

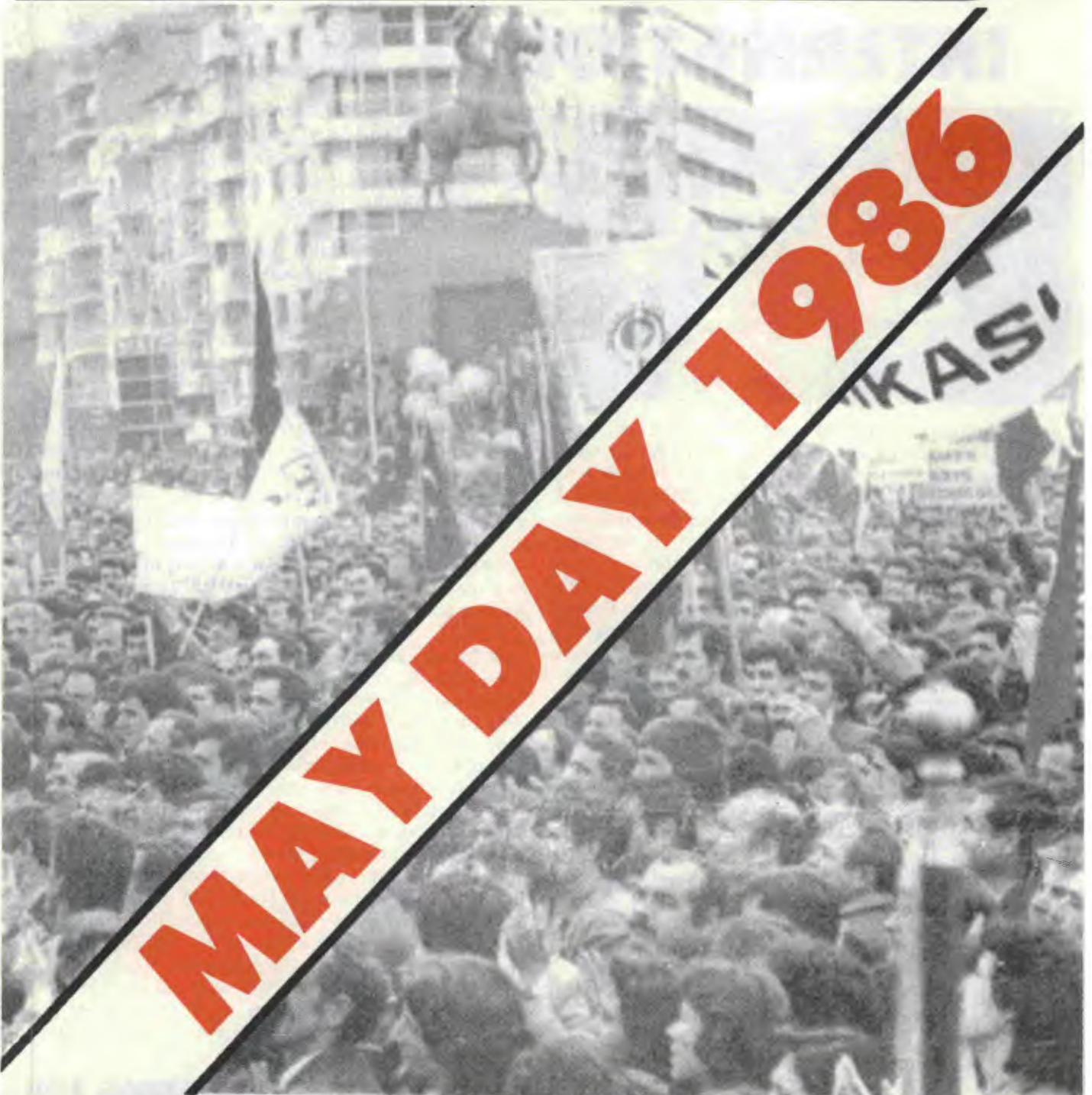
# TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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



Issue 63

May 1986



**T** NY BENN SPEAKS **N** TURKEY

p.6-8

## CONSTITUTION OF THE CDDRT

1. The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (the CDDRT).
2. The aims of the CDDRT are as follows:
  - End all vestiges 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 anti-democratic regime.
  - Totally oppose the regime's harassment of overseas opponents.
  - Organise solidarity on the basis of the foregoing

utilising every means at our disposal.

3. Organisations and individuals accepting the aims of the 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.
4. Congress is the highest body of the CDDRT and 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 the 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.
5. 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-opt.

6. The Executive Committee shall consist of the General Secretary and such other members as the General Council may decide. The Executive Committee shall meet at least fortnightly and be responsible for the day to day work of the CDDRT.

7. Local Branches of the CDDRT are formed with the approval of the General Council.

8. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority at a Congress.

9. The General Council may call, or upon request by two-thirds of affiliated national organisations shall call, a Special Congress.

## CDDRT Addresses

Britain: 129 Newington Green Road, London N1

France: 7 Rue Leclerc 75014 Paris

Ireland: 9 Cavendish Row, Dublin 1

USA: Box 90, 924 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

## CDDRT NEWS

# INTERNATIONAL MEETING



On 19th April in London a big step forward in the building of international solidarity with the peoples of Turkey took place.

Representatives of the Committees for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey from Britain, France, Ireland, the USA, and individuals from Germany and Denmark, plus Turkish organisations, met to discuss coordinating their work and raising the level of international support for those fighting for democracy in Turkey. In addition to those attending the meeting, messages were received from Greece, Sweden and Holland supporting the meeting and expressing their readiness to join an international campaign for human rights and democracy in Turkey.

Those attended the meeting unanimously passed a resolution expressing their common view of the current situation in Turkey and tasks it poses:

## FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW PERIOD

The struggle for democracy in Turkey is gaining momentum with every passing day. Mass workers' demonstrations and political rallies which were unthinkable a few years ago have started appearing on the political scene.

Turkey has entered a new period of rising democratic struggle but it is not possible to talk about the existence of democracy today. All repressive laws passed in the 1980 period are standing intact and repression continues in different forms.

This new period will witness a further acceleration of the democratic struggle which will call for a parallel increase in the solidarity work carried out by the CDDRT organisations in different countries. The fighters for democracy will need maximum international support. The importance of

solidarity work has not diminished.

Since 1980, Turkey has become more aggressive in its foreign relations and its expansionist dreams are coming out into the open. Dreams of establishing its hegemony over the region, of rekindling the spirit of the empire are fuelled by the necessities of capitalist development. Turkey is aspiring to become a sub-imperialist country in the region. This development constitutes a very real threat to all democratic forces in that very sensitive region of the world.

The undersigned organisations meeting in London note that:

1. The rising struggle for democracy in Turkey calls for an undiminished effort to build a strong solidarity movement abroad in support of this struggle, and

2. The expansionist aspirations of Turkey and the acceleration of militarism constitute a very real threat to the democratic forces in the region and calls for increased vigilance by the CDDRT organisations who, in their future work, must also concentrate on exposing these aspirations whenever and wherever they are manifested.

The undersigned organisations meeting in London resolve to wage a coordinated struggle around specific issues on the basis of above points.

In a friendly and business-like atmosphere, representatives spent the day exchanging experience and working-out concrete decisions to carry the committees' work forward. Both the political and practical aspects of the CDDRT's work were covered in the course of the meeting.

As well as strengthening existing organisations the international meeting prepared the ground for establishing new CDDRTs in several countries including West Germany. Already a German language edition of *Turkey Newsletter* is being prepared for publication.

Everyone left the meeting strengthened in their determination to provide real support for the battle for democracy in Turkey, to see that the present Ankara regime is replaced not by the same forces which paved the way for the present criminal regime but by the forces of real democracy which will close this grim phase of the history of Turkey for ever.

All who attended the 19th April meeting felt it had strengthened CDDRT both in their respective countries and as an international force.

## INTERNATIONAL MEETING 1986

*A report of the proceedings of the 19th April meeting of CDDRT is available from CDDRT addresses, price £1 (inc. p&p)*

## TURKEY NEWSLETTER GOES INTERNATIONAL

The English-language edition of *Turkey Newsletter* which has largely been the "house magazine" of the CDDRT in Britain is to be gradually transformed into an international voice of CDDRT as a result of the 19th April meeting.

All CDDRTs will be able to contribute news and articles.

As a practical organiser of the work in Britain, the internal news sheet — *CDDRT News* — will be strengthened.

## CDDRT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, LONDON 1986

### AYDAN BULUTGİL CAMPAIGN:

Aydan Bulutgil, a democrat and a fighter for workers' rights is a political prisoner and victim of the Ankara regime.

Aydan Bulutgil was arrested in 1981, severely tortured and sentenced to 16 years imprisonment by Ankara Military Court purely for his political opinions. Opinions and actions which in a democratic country could not be considered criminal.

In the interests of both Aydan Bulutgil himself and thousands of other political prisoners in Turkey, it is imperative that an international campaign be waged to:

1. Free him from prison
2. Allow him to leave Turkey for adequate medical attention.

The undersigned organisations' meeting in London resolve to wage such a campaign for Aydan Bulutgil's release from prison in their respective countries.

CDDRT (Britain), CDDDT (France), Chicago CDDRT, CDDRT (Ireland)

## WHO IS AYDAN BULUTGİL?

Mehmet Aydan Bulutgil was born in 1946. After studying at various schools in Turkey, he entered the Faculty of Political Sciences of Ankara University in 1964, where he studied economics.

Graduating from the Faculty of Political Sciences in 1968, he came to Britain to continue his studies. He studied at the University of Birmingham between 1968 and 1975 where he took an MSc. degree in Economics in 1970.

While studying at the University of Birmingham, Aydan Bulutgil was politically active in the student movement. He was a member of the University of Birmingham Turkish Society and he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Turkish Students Federation (İTÖF) in 1969.

After the military coup in Turkey on 12 March 1971, progressive Turkish people in Britain were faced with the task of exposing the repressive military regime and organising solidarity for its victims. This was the main task of the day when the Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain (İTİB) was established in November in 1971 with Aydan Bulutgil as one of its founding members.

During these years, Aydan Bulutgil has also devoted a great deal of his time and energy to the organisation of Turkish workers in Britain. He was actively involved in the



unionisation of Turkish workers within the T&GWU. He was himself an active T&GWU member and was instrumental in building up the branch of the union in which Turkish catering workers were organised.

He returned to Turkey in May 1975 to do his military service which is compulsory in Turkey.

After completing his military service, Aydan Bulutgil worked as a journalist, specialising in foreign and economic affairs.

During the four turbulent years between 1976 and 1980, Aydan Bulutgil, like thousands of progressive people of various political persuasions, was involved in political activities on the side of the progressives forces in the country.

When political power was seized by a fascist junta on 12 September 1980, a reign of terror started. Thousands of people from all walks of life were seized, tortured and thrown into prisons. Aydan Bulutgil, who was by then a married man with two small children, was one of these thousands.

In 1981 Aydan Bulutgil was arrested, tortured and sentenced to 16 years imprisonment on the allegation that he was a leader of the pre-1980 Communist Party of Turkey. He was condemned to 16 years in prison purely on the basis of his being an alleged member of a banned organisation and such "dangerous acts" as "pasting up posters... where everybody can see, with ideological and political intent" (from the official indictment).

As a result of torture and "falling from the window" during police questioning Aydan Bulutgil is crippled in both legs, yet still he languishes in a military prison.

We demand he be released and allowed to come abroad for urgent medical treatment.

A Free Aydan Bulutgil Campaign has been formed in Britain with Clare Short MP as chair. All who wish to join or receive information should write to "Aydan Bulutgil Campaign" c/o CDDRT, 129 Newington Green Rd, London N1.

**FREE AYDAN BULUTGİL CAMPAIGN**



## NEWS IN BRIEF

### ORHAN APAYDIN

A defendant in the famous Turkish Peace Association trial and one of Turkey's foremost progressive lawyers, Orhan Apaydin died on the 28th February.

With its customary cruelty the regime had denied Orhan Apaydin permission to travel abroad for urgent medical treatment until it was too late. The regime gave him permission just hours before his death.

Orhan Apaydin was not a revolutionary but a lawyer who for many years had fought courageously for the rule of law and a western-style legal system.

After the 1980 coup, Mr Apaydin was a leading defence lawyer at the trial of the DISK Trade Union leaders. He himself, however, was arrested and imprisoned in 1982, charged with being a member of the Executive council of the Turkish Peace Association. While in prison his health deteriorated. He spent the last year of his life constantly harrassed by the regime and with the threat of further prison sentences hanging over him.

A large crowd attended his funeral on 1st March. The mourners wanted to carry his coffin but they were confronted with police barriers and there was harassment. One elderly woman shouted, "leave us alone, let us march, what are you afraid of? You have already killed my son, Tark Tuna under torture".

The woman was taken away by police despite protests from the other mourners.

In a final act of barbaric hypocrisy, Ozal, the man whose regime killed Orhan Apaydin by denying him the right to seek medical help, sent a wreath to the funeral.

### A DISGRACE

The committee of ministers of the Council of Europe have decided to give Turkey the presidency of the Council in autumn in recognition of the country's "progress" towards democratic rule, AP reports from Strasbourg. Turkey has been under attack in the Council in recent years over human rights.

### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In the last six years in Turkey 27 directors of publishing enterprises (including 20 magazines and 4 daily newspapers) have been sentenced to a total of 3,000 years for contravening press laws! That amounts to more than 100 years per defendant.



*As the standard of living of the majority of the people continue to deteriorate more children are sent to prison for street vending or theft (mainly of food).*

### STRANGE LOGIC

The regime's Social Security Minister has noticed that many workers are working for less than the legal minimum wage; his solution to this problem? — abolish the minimum wage rule, "supply and demand creates the real minimum wage".

In a press interview the Minister said: "As a human being I would like to raise the minimum wage but scientific and economic realities are against this, so we must make a choice as a government... The minimum wage has a negative effect on the workforce".

### WORKERS ON THE BASES

4,500 members of Harb-Is (defence industry workers union) who work at US military bases and ancilliary facilities in Turkey have been granted collective bargaining rights. Turkish papers report a strike is imminent following the breakdown of talks between the union and the US military authorities. The main grievance is that the employers consider a rate of \$1 per hour too high for Turkish workers but at the same time are paying \$1.50 per hour to unauthorised workers from America working on the bases.

### REALITY

In a situation where many of the regime's laws on political activity are being ignored by politicians and the people at large the Turkish parliament in April approved a bill by lifting a ban on public statements by former politicians. The government-proposed bill amends laws passed after the military coup in 1980 which barred ex-politicians from making public statements and praising or criticising former leaders.

### A 23 HOUR SHIFT

Railway workers and officials of DEMARD (Engine-drivers, Stokers and Guard Association) have been brought before the courts and accused of taking action against the State.

The case relates to a series of what the authorities are calling acts of "resistance" by train drivers over the last two months. In the last of these engine drivers in Ankara, refused to take trains out between 3 and 5pm claiming they were being forced to work over-time against their will.

Railway workers stated that the General Manager of Turkish railways Ender Cetinkaya in a speech to train drivers at the Haydarpasa Station (the main Ankara station), told them that they were obliged to work over 8 hours and if it was too much of a sacrifice for them he would replace them with railway workers from the town of Sivas. One train driver, Bekir Aktas, walked off the job after working without a break for eleven and a half hours. The management promptly sent police to his home and Bekir Aktas was brought back to work under guard and compelled to work a shift totalling 23 hours.

Train drivers complained that they were so tired they could not see the railway track in front of them.



## STUDENTS TAKE TO THE STREETS

For the first time since the 1980 coup students have staged a mass street demonstration.

3000 students from the Bornova student hostel in İzmir took to the streets after the death of mine engineering faculty student 19 year old Altan Durmus.

The Bornova hostel houses 3,000 students but has no doctor, clinic or other medical facilities. Altan Durmus was taken violently ill at the hostel on 8th April and had to be taken a great distance to a faculty hospital. The over-worked hospital almost immediately refused him admission and 2 hours later he was dead.

All the students of the hostel came out onto the streets at 11 o'clock at night and marched on the hospital demanding a doctor, clinic and ambulance for the hostel. Police barricades were ignored. The protest lasted an hour. Students then held a meeting in the hostel to evaluate the situation. The next day despite a strong police presence, 500 students marched to the university rector's office and laid a black wreath at the door. Student unions distributed statements supporting the action.

As another indication of the rising tide of open discontent in Turkey this action caused serious concern to the anti-democratic regime. The press announced that the local state prosecutor had "opened a file" on the protest.

## A HOSTEL OR A PRISON CAMP?

A further indication of the appalling conditions in which students are forced to live came in the 2nd April issue of *Hurriyet*.

Students in the halls of residence of Hacettepe University are protesting at the prison-like conditions in which they live.

The main grievances are:

- Every student has to do 2 hours watch duty between 11pm and 7am.
- The food is not only uneatable but the subsidy given to students is not enough to pay for it.
- After the doors are closed at night



Students taking part in the night-time demonstration hide their faces from cameras.

nobody is allowed in or out.

— Female students have to be in the halls of residence by 8.30pm, males by 9 or 10pm. If they are out after these hours it is a disciplinary matter.

— Students going home for the weekend have to stay at their parent's address or another agreed by the parents and university authorities in advance. Checks are made to see that students are staying at the correct addresses.

— Between 10am and 3pm students are not allowed to stay in the halls of residence.

— There is no hot water in the buildings and the wardens don't care.

— Students are not allowed to have any books other than the course text books in their rooms without the permission of the authorities.

— Students have to sign in and out of the buildings.

— Overcrowding is so acute that as many as 10-15 people have to share one room sleeping in shifts.

The authorities answer to these complaints is to say "We have to do these things to keep discipline among the students".



Since the 100,000 strong protest rally by workers in İzmir in February, Ozal's fear of the workers has grown ever more. This cartoon appeared in the daily *Milliyet*.

# AN INTERVIEW W

Tony Benn MP, recently gave an interview to *Turkey Newsletter* on his recent impressions of developments in Turkey and around the world.

*Turkey Newsletter:*

*Fascism in Turkey started to disintegrate with the introduction of the democracy manoeuvre. Today it is not possible to talk about the existence of fascism in Turkey.*

*Mass workers' demonstrations and political rallies which were unthinkable a few years ago, have started appearing on the political scene.*

*Turkey has entered a new period of rising democratic struggle but it is nevertheless not possible to speak about the existence of democracy in Turkey. All repressive laws passed in the post-coup period are standing intact and repression continues in different forms.*

*This new period will witness a further acceleration of the democratic struggle which will call for a parallel increase in solidarity work abroad.*

*In what way do you think, this can be best achieved under today's circumstances?*

Tony Benn, MP:

Well, you will appreciate that seeing the situation in Turkey from the outside, my observations will be of a general character. But I have noticed as you report that the popular movement is getting stronger. The reforms which were made, which were intended to be cosmetic, are turning out to have some reality because people make them real and all changes come from underneath. There is no possibility of matters being put right at the top. The strength of the democratic workers' movement in any country depends upon the strength of the movement itself. And therefore what we are witnessing is a very interesting situation of which we had parallels in other countries, and maybe we are seeing it even in South Africa today, for example, where an attempt to make reforms actually gives people a hope; and hope still makes the struggle and the struggle then advances the cause and the people who have made these modest reforms are overtaken by events. Whereas they thought the reforms they make would defuse the changes, and lead to a settlement, they actually lead to a demand for more. That is the first thing I've noticed and I welcome it.

The second thing we have to be very clear about, so it seems to me, is that the power of the Turkish Government depends very largely on the strength of American support. Turkey, like many other countries in the world, really depends on American arms, American sponsorship, American assistance, and American investment. So you have to look away from Turkey, to the United States, to see what the policy of the United States is likely to be towards Turkey. And here I have less hopeful parallels in mind. The American Government is determined to maintain its imperial position around the world, and for that purpose it needs a lot of allies. Now, as far as they are concerned, there are two types of governments they would tolerate. One is the dictatorship which holds everything down and preserves the interests of the

US; but when that becomes quite unacceptable then the Americans are prepared to shift towards an apparently more liberal regime. And then if the more liberal regime leads to, as they would say, chaos, they go back to dictators again. So that, in a way, for Washington there are two types of government: There is the dictatorship and the liberal regime, and the two alternate. For example, you have the experience of the Philippines where all the things you have described in Turkey were occurring — great demonstrations — in the end Marcos goes. But you still have a government which, on the face of it, the administration in Washington is prepared to work with. The same with Haiti, the same in Chile. When Pinochet goes there will be an alternative American-sponsored government. So you have to be very careful not to imagine that big demonstrations and change and overthrow or replacement of the present regime will automatically lead to a regime which allows workers' rights to be recognised.

The strategic position of Turkey is so important to the Pentagon that I do not believe the American administration would willingly accept a regime in Turkey that really reflected the aspirations of the working class and the needs of the people. Now I don't say that to discourage you, quite the opposite. But in order to understand the territory to which it seems to me we're passing. We've passed into a period when the old dictatorship had to be replaced by apparently more humane repression, which is acceptable to Washington. But Washington will be very careful to see that it never gets to the point where there is any real popular government in Turkey. Nevertheless, these are very important changes. After all, the old crude fascism of the past has been to some extent diminished by the pressure, even though the Turkish Peace Association and the trade union leaders are still on trial and I think people outside must see how they can assist in any way possible to advance the real interests of the people, which, in the end of course, apart from freedom for the working people in Turkey, must also be freedom from American domination, because Turkey is a part of the American empire. And so indeed is Britain, but that's another story.

*You have been refused permission by the Turkish Government to speak in Istanbul about human rights. When Turgut Ozal, the Prime Minister of Turkey, visited London in February he said that you would be welcome to speak in Turkey, if you wanted to, and that the only reason why permission was denied was because the invitation was made by a company, and that companies are not allowed to be involved in politics according to Turkish law. Would you like to comment on this incident? Would you consider putting Turgut Ozal to the test of his words?*



The reason given for my visit was, of course, commercial, not the real reason at all — seems to me — was that Mr Benn was to give a lecture to be given in London that the company was so important that the company is an illusion of getting around the ban on having a coffee house and politics. So the ban was to some extent — so this arrangement and invited me to come. I knowing full well that it very discreet in the presence. Because I didn't, apart from create any difficulties for came to London it was find some reason why this he produced the arguments parties.

But then political pressure view that I know is held Turkey and myself are freely. So I think what want these arguments present at the moment. So that go back under other depend very very much was to be genuine freedom invitation were to be to that was openly political feel much freer to speak done if I had been coming where I was intending to and thoughtful about problems of peace and we shall see. But I think and I think it did the Prime that when he came to explain, on the one hand was becoming and second allow a discussion about figure of the British Labour

# WITH TONY BENN



or the banning of the  
pletely inaccurate. It was  
The real reason — so it  
Mr Ozal did not want such  
stanbul. Now the reason  
t up, because to call it a  
really, was as a way of  
on political parties by  
id discussions about art  
on real political activity  
it seems — by-passed by  
then this organisation  
welcomed it very much,  
would be necessary to be  
ntation of the argument.  
om anything else, want to  
my hosts. But when Ozal  
very clear that he had to  
s had been banned and so  
nt about companies and  
ties sympathetic to the  
by millions of people in  
not allowed to operate  
e was saying is: I don't  
forward in my country  
hen you ask me would I  
circumstances, it would  
indeed on whether there  
n for a discussion. If the  
ome back on a platform  
then of course I would  
an perhaps I would have  
under the old invitation,  
be rather philosophical  
various aspects of the  
mocracy and so on. So  
was a sign of weakness  
Minister some damage  
ndon he really had to  
now democratic Turkey  
dly, how he could not  
democracy by a leading  
our Party. I think that,

perhaps, served some purpose in itself because it showed the true nature of, at any rate, the Prime Minister's perception of what democracy is.

*In a resolution adopted by the International Working Conference of CDDRT organisations in London on Saturday 19th April, it was stated that:*

*"Since 1980 Turkey has become more aggressive in its foreign relations and its expansionist dreams are coming out into the open. Dreams of establishing its hegemony over the region, of rekindling the spirit of the empire, are fuelled by the necessities of capitalist development. Turkey is aspiring to become a sub-imperialist country in the region. This development constitutes a very real threat to all democratic forces in that very sensitive region of the world".*

*We believe that it is important for the British democratic public to be made aware of these developments in Turkey. Would you like to give us your view on this?*

I think it's a very interesting analysis because perhaps for many people in Britain, for the first time, the bombing of Libya and the use of the bases in Britain brought home the fact that American forces in Britain and around the world are not there to protect freedom and democracy from the Red Army. They are part of a whole series of staging bases — I think there are three thousand American bases in the world protecting the American Empire.

When I was a young man 45-50 years ago, before the last world war, there was a British Empire and Britain governed India, and chunks of Africa, etc. We had an imperial presence of large numbers of troops all over the world. We used to govern as most empires have done. I think Turkey itself, in its imperial period before the First World War, did the same. You govern in part by direct control but mainly through propping up local rulers and giving them strength. There were all the Indian princes and what would happen would be that the Indian princes would come to London and be treated as visiting heads of state. But actually you were using them in the Princely States of India to hold down the Indian people. It was easier to hold them down through the princes and the maharajas than it was to do so directly. It was easier to conceal what was happening. Now I think the US is doing the same and I think to that extent Turkey is being used and the Turkish government is being used for that purpose. In order to do that, you have actually to inflate the pride of a country in its own role by propping up its leaders, and saying "this is a very important country, Turkey has a critical role." It would seem to me that the Americans are playing on three factors here: One is the historical conflict between the Soviet Union or Russia trying to get into the Mediterranean, and Turkey's role. That is a very old geographical conflict which I don't think is very significant today, but it is not difficult to

reawaken.

Secondly, the Turkish hostility to Greece. Again the historical hostility due to the fact that Greece fought to be independent and so on. This feeling is easy to inflate because of the fact that it is there and the US hostility to Greece is in part motivated by the fact that their attempt to make the Greek colonels stick failed. You now have a modest left government under Papandreou which is in theory trying to get rid of American bases. So the US is able to shift the focus of its support to Turkey. Then you have the Arab world, and the old Turkish empire governed a large part of the Arab world. The Americans are a bit ambivalent about the Arab world. They need the oil and therefore they are trying to prop-up the Sheiks for the same reason as they prop up the Turkish regime — to protect their interests — their strategic interests. They have to prop up the sheiks to protect their oil, but at the same time, under its present regime, Turkey is a bastion against rising Arab nationalism. So Turkey is being used for these three reasons or in 3 ways: As the old historical bastion against Russian expansion, to provide a powerful counterweight to Greece, and to be a security base against the possibility that the Arab world may become discontented with the American role. And this means — and the importance of it seems to me to be — that the Americans are really committed to see that there is never any real freedom in Turkey. They really mean it. And that is why I am a little bit doubtful that everything is really on the move, — i.e., it's all going to be all right. It isn't going to be all right because too much is at stake. If Turkey were to become governed by a popular government, even of the Papandreou kind (Pasok is a very modest Social Democratic association), even then I think that would be seen as a very great threat.

Now, in order to prevent this happening, one of the ways that the Americans operate is to build-up the Turkish image, this great influence you see. Just as they do with Britain. Build-up the idea of royal visits to the US, and Reagan comes and rides on a horse with the Queen in Windsor Park. Building up some idea that the Americans regard you as very important, but the purpose is quite different. It's to see that you are not important. To see that what you want cannot be done.

I think these are aspects of the situation which the solidarity movements around the world have to be very clear about. Because the working people of Turkey — like the working people of Britain, of Greece, of the Arab world or anywhere else, do have a common interest. We want peace, we want justice, we want trade union rights, we want homes, schools, hospitals, we want all the things that cannot really be made possible by what you describe as the imperatives of capitalist development, and cannot be allowed in the American Empire. So these are aspects of it we need to understand.

*Continued on page 8*

*Continued from page 7*

***The question of Turkey's turn to be President of the Council of Europe.***

***We understand the UK Government will be supporting the Ozal regime's bid to be given the presidency. What is your opinion of this?***

Well, the British government would support any right wing regime. Don't be under any illusions about it, we have the most right-wing government in Britain that we have had this century, I would think. I would have to go back a long way to find a government as right-wing and reactionary as the present government. So that doesn't surprise me.

My opinion is that you should use such influence as is available to you to try to bring any pressure at every level — at the popular level, at the government level — on countries which fall short of the minimum requirements of democratic administration, in order to see they take account of feeling and maybe make changes.

If you take a simple example, I have always been opposed to sporting links with South Africa because that opposition brings a little pressure, or the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth brought a little pressure.

The opportunities are not very numerous but I think that they are important. And I think that any Socialist government or democratic socialist or social democratic, or progressive or liberal government in the world, ought to see that it takes advantage of opportunities where there is discretion, like this one of who should be President of the Council of Europe and use it to assist the people who are struggling for justice at home.

***Thank you very much... is there anything you would like to add?***

No, just to send good wishes and say that we are all at different stages of the struggle. And the internationalism of labour is the most important thing now. We have now a very powerful international of the military, of capital, of the banks, of the companies, civil service, the media, communications.

What we are lacking really is a comparable international of labour. The old idea, "Workers of the World Unite", is one that to some extent has been undermined by high technology, by the way the media has fallen into the hands of people with the resources — the satellites, the communications, the presses. The military is now immensely strong, partly because the military also commands a lot of technology. The banks now dominate the world — put pressure on countries, the debt crisis. The multi-national companies set up a plant and develop and therefore create a working class on an international scale.

Working people have not been as effective as they should have been in developing their own international. We are trying, in my little constituency of Chesterfield, which I mentioned, to have our own international policy and in this little town of only 100,000 people. But why should we wait for the Foreign Secretaries or Secretaries of State of the world to gather? Why can't we have direct links? Why can't we meet each other and talk — have trade unionists over and increase the band of contact that exists at the human level, instead of leaving it all to the diplomatic level? We had a summit meeting in Chesterfield last week with the Americans and Russians sending senior diplomats and we had 600 people discussing east-west relations. I have invited Fidel Castro to come to Britain. I don't know if he will come but if the Pope can travel and the generals can travel, why can't socialists travel?

I think we have got to be a little bit sharper at developing the possibilities of direct links, that is what matters. Because direct links create a framework of understanding which goes

across frontiers and there is a real danger, that the way the situation is developing could create very negative aspects. I give you one example: After the American bombing, there is a lot of anti-American feeling. Now I am not anti-American, I am anti-Reagan. The American peace movement is very strong. After all, it was they who prevented Reagan giving \$100 million to support the Contras. Now, they are not my enemies.

Once you allow the media to develop it as anti-Russian, anti-American, anti-Libyan, anti-this, anti-that, in Turkey, anti-Greek, in Greece anti-Turkish, ...it isn't about that, it's about the interests of the people who create the world's wealth being able to discover some contact, some opportunity for being able to work together, and that would be my message. And it is happening but it's a bit slow. The reason it's slow is that we are not doing enough to develop it at our own level, where we are. We are waiting for somebody at the top to do it for us. Well, if you do that you will wait for ever.

***This reminds me that it's the 100th anniversary of May Day and the 10th anniversary of the open celebration of May Days in Turkey.***

May Day is the one day in all our calendars which we celebrate across the world and I think May Day 1986 — the 100th anniversary and the 10th anniversary of it being celebrated in Turkey — provides an opportunity for people to think for one little part of their celebrations, to say now, what are our common interests with the British working class, the Greek working class, the Russian working class, the American working class, the Libyan working class, etc? And the women's movement, both men and women, black and white, rich and poor, all over the world, have a common interest in developing a society that meets our basic needs, that's what it's all about. It is quite simple and it's so simple it undermines the whole structure of privilege which is now entrenched in the Common Market and in NATO.



*May Day in İstanbul — before the 1980 coup.*



# TORTURE, TRIALS AND PRISONS

Among the many reports of torture that have been publicised recently was the statement by defence lawyers at the *Dev-Yol* (Revolutionary Path) trial in Ankara that their clients had been systematically tortured and that six of the defendants in the case had actually died under torture: Belicet Dilener, Zeynel Abidin Ceylan, Metin Sarpbulut, Adil Yılmaz, Hasan Asker Özmen and Satılmış Dokuyucu.

According to the lawyers, who made their statement on 5th January 1986, the defendants were tortured in the DAL section of Police Headquarters in Ankara. The following methods were used: electric shocks, the falaka, hanging by the arms, insertion of truncheons into the anus, squeezing the testicles, sticking pins and needles under the fingernails, deprivation of food and water.

The lawyers named 20 policemen who they said were responsible for the six deaths.

## Sağmalcılar — İstanbul

On 2nd February, a 23 year-old prisoner, Recep Tuna, was found dead in the prison at Sağmalcılar. His relatives have demanded an autopsy.

The same day, during proceedings against the left-wing organisation *Dev-Sol* (Revolutionary Left), lawyers declared that the prison authorities punished detainees who refused to wear uniforms. In particular, they were not allowed to see their lawyers, were deprived of all means to prepare their defence and often made to stand outside in their underwear, even in freezing weather.

In December 1985 relatives of prisoners in both the Sağmalcılar and Metris prisons in İstanbul made public accusations of such abuse.

## BLACK LISTED

Security forces are still hunting 5,264 people wanted for political crimes.

From the figures *Nokta* magazine recently concluded (9 March 1986) that there are some 52,000 people "free" today whose lives have been shattered by their arrest and imprisonment. Anyone who has been involved in a national security investigation, even if they were never charged with, let alone convicted of a crime, is automatically barred from state employment, including teaching, from travelling abroad and from higher education. In many cases such a record is sufficient to block employment in private industry and even to enroll one's children in creches or boarding schools. Of 50 private enterprises surveyed by *Nokta*, 37 said they looked into the security past of prospective deployees and would not hire anyone involved in an investigation. All of the thousands of former DİSK shop stewards and trade union officials detained after 12th September 1980 were sacked from their jobs.

In fact the cloud extends over many more than the 52,000 mentioned by *Nokta*. In the first place, the number of those who passed through prison or military detention cells without being placed under arrest has risen to over 200,000. All of the 200,000 are subject to the same discrimination and persecution.

Secondly, there is the fact that the black security mark placed over anyone involved in a security investigation also extends to his or her family. Thousands have been dismissed from their jobs as teachers or civil servants because of the arrest or detention of a husband, wife, brother, sister, son or daughter.

The fact that most of those arrested or detained were under 35 (85% of those detained from September 1980 to February 1983 were aged 16-35) led *Nokta* to conclude that an entire generation had been stamped as "suspect".

*From Turkey Today No.76*

## ARRESTS



Police arrested alleged members of TKP-B (Turkish Communist Party — Unity) organisation including two women. They have been accused of trying to distribute anti-government leaflets hidden in sweet wrappers. If found guilty they face long prison sentences.

## RAIDS IN ISTANBUL

500 people were detained in İstanbul during raids by police throughout the gecekondu (shanty towns). The operation was described as one "to prevent communist organisations from organising". One of the reasons for the timing of the operation was to prevent any actions to commemorate the 14th anniversary of the Kızildere massacre, when the army killed ten leaders of revolutionary youth movements in Turkey.

The raids began at 1am on April 1st. The police teams were not told their objectives until the last moment to prevent 'security leaks'.

## FROM THE PRESS

### SPYING

The following article entitled "Spying in the Soviet neighbours" appeared in the March issue of *South*.

Since the fall of the Shah of Iran knocked out Trackman 2, the sharpest US eye on Soviet missile and satellite launches, Turkey has become a key strategic site for the US and Nato to monitor the USSR.

The only Nato member other than Norway to share a border with the USSR, Turkey controls a chokepoint coveted by the USSR — the Dardanelles strait that provides the entrance to the Mediterranean. And the world's largest known oil reserves lie just beyond its borders.

Like other Third World countries, Turkey finds it difficult to resist pressure for further involvement in superpower politics, even if it risks turning the place into "a nuclear cemetery," as a Radio Moscow commentator once put it. Not only is Turkey dependent on the industrialised capitalist countries for markets, it gets a strong handshake from the US by way of military aid, which has risen from US\$203-million in 1980 to US\$755-million in 1985.

Because of its strategic location, Turkey is deeply involved in the nuclear build-up. There are more than 60 military installations controlled mainly by the US and employing more than 5,000 people, where around 500 US nuclear warheads are stored. At present there are Honest John missiles with a 64km range, which the US is planning to replace with medium-range Pershing Lance-2 missiles. It is also considering giving Turkey 72 new F-16 fighters

equipped with nuclear missiles.

While the missiles and bases are the most dramatic signs of Turkey's ties to nuclear strategy, the country bristles with communications and spy stations. The largest of these, the US combat and missiles base at Incirlik on the southern border with Syria, also doubles as a main communications and command facility linked to nuclear weapons, according to the listing of US facilities in Turkey in *Nuclear Battlefields*.

Further east, at Pirinçlik, where a surveillance squadron is based, detection and tracking radars probe missile tests in the Soviet Union and satellite activity is monitored.



Interception-eavesdropping stations begun to mushroom in Turkey in the late 1950s, mainly around the northern coasts and north eastern Anatolia. In 1963-64, the first long-range radar station for monitoring Soviet missile bases and Syrian military activities was installed in Diyarbakir.

These activities continued to flourish until 1975 when, after the US arms embargo on Turkey over the invasion of Cyprus, Turkey demanded to share the intelligence collected from US bases in Cyprus and established some control over US and Nato activities. But observers believe the re-assertion of Turkey's role is more rhetorical than

real.

The US lifted the embargo in 1978, preparing the ground for a closer relationship.

The envelopment of Turkey in US global and regional designs proceeded at a dizzy pace. After the rapid deployment Force was established in 1980, Turkey signed a secret defence agreement with the US. Reports that it allowed the use of Turkish bases by the RDF were confirmed by the launch of the ill-fated Iran hostage rescue from the base in Incirlik. The 1981 establishment of a mutual defence pact with the US meant Turkey became the first Nato country to enter into a bilateral

agreement within what is essentially a multilateral military pact. A year later, discussions started on yet another deal under which US bases in Erzurum and Batman will be modernised, a new base will be built in Mus and 10 military airports will be enlarged and modernised. Turkey will also increase access to aircraft carriers of the Sixth Fleet.

Turkey's enhanced role fits in well with Nato's new military strategies which according to Arkin and Fieldhouse, "are focusing more and more on areas to the south of Europe — North Africa, the Middle East and beyond — moving farther and farther away from Nato's traditional battlefields."

### PEACE TRIAL

After four years of farce and persecution the "Peace Trial" has finally come to an end. The last six defendants were released from prison following a court hearing on 10th March. Six others had been released at an earlier hearing on 18th February.

The judge presiding at the 10th March hearing explained the reason for releasing the last defendants as follows:

"Taking into consideration the nature and character of the alleged crime, the length of time the defendants have been in prison and the executive laws, and without prejudice to any future prosecution..."

It is obvious that the "nature and character of the alleged crime" never justified a trial at all. The defendants

were accused of nothing more than being members of the leading council of an association which had been perfectly legal until the 12th September 1980. They were not arrested until February 1982 and not charged until three months after that. Even then it took the court one and a half years to arrive at a verdict. From November 1983 when 28 defendants were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to eight years, to March 1986, there was a series of appeals and counter-appeals during which the Supreme Military Court of Cassation declared that there had been "insufficient investigation" of the case and called for yet another trial.

The last hearings were held in Istanbul's Second Martial Law Court even though martial law had already been lifted in Istanbul!

One of the defendants, Dr Erdal Atabek, who spent three years in prison, described the Kafkaesque situation in which he had been held as follows:

"During the 38 months I was imprisoned the decision was overturned twice. The file went back and forth between Istanbul and Ankara, Ankara and Istanbul twice. But my situation didn't change. I couldn't attain the freedom that my file had. Detention turned from a preventive measure into a sentence".

Although they had committed no crime and their case was later dismissed, the Peace Association defendants were indeed sentenced and served out their sentences in prison. Their release now cannot hide, undo or absolve the crime that has been committed against them by this regime.

## ARMY IN THE SCHOOLS

23 civilian Principals of Primary Boarding Schools in 8 provinces of South and Southeast Turkey (mostly inhabited by Kurds) have been sacked and replaced by 23 Majors and Lieutenant-Colonels, who are still on active service in the Turkish army. It was announced that the new 'officer-heads' are to establish "order and discipline" in the schools. (4th Feb.)

It is also felt that they have been appointed to try and stamp-out any pro-Kurdish sympathies among staff and pupils.



Arrests of suspected Kurdish militants continue. The June issue of *Turkey Newsletter* will carry a full report of the latest disturbing developments in the eastern (Kurdish) provinces of Turkey.

## US-TURKEY RELATIONS

All is not happy in relations between the US administration and the Ankara regime. The Ozal government wants better terms for a new defence and economic cooperation agreement (Deca) with the US. Even the visit of Secretary of State Shultz has done nothing to ease relations. As David Barchard reported in the *Financial Times* on 25th March:

"Mr Shultz's visit appears to have got off to a bad start in Istanbul when he brushed aside requests from Turkish industrialists to ease US quota restrictions for Turkish textile exports. His alleged remarks provoked angry headlines in yesterday's Turkish newspapers.

"It appears that Turkey is continuing to insist that it should be given more favourable trade and economic relations with the US as part of the five-year Deca than the US side feels able to give.

"So far, after two meetings with the Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr Vahit Halefoglu, Mr Shultz appears to have made no progress whatsoever on other problem areas such as Cyprus and relations with Greece.

"Members of the visiting American delegation had long faces and there was little of the exuberance which is usual on this sort of occasion.

"It seems that Turkey — which is well aware of its strategic indispensability to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato) has decided to hold out for the highest terms possible. Its likely aim is not to intimidate the Reagan Administration but to convince the US Congress in Washington — where Turkey has many staunch enemies in the Greek and Armenian

lobbies — that Turkey believes that it is not being fairly treated by the US and feels entitled to a much larger amount of military and economic aid than the \$934m granted last year..."

Based on the ruthless exploitation of cheap labour, Turkish business feels it can compete in world markets. Because of this, the Turkish regime, in addition to aid, is increasingly interested in pressurising the USA to give Turkish goods access to its markets.

Another source of strain is Turkey's interest in maintaining good ties with the Islamic world in order to develop trade and become the "natural leader" in the region.

## PEACE DANGER

This year the Treaty of Montreux which governs the rights of passage of ships through the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara and Bosphorus to the Black Sea comes up for renewal. Under this 50-year old agreement countries without a coast which borders the Black Sea cannot send large warships into the sea. The US, which claims that the Black Sea is ordinary international waters is pressing the Turkish regime to alter the treaty provisions in such a way as would allow the Sixth Fleet access. In view of the recent incident off the USSR's Crimean coast caused by only a small US vessel such a development could lead to yet a further heightening of international tension. It is apparent that as with the US demand for the right to establish a radio station broadcasting to Soviet Central Asia on Turkish territory, the Ozal regime may well give in to these demands, if the USA is prepared to pay a good price.

# OZAL'S HARMFUL LAW

In March this year the Özal government pushed through parliament its highly controversial legislation for the "Protection of Children from Harmful Publications". The law has since become known as the "Harmful" or "Mischievous" Law.

The law envisages a nine-man censorship committee set up by and within the government. This committee will investigate all publications and decide on whether or not they are harmful to people under 18 years of age. The concept of "harmful", as *Nokta* magazine pointed out (23 February 1986), goes far beyond the idea of pornography, including anything of a "harmful" nature, be it spiritual, moral, religious, educational or political.

The offending publication will first be given a warning, then if it persists in its harmful behaviour, be officially declared "harmful to children", a declaration which is tantamount to closure. Not only is the sale of the publication in normal newsagents then banned, but the publishers will be fined 40% of the price of the publication. The fines are to be paid over to the collective housing fund in a calculated manoeuvre to raise popular support for the legislation.

Despite this, popular reaction has been universally negative, notwithstanding widespread disquiet over the spread of pornography under Özal's "liberalised" economic regime. It is widely understood that, far from being designed to halt pornography, the legislation is in fact designed to give the government greater control and authority over the daily press, which is up in arms against it.

Spokesmen for the press, as well as constitutional authorities, have pointed out that the penal code already contains laws dealing with pornography and that if its eradication is the real aim of the government, these existing laws should be enforced and, where necessary, extended.

The law has been declared unconstitutional in that it invests both executive and judicial power in the proposed committee which will be free to convict and punish offenders as it sees fit without the bother of a trial.

The Chairman of the Istanbul Chamber of Journalists pointed out that no journalists, artists, academicians or educationalists are included among the proposed membership of the committee.

Public reaction against the new legislation was so sharp that at one point Prime Minister Özal lost control and told journalists, "Let them write whatever they want, there is a god bigger than you", and "Those who are calling the law harmful are harmful themselves". (*Cumhuriyet*, 10 March 1986)

Nevertheless, despite the reaction and even before it has been passed through parliament, the "Harmful Law" has already begun to be enforced. For example, the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport recently issued a decree banning the use as educational material of any publications or newspapers that "run counter to national, spiritual or historical values, or which include advertisements which will prevent the development of Turkish youth".

Following this lead, the local director of the ministry in Yozgat also banned the bringing of publications aside from the newspapers *Milliyet*, *Tercüman* and *Hürriyet* into the teachers' centre there — thus inadvertently announcing that the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* is considered harmful.

## More books banned

As if the depots of the Ministry of Culture were not already filled to bursting with confiscated books, in recent months even more books have been banned for reasons that can only be guessed at. Some examples:

— A translation by historian Mete Tuncay of David Hume's *On Religion*.

— A collection compiled by Amin Özdemir entitled *The Soil of Thought* including selections from Montaigne, Bacon, Russell and Sartre as well as prominent Turkish thinkers.

— *The Fifth Frank* by Friedrich Durrenmatt.

— James Joyce's *Exiles*.

— Henry Miller's *The Tropic of Cancer*.

— The book *A Thousand Men* by journalist Erbil Tusalp dealing with the problem of human rights in Turkey and the world.

— The work "*Ivan Ivanovitch: Did he exist?*" by Nazım Hikmet.

— A translation of the Old and New Testaments!

*From Turkey Today No.76*

**TURKEY  
NEWSLETTER**



129 Newington Green Road,  
London N1, England