

# TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey

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## TURKISH REGIME LAUNCHES NEW ATTACK AGAINST KURDISTAN



Turkish F-4 Phantoms bombed suspected Kurdish guerilla bases and villages in Iraq on August 15. Between 200-250 people are thought to have been killed.

The ostensible reason for this murderous attack was an ambush by Kurdish guerrillas near Uludere in Turkey on August 13 in which 1 guerrilla and 12 Turkish soldiers died.

The regime's Prime Minister Ozal, hoping to improve his prestige in the coming by-elections boasted that: "In one evening we have wiped-out their (Kurdish militants) most strategically important men"... "Apart from God we fear no one".

Özal also revealed the regime's attitude to parliament and the democratic process when replying to criticisms that he did not consult parliament before the raids he said: calling meetings and discussing it in parliament? No, that is not the way. We just decided and stepped on them like lightning."

The air raids and events which followed mark a new stage in the oppression of the people of Kurdistan by the Özal regime.

The bulk of Kurdistan is divided between Turkey, Iraq and Iran. 9-10 million Kurds live in the Turkish part which makes up the Turkish East Anatolian provinces. Since the formation

of the Turkish Republic successive regimes have treated the Kurdish area as an internal colony. The Kurds are denied all national rights. Even their language is outlawed. In the face of all facts their existence as a separate people with their own culture and history is denied. The regime maintains that there are no Kurds only "mountain Turks".

Since 1980, the oppression of the Kurds in Turkey, has increased even more. Hundreds have been murdered in prison and many more as result of army punitive operations against remote villages. Torture and possible death await members of any political party that fights for self-determination for the Kurdish people.

### NEW DEVELOPMENTS

The Iran-Iraq war has further intensified the Turkish regime's attacks on the Kurdish people and opened up the prospect of territorial expansion by Turkey. Turkey has signed agreements with both Iran and Iraq allowing the Turkish army to operate against the Kurds in both countries' territory.

*Continued on next page*

# KURDISTAN

The Turkish army have used this agreement many times in the last three years, crossing borders and attacking Kurdish villages and taking back hundreds of prisoners to languish in Turkish military prisons.

With the deterioration of Iraqi control over its part of Kurdistan and the prospect of a massive Iranian offensive, the Turkish regime is stepping-up its efforts to safeguard its interests in the region.

The oil-producing area of Kirkuk in Iraq is inhabited by Kurds and a Turkish speaking minority. The regime in Ankara has long been "concerned" for the "blood brothers" in this region and the Turkish press often carries calls for the "reunification" of Kirkuk with Turkey. The establishment of Turkey's 'right' to interfere in Iraq is part of its long term ambition to grab Kirkuk.

At the same time the Turkish regime has made it clear it will not tolerate either Iranian occupation of the oil fields or the development of an independent Kurdish state on its border.

The latest Turkish raids can be seen in this context.

## GENOCIDE

Little attention has been paid abroad to the fact that the Turkish air raids have been followed by a more significant land operation. Special Turkish army units are still operating on the Iraqi side of the border. This has been confirmed by the Turkish press in reports which claim "traitors" captured in Iraq will be brought back across the border as soon as their wounds have been sufficiently healed. Many Kurdish people from various organisations are being brought back across the border to be tried by Turkish military courts.

At the same time between 1,000 and 10,000 Turkish troops are conducting a 'sweep' backed with armour and air support through the Turkish border provinces towards Iraq. They are raiding Kurdish villages, arresting suspected "separatists" rching for guerrilla bases. The military are hinting that this 'sweep' will not stop at the Iraqi border.

A major onslaught against the Kurdish people is under way to crush their fight for freedom and to commit genocide against them as a nation. Every democrat both in Turkey and abroad must raise their voices against this attempt by the anti-democratic regime in Turkey to do what was done to the Armenian people early in the century, to the Kurdish people today.



Area inhabited by Kurds



## DEATH AND TORTURE

In June at Dyabakir, 7 members of the PKK (Worker's Party of Kurdistan) were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 4-10 years.

In July, 8 alleged members of the Communist Party of Kurdistan were arrested in Istanbul.

At the "PKK Southern Provinces Trial" 25 of the 638 defendants have been sentenced to death.

During this trial uproar was caused when many of the defendants stood up in court and revealed marks of torture inflicted on them during interrogation.



## HUMILIATION

The barbaric attitude of the regime to Kurdish people was illustrated by a report in the *Guardian* on September 5th: "The Turkish opposition yesterday asked the government to comment on a report that police hunting a guerrilla suspect forced his wife to undergo a gynaecological examination to see if she had recently had sex. The husband is a suspected Kurdish rebel wanted in connection with the killing of four soldiers."

## THE "PROTECTORS"= MURDER

At the end of last year the Turkish regime began to arm "Village Protectors" in the Kurdish region of Turkey. These are right-wing villagers prepared to collaborate with the army and inform on their neighbours and suspected Kurdish militants.

They also act as 'native trackers' for the security forces.

Now, in recent questions in the Turkish parliament opposition MP Fikri Sahalı has revealed that the authorities are paying the "protectors" 2.5 million TL for every dead Kurdish militant they bring in.

This disgusting scalp-hunting has led the "protectors" to murder personal and family enemies and generally settle scores with anyone they don't like, then bring the bodies in as killed separatists".

## DEATH CELLS

Turkish newspapers carried revelations by two former prisoners of conditions in Adana prison. According to S. Saykan and H. Zikli prisoners who the authorities do not favour are sent to "death cells" below the main prison. The cells have no light and water is constantly dripping from the ceilings. The floors of the cells are always wet and often awash. There are no fittings and prisoners are given old papers to lie on. Not surprisingly, the cells are also rat infested.

Adana is a notorious prison where conditions are so bad both for political prisoners and some ordinary prisoners that hunger strikes are frequent.

The released prisoners revealed that both convicted and remand prisoners are held in these cells.

These conditions plus the arbitrary beating of prisoners both by guards and the chief warden personally have led Muzaffer Terliksiz, Adana Bar Association head, to describe conditions as "against human rights and articles of the constitution". Bribery and corruption is rife at the prison with better conditions reserved for those who can pay for reasonable cells and food.

## TRIALS-DEATH SENTENCES

In June, the Military Appeal Court confirmed 3 death sentences passed on members of Dev Yol (Revolutionary Path movement) after a trial at Giresun.

The Senetepe trial of 85 suspected members of Dev Yol ended on 4th July with 4 death sentences, 2 sentenced to life imprisonment, and 39 others to sentences ranging from 10 months to 20 years gaol.

## RURAL STRIKE

Women field workers in Eskisehir province stopped work in protest at starvation wages. This is one of the first actions by farm workers since 1980.



## TURK-IS PROTESTS

In a further escalation of the campaign for trade union freedom and workers' rights, Turk-Is (Turkish Trade Union Confederation) is to call large demonstrations in various constituencies during the September by-elections. The Turk-Is Central Action Committee expects 40,000 workers to attend each protest. The official slogans include "There can be no democracy without trade unions"; "We want real democracy"; "We say no to laws which are against workers' rights".

## EXPELLED

8 students have been expelled from the student hostels of the 9th September University, Izmir.

They have been punished in this way by the authorities for their part in organising student protests after the death of a student earlier this year through medical neglect, (see *Turkey Newsletter* No.63).

## PRESS FREEDOM?

How much is the regime concerned for press freedom?

In July, the regime's supporters began to agitate for the formation of a press Council. The aim being to ensure "self control" by the media and enforce Turkey's notorious Press Law which makes editors and proprietors responsible and open to fines and imprisonment for anything written in their papers against the interests of the state.

What the Press laws mean in practice was shown in August when the editor-in-chief of the banned newspaper *Halkın Sesi* received a sentence of 307 year imprisonment for articles appearing in his paper written by others. Military Court No.2, generously commuted his sentence to 30 years imprisonment!

In September the *Guardian* reported that a satirical Turkish magazine that mocked the earthy language of the Prime Minister, Mr Turgut Ozal, is to be prosecuted after he complained. The editor of Limon (Lemon) and three cartoonists face up to 15 months in gaol if convicted.

## CYPRUS

The recent provocative visit to North Cyprus by Ozal, which sparked off a wave of protests was to give orders to the 'independent' administration in North Cyprus on how they should run their economy.

Ozal and his big-business backers are attempting to export his monetarist and 'free' market policies to Cyprus and give Turkish mainland capitalists the edge over their North Cypriot 'colleagues'.

The indications that the Turkish Cypriot administration is going to cravenly surrender to the dictates of Ozal, have led the trade unions to stage a series of protest actions including a petition signing campaign.

A split over applying the Ozal policy led the Turkish Cypriot Prime Minister and his government to hand in their resignation on the 11th August.

All these events are indications of a growing divergence of interests between the Turkish Cypriots and the real masters of North Cyprus — the Ankara regime.

## ATTACK ON PARTY OFFICES

On the 27th August at 3.30 pm 7 armed people burst into the offices of the ruling ANAP (Motherland Party) in Istanbul, wrote anti-regime slogans on the walls and set fire to the building.

Security police have accused Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) of carrying out this action. In the following days various flats were raided in Istanbul and 25-30 people detained.



## FIRE

Anit Kabir, the mausoleum of Ataturk — founder of the Turkish republic — which overlooks Ankara, came under attack on August 30. 5 fires were started. Nobody has claimed responsibility. The right wing parties have accused the left and the Social Democrats have accused supporters of former President Celal Bayar who recently died at the age of 103. The authorities had decided not to allow Bayar to be buried in the Mausoleum grounds.

## FROM THE PRESS

### ARMS BUILD-UP



The regime is rapidly re-arming Turkey's military forces and developing an arms industry. This is clearly a dangerous development given the present regime's taste for suppressing the peoples of Turkey and advancing claims on neighbouring countries.

The following article appeared in *The Middle East Magazine* written by R. Margulies. It clearly illustrates the link-up between the Turkish arms industry and the giant companies of the international arms industry.

Any Turk who has done military service and has had to carry a World War II Springfield rifle for 18 months can testify that Nato's second largest armed force is also its worst equipped.

But Turgut Özal's government is intent on re-equipping its armed forces and in the past few months Turkey has stepped up its efforts to attract private capital to help build a domestic defence industry.

American and British delegations have visited Turkey for intensive talks with government officials and local industrialists. Companies involved included Northrop, Lockheed, Boeing, General Dynamics and Sikorsky — all of the US — and Plessey, Vickers, British Aerospace, Marconi, GKN and Land Rover of Britain.

Hot on the heels of these delegations came a visit by the French defence minister, André Giraud, and a trip to Brazil by Özal's defence minister, Zeki Yavuztürk.

The long-standing idea of a strong Turkish defence industry was reinforced by the American arms embargo imposed after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. Since then, efforts have been made to bolster the capacity of the state-owned arms and ammunition company, the Machinery and Chemical Industry (MKE).

Defence spending has risen relentlessly, from about 500mn Turkish lira (\$804,000) in 1950 to over TL1,000bn (\$1.1bn) last year. A fifth of government spending goes on defence. Özal's strategy of trying to provide more for the military without imposing further pressure on an already-stretched budget is in line with his economic liberalisation policy.

"The Turkish defence industry, previously a state monopoly, has been readjusted to market conditions," says Vahit Erdem, president of the Defence Industry Development and Support Administration (DIDSA).

"We believe that the private sector will have a successful role to play in this field with the contribution of foreign investment and technology."

The US and British delegations were particularly interested in DIDSA and the DIDIS Fund, both set up last November. These are the main channels through which the government hopes to attract local and foreign private capital to the arms industry.

The fund will mobilise about \$1.5bn a year over the next 10 years, the money being used to buy systems and equipment, finance projects and support research and development in new technology.

Private-sector defence companies will benefit from the fund through low-interest credits, export credits and other incentives. DIDSA is authorised to allocate public industrial installations and land to private investors.

According to Erdem, DIDSA has complete authority to deal with applications from foreign investors, refusing bureaucratic processes to a minimum. "We are not subject to the general accounting and bidding laws and therefore enjoy great scope for manoeuvre and accelerated transaction procedures," he says.

DIDSA has identified priority projects: they range from the modernisation of artillery to air defence systems.

### KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

The following cartoon appeared in the Turkish satirical magazine *Girgir*, and illustrates the "rights" enjoyed under Turkey's new Police Law.



# TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

CDDRT BRIEFING  
PAPER NO. 3

*The aim of CDDRT Briefing Papers is to give detailed information on a specific aspect of the struggle for democracy in Turkey, and to present the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey's point of view on such aspects.*

Recent months have witnessed a massive diplomatic and propaganda offensive by the regime in Turkey aimed at "normalising" its relations with Western Europe — particularly the EEC.

Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's government and the governments of those European countries with large investments in Turkey are arguing that "problems" such as a lack of democracy and human rights in Turkey are being solved. They are stressing that in Turkey democracy has been established, or is in the process of being implemented. That human rights abuses are decreasing and that in the words of the regime: "Europe without Turkey is inconceivable".

Turkish-European relations are indeed important. Turkey, a country of 51,400,000 people is strategically located both geographically, politically and economically. Some 2 million Turkish migrant workers live in Western Europe. Turkey is a member of NATO, the OECD and a founding member of the 21-nation Council of Europe. In addition, Turkey has had association status with the EEC since 1963. Economically Turkey can be described as a country at a medium level stage of development.

## Background

The main problems in European-Turkish relations by and large go back to the 1980 military coup in Turkey.

The military junta which seized power on 12th September 1980 implemented a reign of naked terror and attempted to establish a monolithic fascist state structure in Turkey. All

political parties were suppressed, parliament disbanded, trade union activity crushed, thousands thrown into prison. Torture and mass show trials became the order of the day. The mass trials of the leaders of DISK (Revolutionary Confederation of Trade Unions) and of the Turkish Peace Association particularly, aroused international revulsion.

In response to this situation many European institutions suspended or reduced to a minimum their relations with Turkey. The EEC froze aid, (the fourth financial protocol, worth 600 million ECUS) and both the European Parliament and Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed resolutions condemning the suppression of democracy and human rights. Both these bodies and European trade union and human rights organisations produced reports publicising the grim situation in Turkey.

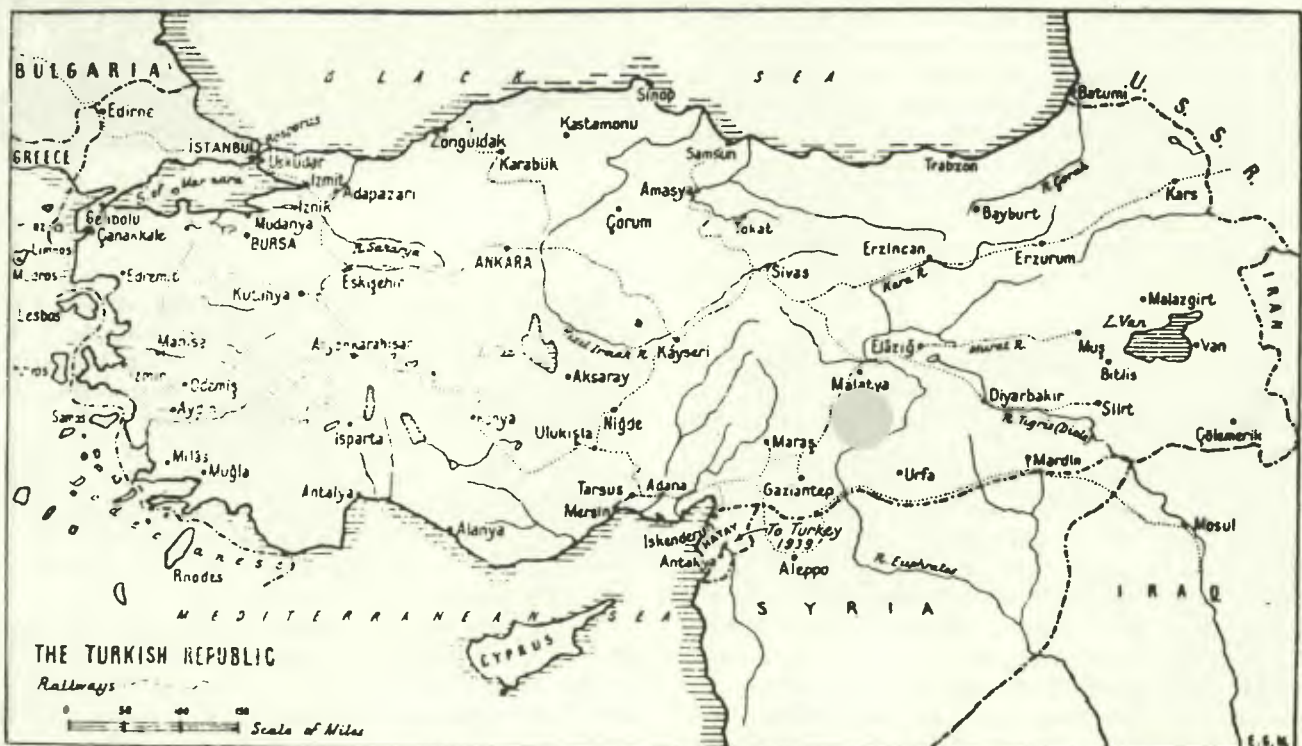
In addition, five European nations; — Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden brought Turkey before the European Commission of Human Rights accusing the regime of violating the following articles of the European Convention on Human Rights:

— Art. 3, in that detainees were tortured or subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment, and that such cases constituted a widespread and systematic practice.

— Arts. 5 and 6 with regard to detention and criminal proceedings under martial law.

— Arts. 9, 10 and 11, with regard to restrictions on political parties, trade unions and the press.

In 1983 the junta stepped aside and the civilian government



of Turgut Ozal came to power in military-supervised elections. Only three parties, created for the purpose, were permitted to take part. In Europe, voices were quickly raised calling for normalisation of relations.

Under the Ozal regime limited concessions have been made, and more forced from the regime. Some genuine political parties are functioning. Despite the most repressive Labour Code in Europe, trade union activity has greatly increased, the fascist structure and controls have disintegrated, mass demonstrations have been "allowed".

However these developments have not come about because of good will on the part of the regime, but because of three main factors:

1. The junta failed to solve the underlying economic problems faced by Turkey.

2. Growing discontent and increasing demands for democracy by the peoples of Turkey were growing more difficult to contain and a safety valve was needed.

3. Despite the support of the USA, international relations were being complicated by being an open dictatorship. Sources of aid were restricted as a result. Especially in Europe, international public opinion made Turkey politically embarrassing for its close allies.

The regime set about restoring its image with fine words and vague promises rather than many concrete measures.

A turning point was reached in 1985 with two events.

In October the European Parliament approved a report drawn up by Richard Balfe MEP. This summed up the situation prevailing in Turkey and found that there were still major violations of human rights and democracy. That despite certain advances the human rights situation fell far short of the minimum standards.

On the other hand, in December the five nations withdrew their case against Turkey at the European Commission of Human Rights in return for certain promises from the regime.

The wording of the final agreement was riddled with loopholes but basically the regime agreed to: 1. End torture and improve prison conditions, 2. Lift martial law in the remaining provinces, 3. Introduce an amnesty for prisoners, 4. Submit secret reports on prison conditions etc. to the commission. There were also supposed to be unofficial agreements according to which the regime undertook to bring Turkish law into line with the democratic norms expected of a European country. In early 1986 Turkey's relations with the Council of Europe were almost fully normalised with Turkey becoming deputy chairman of the Council, and its parliamentary delegation being re-admitted to the parliamentary Assembly.

Ozal also visited his main allies in Western Europe including the governments of West Germany and Britain. he used these opportunities to reaffirm the regime's determination to pave the way for Turkey's full membership of the EEC.

With the EEC, apart from the human rights question, there are several other major factors holding back relations with Turkey. The first of these is the question of the free movement of labour. Under the Association agreement with Turkey Turkish workers should be permitted to move freely within the community from 1987 onwards as are other EEC countries workers. This is being resisted by West Germany in particular with its oppressive policies towards migrant workers and Greece who want to be exempted from accepting Turkish workers for "security reasons". Some western European states fear a mass influx of migrant workers because of the high level of unemployment in Turkey.

There are also problems connected with ending trade protectionism. While it will enable European capital to gain

easy access to Turkish markets, it will also pose the threat of a flood of cheap textile products from Turkey — the result of Turkey's highly developed textile industry which thanks to the repressive regime is based on cheap labour.

Another major problem is relations with Greece. The Turkish occupation of North Cyprus and territorial disputes in the Aegean plus discrimination in Turkish law against Greeks and Turkish citizens of Greek origin make it impossible for Athens to support normalisation. This also means that Greece is one of the few European states whose government has constantly demanded a major improvement in the human rights situation in Turkey.

The case of Turkish-Greek relations clearly illustrates the dangerous nature of the regime in Ankara. Without genuine democracy, regimes in Turkey are under a constant temptation to solve their internal problems by external aggression against neighbouring countries. The stationing of the 130,000 strong Turkish 4th Army facing Greek territory in the Aegean, not to mention to regime's attitude to the Iran-Iraq war, Cyprus and the Kurdish people pose a real threat to peace.

## EUROPEAN COMPANIES IN TURKEY

In 1985 nearly 40% of Turkey's total exports went to the EEC as opposed to 32% in 1981. 31% of Turkey's imports in 1985 came from the EEC as opposed to 28% in 1981.

Country	Num. of firms	Foreign capital (TL million)
Austria	8	481
W. Germany	59	21,798
Belgium	6	970
Britain	34	11,890
Denmark	6	9,259
Finland	1	300
France	7	5,124
Holland	18	13,532
Sweden	6	115
Switzerland	63	35,616
Italy	11	8,126
Luxembourg	4	3,337
Monaco	1	140

(This table does not show joint investments, Daily News Dec. 1985)

Reasons of space mean this Briefing cannot give an exhaustive account of Turkish-European relations. For this reason we have mainly concentrated on the human rights aspect of these relations and then primarily in regards to the EEC and the West European parliamentary bodies.

At other levels relations are very different.

With NATO, the regime enjoyed virtually uncritical support. The Alliance has solidly supported both the fascist junta and the present anti-democratic regime since 1980. All this despite the fact that Turkey has almost gone to the brink of war with a fellow NATO ally Greece.

On the other hand European Trade Union bodies such as the ETUC have taken a firm stand against the Ankara regime and its attacks on basic Trade Union and human rights, at the same time supporting in various way the struggle of Turkish trade unions for a restoration of workers' rights.

## TURKEY TODAY, A FIT MEMBER?

"Turkey has done a great deal in economic development... which is really magnificent... Turkey is returning to a state of the rule of law and justice... Turkey deserves support from the EEC". (Helmut Schaffer (West Germany Liberal Democratic Party 7/5/1986).

... "I think all these basic points show that there is democracy in this country, and a democracy which is very similar to the democracy in the European system." T. Ozal

What then is the real human rights situation? Has the situation improved enough to justify normalisation of relations? The answer must be no.

Following the Balfe Report in October 1985, the European Parliament passed a resolution based on the findings of that report. The demands contained in this resolution remain a good criteria for judging the development of democracy in Turkey. Until the regime — or another government in Ankara — fulfills these criteria, one cannot even speak of elementary democracy in Turkey, let alone a developed democracy befitting the last 20 years of the 20th Century.

After reviewing previous resolutions and decisions on Turkey, the European Parliament's resolution:

1. Expresses deep concern at the continuing seriousness of the situation with regard to human rights observance in Turkey and strongly condemns all forms of violence against the person practised in that country;

2. Calls on the Turkish Government to move rapidly towards a restoration of human rights in the country particularly as regards;

a. the right to life, including the abolition of the death penalty and an amnesty for prisoners of conscience;

b. the right to integrity of the person, including the prosecution of those responsible for torture, the compensation of victims of torture and an end to all forms of inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners;

c. the right to a fair trial, including the removal of restrictions on the conduct of the defence of prisoners and court procedures which are in conformity with accepted practices of fairness to the accused;

d. the discontinuance of the mass trials of the Turkish Peace Association, of the trade union confederation DISK and its affiliated unions, and of various groups of academics and intellectuals, and the immediate release of those still detained in connection with these trials;

e. the granting of the right of individual appeal to the European Commission of Human Rights under Article 25 of the European Human Rights Convention (now accorded by 17 out of the 21 signatories of the Convention);

f. the removal of the restrictions on freedom of political activity, trade union rights and expression of opinion;

g. the rights of minorities, notably as regard religion, language and history and their right to take part in cultural and social activities;

3. While fully recognizing the difficult political and economic circumstances faced by Turkey, is of the opinion that the human rights situation does not justify a reversal of the previous decision referred to in recital B of this resolution, and that the appointment of the European Parliament delegation to the EEC-Turkey Joint Committee should remain in abeyance;

4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States, the Council of Europe, the Turkish Government and the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Briefly, what then is the record of the Ozal regime in

putting into effect both its formal and informal commitments to improve democracy and human rights in Turkey?

### TRIALS

The mass trial of the Turkish Peace Association came to an end in a peculiar way: After 4 years the case was ended without any verdict and in the words of the military judge: "without prejudice to any future prosecution...". At the time of writing the DISK trial is still dragging on but with the defendants released and no longer facing the death penalty.

These were the two trials which attracted the most international attention, how there are dozens of other political trials still continuing both for 'crimes' committed before the 1980 coup and since. In many of these trials defendants are being accused of "making propaganda", "belonging to a banned organisation," and nearly crimes of opinion which however can result in prison sentences of 5, 10 and 20 years.

### LAW

Martial law has been lifted in all but a few provinces in SE Anatolia where the regime is waging war on the Kurdish people. However, "States of Emergency" continue in several provinces giving civilian governors almost the powers of martial law commanders. In addition those political 'suspects' whose trials began before martial law was lifted are still being tried before military courts under martial law regulations.

New political cases are tried by State Security Courts.

The great bulk of newly arrested political suspects are still being charged under the Penal Code modelled on that of Mussolini, (Articles 141, 142 and 146), which outlaw among other things, organisations aimed at establishing the "hegemony or domination of a social class over other social classes" and any form of support for such organisations. Under these provisions sentences range from 1 year's imprisonment to the *death penalty*. In 1985 the apparatus of repression was further strengthened by the adoption of a new Police Law giving the police virtually unlimited powers and immunity from prosecution.

### TORTURE

Allegations and cases of torture of political detainees are still occurring on an almost weekly basis. Torture is still used systematically, the only difference today being that it is applied on a more selective basis than two years ago.

The regime's contention that the torturers are now being punished was given the lie in early 1986 by the revelations of police torturer Sedat Caner, (see CDDRT Torture Reports Nos. 1 & 2), who showed that apart from torture being applied with direct encouragement 'from above'. When torturers are (occasionally) brought to court, even if they are convicted, they serve very short sentences or are quietly released through the "back door"

### POLITICAL PRISONERS & AMNESTY

The prisons remain full of political prisoners. It is conservatively estimated that there are some 15,000 political prisoners. Not only that, but many of them are still held in *military* prisons outside the jurisdiction of the civilian judicial authorities and subject to military discipline.

One of the understandings which led the five European countries to withdraw their case against Turkey was that the Turkish regime would declare a "general amnesty" for political prisoners.

Instead of an amnesty the National Assembly on March 11,

1986, adopted a law which would reduce prison sentences of those who have never disobeyed prison rules. A proposal to modify the law for the benefit of all those who have been sentenced to death from this commutation has been rejected by the government majority. So, despite the wish expressed by the European bodies, the death penalty is still in force, and political activists can be executed if the National Assembly ratifies their sentences. The majority of political prisoners cannot benefit from reductions because they are considered "disobedient to prison rules" due to their acts of resistance against the inhuman treatment in the prisons. To be able to benefit later from this reduction, they will have to be quite obedient in the nine months to come. Even a small discussion with a guard can deprive the prisoners of a reduction in his prison term... a discussion which might have been provoked by the prison authorities if they do not want the prisoner in question to be set free.

## TRADE UNION RIGHTS

The Labour Code and associated legislation violate the fundamental rights of workers. Apart from the continuing persecution of leaders of the former DISK; the functioning trade union centre Turk-Is finding itself in constant struggle to regain even the elementary right of workers to combine or withdraw their labour.

## POLITICAL FREEDOMS

While there are now several genuine legal political parties, political life in Turkey remains tightly restricted by oppressive legislation such as articles 141, 142 & 146 of the Penal Code which are applied with particular severity to any attempt to organise or support a party with "extreme left" views.

The rising level of discontent in Turkey has made it impossible for the regime to apply the legal bans on pre-1980 coup politicians from participating in political life, but the threat of these bans still remains.

All legal parties are mindful of the fact that the army is still in a position to take power and this in itself restricts the freedom of politics.

## KURDISTAN

The Kurdish people in Turkey (9 to 10 million) remain discriminated against. Their language and culture remain outlawed and long prison sentences await anyone who advocates self-determination for the Kurdish people or even that such a nationality exists in Turkey. In addition, armed clashes and severe repression by the Turkish armed forces remain a regular occurrence in Turkish Kurdistan.

## POLITICAL REFUGEES

According to the regime's own figures there are some 25,000 political refugees from Turkey, mostly in Europe.

## OUR ATTITUDE

There have been significant changes in Turkey since the period of absolute terror and oppression from 1980-1983,

thanks largely to the struggle of the peoples of Turkey combined with international pressure. These changes do not amount to democracy. In Turkey today torture, censorship and repression particularly of the workers and the Kurdish people continue to be a fact of life. A feeling is quite widespread in progressive circles in Turkey and abroad that the West is prepared to justify, or at least tolerate a "Turkish type democracy". A "democracy" where hardly any real freedoms are allowed, where the army is virtually independent of government control when not itself acting as the government. A "democracy" where, in effect, the military's right to intervene in political life is institutionalised. Where because of Turkey's strategic importance any anti-democratic regime or open dictatorship can blackmail the West into giving uncritical support in return for that regime acting as a bulwark to defend Western interests in the region and the supposed principles of democracy which the regime itself tramples on in Turkey.

Some forces in Europe are arguing that by fully integrating Turkey in Europe the existing violations of democracy and human rights will be ended and the "tender shoots of democracy" natured. Even the examples of Portugal, Spain and Greece are cited as countries which have made a similar transition from dictatorship to democracy. This however is a false analogy. In all three countries the establishment of acceptable norms of democracy preceded integration in Europe. In fact, the refusal by Europe to completely normalise relations, played an important role — particularly in Greece and Spain in ending the dictatorships.

The CDDRT is not in favour of absolute boycotts at this time. The reality is that relations between Turkey and Western Europe are bound to grow stronger in the present period. However, European relations with the regime in Ankara must be clearly tied to the human rights situation and the general level of minimum democracy achieved in Turkey.

Democratic public opinion in Europe and European institutions must demand a high price from Ankara for each step towards normalisation of relations. That price at least must be an end to human rights abuses, the elimination of laws which violate the spirit and the letter of the European Convention on Human Rights and to keep the human and democratic rights situation in Turkey on the agenda of European institutions.

To adopt any other approach will condemn the peoples of Turkey to the constant danger of the re-establishment of fascist tyranny and to lengthening of the reign of this authoritarian and anti-democratic regime.

The regime has shown in the past that it only makes some concessions in the field of democratic rights if it is confronted by determined opposition and the withholding of benefits.

The result of the opposite approach was seen in mid 1986, when the regime 'celebrated' an apparent improvement in its relations with Europe by stepping-up arrests of suspected left-wing activists.

The CDDRT's call to all friends of democracy in Europe is to continue the monitoring of the human rights situation in Turkey, demand a high price in terms of improving human rights for 'normalisation', and strengthen solidarity with those fighting for real democracy in Turkey.

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# THE INVISIBLE WORKERS

As part of an occasional series on the conditions of Turkish migrant workers, Turkey Newsletter is publishing the following articles. This details the problems faced by Turkish migrant workers in Britain.

The social and economic status of Turkish workers in the UK is shared by migrant workforces in all modern industrialised societies. During periods of economic growth and expansion, workers are imported from underdeveloped nations to supply industries, whereas during economic recessions, the doors are closed and entry is restricted.

The policies of successive governments have thus developed legislation and procedures whereby the flow of immigrants can be regulated in relation to the current employment situation.

Like many other groups of migrants, Turkish workers were initially recruited by the British, to fill their most (economically) undesirable occupations. Despite the high levels of unemployment today, many continue to provide this function by working in the black economy.

As work-permits are virtually impossible to obtain, both unskilled and skilled are forced into an 'illegal' status. The problem is increased by the fact that the indigenous workforce and its representatives reject these low-status positions, and unauthorised workers are consequently denied their basic employment rights and representation. Being an 'unauthorised' worker therefore means being exploited, insecure *and* indispensable to the economic system.

Most Turkish workers are employed in the garment and service industries. The working conditions of the garment factories or 'sweatshops' are appalling. Wages are very low (approx. £80-130 basic per week for machinists) for long and unsociable hours — early morning, week-end and evening shift-work is common.

Home-workers are another large section of the migrant workforce. These are mainly women, who because of their irregular status, language problems, childcare needs etc., are forced to work at home for extremely low pay (usually £1 per hour but sometimes as little as 20p an hour) and often incredibly long hours. Most of the work is sub-contracted by employers who have no legal responsibilities to their employees and use homeworkers as a means of reducing their overheads during slack periods.



Many employers exploit the irregular status of their employees, not only by permitting such bad conditions to exist but by avoiding their duties as employers, for example by not deducting tax and national insurance contributions and adjusting their accounts. It is also the responsibility of the employer to renew work permits through the DoE but this means employees can unknowingly become illegal due to the employer failing to do this.

During the Christmas period, it is common for the companies to liquidate and thus cancel any outstanding debts, tax and VAT payments. This can be for a few months, then they re-establish under a new name. These practises add to the insecurity of the workers, who are forced to find other work or work overtime (without extra pay) during busier periods. The employers themselves see such illegal practises as necessary because of the pressure to cut costs and compete within the market.

Unionisation of these mainly immigrant workforces is an enormous *and discouraging* task. The main obstacles are the distrust most migrants have of the unions and their reluctance to join for fear of losing their jobs. Employers are known to dismiss workers because of union membership so this worry is not unfounded. An unorganised and unprotected workforce is clearly in the employers' best interests. Homeworkers are even more difficult to organise as they are so widely dispersed and isolated.

However, it has been proven that workers *can* organise themselves even under such difficult conditions. The 'Wimpy strike' of 1973-4 involved mainly Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot workers at the London Eating Houses. This was the most effective unionisation effort and industrial dispute in the UK,

involving migrant workers. The workers at Wimpy had been working for 16-18 hours a day, 7 days a week and taking home £40-50 a week without overtime pay. When 85% joined the TGWU International branch the employers were pressurised into arranging work-permits for about 90% of their employees and consequently conditions were improved.

The disillusion black and migrant workers generally feel towards unions is largely an outcome of the unions' lack of progress in overcoming discriminatory practises and failing to address the concerns of migrant workers, although there are exceptions to this. The TGWU international branch for instance, has called for changes in immigration policy and NALGO opposes the internal control of migrants in general however unions regard unauthorised workers as a threat, and some even defend the harassment and deportation of members who are alleged 'illegal' immigrants, which certainly does not encourage co-operation.

The existence of unauthorised working is, to a great extent, a result of wider influences and structural relations between nations. While the industrialised nations such as Britain continue to depend on the import of cheap labour to gain profits and cheap services, migrant workers will remain vulnerable to the whim of government policy and world economic demands. West Germany is another example of this kind of situation, where Turkish and other 'guest' workers have been imported to work in various industries and exported in large numbers when their services are no longer required. Thousands of these workers have been deported in recent years.

Due to the political and economic repression existing in Turkey, workers there are vulnerable to even worse conditions than they face in London and their situations are closely related. In Turkey workers have no rights to organise and economic policies are geared towards gaining high profits at the expense of the workers. In the textile trade, clothing exports have increased dramatically while wage levels have dropped by 55% since 1980, to about £1 per day. The government offers incentives and subsidies to encourage export production and has set up a free trade zone. The advantages of this situation are great for the London-based producers. For example, a

*Continued on back page*

# CDDRT NEWS

## SOCIAL

That classic expression "a good time was had by all" sums up impressions of the London CDDRT Benefit Social held at the end of July. Over 91 people packed a room in the 'Crown Castle', Dalston, to see the video of recent events in Turkey, listen to Turkish revolutionary songs and dance to Turkish folk and popular music.

The event was such a success that the committee are planning to hold regular events along the same lines.



## FRINGE



The CDDRT in Britain held its by now traditional fringe meeting at this year's Trades Union Congress in Brighton on 2nd September.

The audience saw the video of recent Turk-Is rallies in Turkey. Afterwards they listened to Bill Deal, President of the Fire Brigades Union and Peter Spalding, President of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils who brought solidarity and support for the working people of Turkey. Adnan Bucak, Chair of Islington Labour Party Turkish Section gave a detailed account of the background to the current position of trade union struggle in Turkey and Max Hiron CDDRT General Secretary outlined the role of CDDRT.

The meeting marked the beginning of a new initiative by the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey aimed at increasing awareness in the trade union movement of the new trade union, struggle that is developing in Turkey, and the practical ways in which the fight for workers' rights can be assisted.



## MUZAFFER SARAC

Hearings in the trial of Social Democratic Populist Party leader, Muzaffer Sarac have been suspended for the duration of the September by-election campaign in Turkey.

Muzaffer Sarac is accused of slandering the Turkish State while abroad during a visit to London and Dublin last year.

He is however a candidate for the mining area of Zonguldak in the by-elections. If elected he presumably will be free from prosecution while he is an MP.

### Britain:

Fringe Meeting at the Labour Party Conference  
5.30pm

Wednesday, October 1st.

Victoria bar, WINTER GARDENS,  
Blackpool

Chair: E.Roberts MP

Speakers including R.Balfe MEP, J.Corbyn MP, Carole  
Tongue MEP, Adnan Bucak.

Organised by C.D.D.R.T.

### West Germany:

4pm

Saturday, October 18th.

147 Mainzer Lendstr.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN 1

International speakers

Organised by Initiative zur Verteidigung der Demokratischen Rechte in der Türkei.

## WOMEN IN TURKEY

The "woman question" has been a big issue in Turkey especially since the 1970s when women-working class women in particular came into political life on a mass scale. The fierce class struggle of the past decade, the relics of an Islamic past the massive shift of population from the countryside to the cities, rapid industrialisation have all had a profound impact on the place of women in society.

Some fresh work in English on this topic is overdue. The publication of the texts of the talks given at the June 14 Briefing Conference on Women in Turkey in London is therefore a particularly timely addition to the scanty material available on women in Turkey.

This well-illustrated 52 page booklet contains a wide variety of points of view of the current situation of Turkish women. But nearly all the contributors have packed a wealth of well-informed and factual material into their contributions. This ensures that this publication will be an essential guide to this subject for some time.

Among the contributors are Turkish women both living abroad and special guests from Turkey. This has helped ensure both a broad spectrum of views and a comprehensive picture of the women's question in Turkey. Special emphasis was laid on the relationship between the struggle for women's rights and the re-emerging trade union movement.

Apart from the question of women in Turkey, there is also a section dealing with the position of Turkish migrant women in Britain and the difficult position they face.

It is our hope that not only will this publication help inform people about women and Turkey. But that it will stimulate greater interest in and solidarity with the women of Turkey. Their struggle for real rights and their rightful place in society is a key part of the fight for a real democracy.

The pamphlet is available from 129 Newington Green Rd, London N1 4RD, England. Price 95p.



A poster commemorating Yilmaz Güney, Turkey's greatest film maker who died on September 1980 after escaping from the prisons of the regime. price: £1. inc. p&p

### f.g./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-option.

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 4RD  
FRANCE 7 Rue Leclerc 75014 Paris  
IRELAND 9 Cavendish Row Dublin 1  
USA 924 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, ILL 60657

WEST GERMANY

c/o Internationaler Jugendverein, Germaniastr. 89 6000 Frankfurt am Main 60

## Affiliate to the CDDRT

Annual affiliation fees are: national organisation £25, local organisation £10, individual £6.

To the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey.

I/we\* wish to affiliate to the CDDRT and enclose a cheque/PO for £

Name .....

Address .....

Date of affiliation .....

\*Delete as applicable. Includes subscription to **TURKEY NEWSLETTER**

Return to the appropriate CDDRT address.

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50 — £5.00, 100 — £8.50  
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All inclusive of postage.

I wish to subscribe to *Turkey Newsletter* for one year and enclose a cheque/PO for £

Name .....

Address .....

Subscription to commence on .....

Return to the CDDRT, 129 Newington Green Road, London N1. Tel: 01-226 2668.

# STUDENTS UNDER MILITARY DISCIPLINE

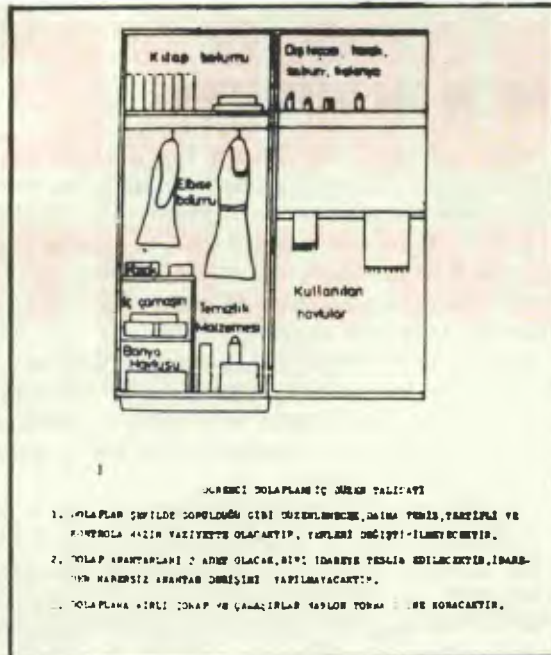
At the latest count, the lives of students in Turkey are being regulated by over 20 decrees. These affect every aspect of their daily lives, including how they lay out their wardrobes, dormitory floors, etc, etc...

"The Credits and Dormitories Law", (Act 351), the regulations governing students' daily lives run to 169 pages!. They even tell students when to sleep, when to get up, what to drink, and what they can talk about.

Example: "Students shall everyday including holidays and festivals, take turns between 2300 hours and 7.00 hours to guard the reading rooms, dormitories and floors. This they must do dressed in proper clothes. Not in pyjamas or shorts".

On the wall in every dormitory is a quote from a speech made by 'president' K.Evren to students: "Because the dormitories are not sufficient and there are not enough mattresses. Because of the bad food, high expenses, because of the form or unjustness of the exams and marking. With all these issues they (agitators) will come to you with seemingly innocent demands and draw you into protests. This way they will try to distort your minds".

Because of the regime's fear of a repetition of the role youth played in the struggle for political change in the early 1970s. All protests by students about these harsh conditions are met with accusations of attempting "to create anarchy".



*The University authorities in Turkey are even dictating how students must lay out their closets or wardrobes.*

*The diagram opposite is issued to every student. It tells her or him exactly what can be put in the wardrobe and where.*

*The accompanying notes warn students that closets/wardrobes are liable to inspection at any time by the authorities. To have items other than those listed in his or her wardrobe will make a student liable to "disciplinary measures".*

Turkish producer of Burberry jackets in London pays £12 per jacket produced. The same jacket can be made and exported from Turkey at a cost of £4, then sold for about £160-200. (THIS report 'Linked by the Same Thread' 1986).

For those who currently produce the goods in the UK, whether factory workers or homeworkers, wages have remained the same or only risen slightly over the last few years, whereas profits for the retailers and factory owners have greatly increased. The exploited condition of these migrant workers is largely a result of a recessive economy

and the employers' ability to use illegal practises and suppress the workers' attempts to organise.

Change can be brought about by according migrant workers a regularised status in those countries requiring their labour. Such a change would need collaboration on an international level, as the implications are world-wide. The ultimate aims are — to repeal unjust immigration laws, to unionise the migrant workforces and to encourage them to make stringent demands on their employers. The last two demands would result in improved working conditions and a recognition of the rights of *all* workers — 'illegal' or

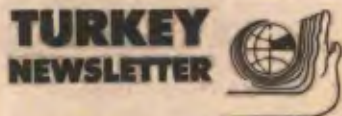
otherwise — to have their status protected.

These new rules and practises must be based on the universal principle that every individual has the right to work — no worker is illegal.

\* \* \*

**The London Anti-Deportation Committee offers advice on immigration and deportation problems and supports the above demands as its priorities and objectives for working. For further information contact:**

**LADC,  
129 Newington Green Rd.  
London N1  
Tel: 226-7544**



**129 Newington Green Road,  
London N1, England**