General Secretary and such other members as the General Council may decide. The Executive Committee shall meet weekly and be responsible for the day to day work of CDDRT.
- Local Branches of CDDRT are formed with the approval of the General Council.
- This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority at a Congress.
- The General Council may call, or upon request by two-thirds of affiliated national organisations shall call, a Special Congress.

## GENERAL COUNCIL OF CDDRT

- Bedir AYDEMİR  
Richard BALFE, MEP  
John BLOOM  
Philip BRAY  
Sandra HODGSON  
Alf LOMAS MEP  
Aydın MERİÇ  
Jim MOODY  
Stan NEWENS  
Eric ROBERTS MP  
Alan SAPPER  
Marion SARAFI  
Faik SINKİL  
Tijen UĞURİŞ  
Martin UPHAM  
Bob WRIGHT  
and one representative each from:  
Turkish Students' Federation of the UK  
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain  
Union of Turkish Women in Britain  
Union of Turkish Workers.

# Democrats' Pamphlet

## STOP THE TRIALS IN TURKEY

Tony Benn MP  
M Emin Bozarslan  
Aydın Meriç

Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey

This is the new CDDRT  
STOP THE TRIALS IN TURKEY  
pamphlet with the complete text of  
the speeches of Tony Benn, Emin Bozarslan,  
and Aydın Meriç  
made on 16 April 1983 in Conway Hall, London.

As Alf Lomas MEP says in the FOREWORD  
*"When you have read this pamphlet,  
please tell your friends to buy it and get your  
organisation to order copies."*

Single copy ..... 40p plus large sae  
25 or more ..... less 15% per copy, post free  
50 or more ..... less 25% per copy, post free

To the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey, 29 Parkfield St., London N1 0PS.

Please supply ..... copies of STOP THE TRIALS IN TURKEY at 40p each less \*15/25%, post free. A cheque for £..... is enclosed.

Name .....

Address .....

\* Delete as applicable

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# European Socialist Question

*At the end of May Ernest Glinne, President of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, submitted the written Question below to Foreign Ministers of EEC member States.*

According to press reports, paratroops and military matériel from Belgium, Italy, Federal Germany and Great Britain will be used, from 28 May to 16 June, in the staff manoeuvres of several armies of the Atlantic Alliance, in Turkey, in cooperation with the Turkish armed forces and under the command of the Turkish general Irfan Yav.

The population and democratic Turks, especially those within Turkish borders rather than abroad, will readily interpret the presence of soldiers who come from outside, most particularly from the countries of the EEC, as an indication of active sympathy towards the military junta in power in Ankara.

Recalling my Questions on the inadmissible cooperation of forces of the member States of the EEC in two NATO

exercises in Greece, at the time of the colonels' dictatorship, I would like to obtain a response to the questions which follow:

1. Ministers concerned, do you consider that the participation of soldiers from member States of the EEC, in the political circumstances actually prevailing in Turkey, in manoeuvres with the Turkish Army and under the command of a Turkish general, is compatible with the ideas of liberty and the attachment to democracy proclaimed by the EEC?

2. When was the decision to participate appraised in each of the States concerned, and at what level?

3. The European Parliament and political cooperation between the Ten has been evoked several times by the problem of the Turkish regime; has this been done, and if yes under what conditions, in concert by the Ten?

**Ernest Glinne**

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