

TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey



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Air raids into Iraq

**SOLIDARITY WITH THE
KURDISH PEOPLE**

An alleged Kurdish woman militant killed by the security forces



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TRADE UNION NEWS

TURK-IS POSTPONES GENERAL PROTEST STRIKE

Under mounting pressure from progressive trade unions and rank and file workers Turk-Is (Turkish Trade Union Confederation) in February decided to call a protest action to take the form of a 2-hour general strike, called a "general warning protest" throughout Turkey. In addition, a programme of gradually escalating indoor meetings, protests and marches is to be implemented. The General Warning Protest was to be against the continuing restrictions on trade union freedoms and the failure — particularly of employers in some big state industries to raise the starvation-level wages.

The reaction of the regime and the employers to the decision of Turk-Is was predictable. TISK (Employers' Federation) boss Narin — in a country where workers are literally on the bread line — had the gall to say: "The workers should get rid of the habit of getting everything they want"... "Protest actions are not a solution. Past experience shows that they lead to illegality".

The regime's Interior Minister, Akbulut, hysterically accused Turk-Is of wanting to bring workers into confrontation with the police and gendarmery. He claimed that Turk-Is, by setting up special action committees to plan protest actions, is "preparing for war".

A straw poll of trade union leaders showed a considerable number in favour of protest action. When asked if he was prepared for the risk of a general strike, Kenan Gurbuz, leader of Tez Koop-Is (an office and shop workers union) said: "Even if it means death we will say yes to this decision" ... "Leaving aside going to prison for our workers, I am prepared to die for them" ... "The workers have reached such a point that considerations of whether an action is legal or not do not matter".

However, the leadership of Turk-Is (Turkish Trade Union Confederation) have, for the time being, backed away from a major confrontation with the Ozal regime.

At a meeting on 16th March, the Turk-Is leadership decided by a majority vote to postpone the 2-hour general strike. Instead it the leaders of Turk-Is affiliated trade unions will march to the Grand National Assembly (parliament) in Ankara with an open letter calling for the restoration of real trade union rights.

The President of Turk-Is, Sevet Yilmaz, explained that they were postponing the general strike because the "workers are not yet ready". This excuse seems a bit weak when one considers that in the first two weeks of March alone over 250,000 workers have given 60 days notice (as required by Turkish law) of strike action. Despite the delay action by Turk-Is it is clear that the workers' struggle for democratic and trade union rights is accelerating. All the evidence points to the fact that this is only a temporary delay. With an increasing number of Turk-Is unions taking action it is clear that a determined confrontation between the trade union movement, united around Turk-Is and the anti-democratic regime, is not far away.

GO SLOW

Bus drivers have started a unique 'go slow' following a break down in pay talks with Istanbul city council.

The drivers had asked for a 70% pay rise to compensate for inflation. The management responded by only offering them 10%.

The drivers have responded to this insult by driving their buses at a maximum speed of only 30 kilometers an hour and 10 kilometers an hour when crossing bridges. In addition the buses are stopping at all road crossings!



4, 000 WORKERS STRIKE

On March 20th 4,000 members of Petrol-Is (Chemical and Petrol workers' union) went on strike at 22 workplaces. The employers have responded by calling an 'official lockout'. This is the largest strike yet since the 1980 coup and follows close on the victory of the 3150 workers at Netas (see *Turkey Newsletter* No.70). At the same time 30,000 textile workers have given the giant Sumerbank (one of Turkey's largest holding companies) 60 days notice of strike action.

DERBY STRIKE CONTINUES

The strike by 1200 rubber workers at the Derby factory in Istanbul is continuing. The strikers report harrassment by special police security teams but morale remains high.



The Derby workers fight on

TURKEY-US DEFENCE PACT

On March 16th the USA and Turkey signed a five year defence and economic cooperation agreement that will channel hundreds of millions of dollars each year in aid to the present regime in Turkey.

Reuter reports that the agreement was signed by Mr George Shultz, US Secretary of State, and Mr Vahit Halefoglu, Turkey's Foreign Minister, after 18 months of negotiations that won Ankara considerably less than it wanted.

Under the agreement, the US government pledged it would use "vigour and determination" to persuade Congress to vote the money agreed in the pact to build up Turkish defences in return for US air bases and intelligence-gathering facilities.

Turkey had been asking for £1.2bn a year, but had to settle for less, partly because of US budget cuts and partly to keep the amount of aid within sums to which Congress could agree without upsetting Greece, a fellow-Nato ally ...

Under the agreement, which runs until December 1990, Turkey will receive nearly \$720m in military and economic aid this year.

Next year the US Government has promised to ask Congress for \$910m under an agreement that prompted domestic criticism in Turkey for not winning enough aid.

The signing of the agreement coincided

with a sharp deterioration in US relations with Greece, which has kept up a barrage of criticism of Washington over the past two weeks.

Greece has alleged that Washington was favouring Turkey.

JOKE OF THE YEAR

A foundation headed by the General Secretary of the ruling party — ANAP (Motherland Party) has been established called the 'Turkish Democracy Foundation'. The aim of this august body is to **incalcate the "principles of democracy"** in the population of Turkey. To this end, the Foundation has established a 'School of Democracy' to spread an "understanding of democracy at a grassroots level".

First prize for cheek should be given to this self-appointed body made up of "politicians, scientists and businessmen". It was not the "grassroots", the people of Turkey who have carried out successive military coups in the country. It was not the people of Turkey who passed laws banning political parties and made even thoughts a criminal offence. The foundation is composed of the very people who have done their best to trample on every "understanding of democracy".

The Foundation's selective understanding of democracy was made clear. Its chief hastened to say that the 'School of

Democracy' was "not against the army or the 12th September" (the coup in 1980 when Turkey's generals toppled the government, banned all political parties, closed parliament and instituted a reign of terror).

RETURN

Ozal is soon to return to Turkey after spending over six weeks in hospital in Houston, Texas. He was there to have a triple by-pass heart operation. It no doubt came as a surprise to many that the surgeons could find Ozal's heart!

Ozal's long absence has led to unease among his supporters at home and caused rumours of serious divisions in the government.

However, the continuing saga of Ozal's operations also gave the Turkish media something to cover in nauseous detail. No doubt such coverage was intended to distract the public from the daily problem of finding enough to eat. Every detail of his operation, every saccharine comment by Ozal's fearsome wife Semra was given full media coverage. In fact Ozal has appeared so often on TRT (Turkish TV) during his illness that Cindoruk, leader of the opposition DYP (True Path Party) exclaimed: "TRT has come to be like an Ozal family video... I have even seen Ozal wearing his pyjamas".

EXPLOITATION

What life is really like for Turkey's workers was exposed in March at the giant Sumerbank holding's Eskisehir textile factory.

Because of the employer's refusal, despite 9 months of wage negotiations, to raise the workers' wages, the workers are still having to live on 1984 pay rates. 35 year old Nazmiye Sakarya is one of the 1300 workers at the textile factory and is the mother of 2 children. At midday along with the other workers she receives a free dinner in the company canteen. However, as she says; "There is meat in the dinner but I cannot eat it. I think of my children going hungry at home". So Nazmiye puts the pieces of meat with bread in a bag and takes them home.

The meat Nazmiye Sakarya takes is the only meat her family will see. She has a disabled husband so she is the family bread winner. Her wages are 35,000 TL per month. Of this, 20,000 TL goes in rent.

Nazmiye's is not a unique case. Most workers at the factory take home their lunch to share it with their families. This does not go unnoticed. Recently, the police detained and interrogated Nihat Akin a worker at the factory for the 'crime' of taking food home.

As if these conditions were not enough, the fares on the company bus — the only way most workers can get to the factory — already amounting to 8,000-10,000 TL for each worker per month were doubled!. This means that some 400-

500 workers now walk to work, some from as far as 4 kilometers to the factory.

This practice has led to a suspicion by the authorities that this walking to work constitutes a 'subversive protest action'. As a result the workers are now followed by officers of the local police Political Branch Section to and from work.



Workers take home the only meat their families will see

NEWS IN BRIEF

CHILD LABOUR



Zeynep is 12 years old. She is working as a shoe shiner in Istanbul. Her father is ill so Zeynep is the sole bread winner for a family of seven!.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the historic city of Konya there are so many unemployed that they have set up their own unofficial labour markets on street corners. At these places 17 to 70 year old workers wait for bosses to come and pick them out for casual labour.



One unemployed worker told reporters: "We are living in bad days . I have never had work so I can't afford to marry... We wait from morning until night in the hope that some work will come. They used to pay us 3,000-3,500 TL per day (£3-£3.50) but now it has dropped to 1,000 TL."

EDUCATION?

On March 6th it was announced that many students have been suspended for between 1-6 months at the Bolu Higher Education School for supporting a hunger strike by 12 students in November last year. The hunger strikers had been protesting against oppression by YOK (Higher Education Council).

TURKEY A NEW IRAN?

The Greek Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou, has launched a strong attack on the United States, accusing it of rearming Turkey to make it like Iran under the Shah, "the US policeman in the Middle East and south-west Asia".

In what has been seen here as a significant policy speech and the opening salvo in a campaign to regain popularity, Mr Papandreou also accused Washington of completely reversing its position on "the Cyprus tragedy".

Mr Papandreou's comments follow statements made by US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger and his outspoken deputy, Richard Perle, in which, to Greek ears at least, they defended the right of Turkey to use US and Nato equipment to re-arm troops occupying Northern Cyprus. Mr Papandreou said that by increasing its military aid to Turkey the United States was acting in flagrant violation of an agreement allowing the US military to operate four important bases on Greek soil. Greece, he said, had been slapped in the face.

Relations between Greece and the United States have often been difficult since Mr Papandreou and his Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party came to power in 1981. But there have been clear signs of an improvement recently, especially after a trip to Washington late last year by Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias — the first such visit for several years.

There is a great deal of anger in Athens at what is seen as the insensitivity shown by Mr Weinberger and Mr Perle. Official protests have been delivered, a trip to Washington by the Greek defence minister has been called off, and the proposed visit here this month by Mr Weinberger has been found by Athens to be inconvenient.

(Kieran Cooke writing in the *Independent*, March 19.)



Soup Kitchen for 'the deserving poor' in the town of Samsun on the Black Sea coast of Turkey

TENSION IN THE AEGEAN

On March 6th, Greek warships were sent to keep a close watch on the Turkish naval research ship *Piri Reis* cruising under gunboat escort in the Aegean in an area believed to be rich in offshore oil deposits.

Tension in the Aegean rose yet again following the Greek government's decision to gain a controlling share in the North Aegean Oilfield Company. The NAOFC is at present owned by a Canadian-US-West German consortium. The irony is that one reason the Greek government wants to control the NAOFC is to prevent it drilling in disputed waters between Turkey and Greece which would bring a dangerous confrontation between the two governments closer. Despite this, the Turkish regime has reacted by threatening Greece that the Turkish regime will "defend" its "rights in the Aegean" no matter what the cost.

AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY



Economic hardship in Turkey is destroying many families. For a single parent there is no social security at all.

For example 38-year-old mother Ayten Biyik has had to surrender her children to adoption because she cannot feed them. After 10 years of marriage her husband abandoned the family because "he could no longer afford to support a family." Of her six children, three have gone to orphanages and three to foster parents because they are "living in poverty and starvation in one room".

Hürriyet operasyon bölgesinde

3 hedefli hain plan

- 'Apostatlar' yarımadası devri ya girecek. Sınak T.Y. vericileri ne s'ibotaj yaparık, böge halkının Türk televizyonu nu izlemesini önlemek istiyor- du.
- İkinc hedef Habur'u, Törki- ye'nin ticari bağlantılarını batılamak için vuracıkardı.
- 119. Devyat Jandarma Alay Karagah'da hedefler ara- sındıydı.



MEHMETÇİK GECE GÜNDÜZ DÖNÜYOR Hür- rik- lerimiz, Türk - Irak sınırında başlatılan harekât, başarıyla devam ediyor. Başlangıçta Irak'ta rakıvve kuvvetler strate- jiler. Bu arada, mühimmat ve ağır silah askere araçlar da, gece gündüz demeden sınır boyunca devriye ge- çmektedir. Güneydoğu'da mevcut yolların tamamı aktılan bölgedir.

akıvve kurye girişimden harekât, sadece gündüzle sınırlı değil. Heran birliklerimiz, geceleri de özel teçhizatla rakıvve saldırı- larını dinli arıyor (devriye). Belirli rakıvve rakıvve girişimden ba- rıktıkta, özel donanımlı komandoları da kullanıyor. Çok su- yu veriliyor ve her türlü çetin hava koşullarında bile sürekli görev on Irak'ta başlatılan komandoları, bu harekât- ta önemli görev üstleniyor (özel birim).



Tam teçhizatlı komando birlikleri sınır ötesinde

IRAK'TA MEHMETÇİK OPERASYONU

In late February the Turkish regime began a major operation against suspected Kurdish 'separatists' on both sides of the Turkey-Iraq border.

The ostensible reason for the 'operation' was a series of attacks by militants from the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) throughout Kurdistan in Turkey on the homes of pro-regime elements in villages. In the last incident before the latest 'operation' began, Kurdish militants were reported to have killed 14 in a grenade attack on the homes of village protectors (pro-regime militia) in one village alone.

On February 26th, Turkish papers reported that in a pre-dawn raid Turkish army units with air support crossed into Iraq and attacked alleged 'hide outs' of Kurdish guerillas. The military command boasted that; "This time we went as far as we wanted to go... We will stay in the area (of Iraq) as long as necessary" (*Hürriyet*, 26.2.1987).

The Turkish Interior Minister Y. Akbulut announced that a "cleaning-up operation" was in progress along the Iraqi border and that the army was 'arresting anyone suspicious.... Today it's a slap, tomorrow it will be a punch".

Over the following days the military operation rapidly escalated and came to the notice of the world press with massive air raids by Turkish planes (30 jets at a time) on villages and suspected guerilla bases in Iraq on March 4th.

All these raids and operations were carried out within the framework of a "hot pursuit" agreement between the Turkish regime and Iraqi dictatorship in 1984. In effect this agreement gives the Turkish army carte blanche in Northern Iraq.

Apart from reducing Kurdish villages in Iraq to rubble, the other significant aspect of these raids was that aside from also attacking suspected PKK bases, the Turkish forces reportedly struck areas under the control of Iraqi Kurdish movements. This included those like Barzani's KDP who have always gone to great lengths not to offend the Turkish regime.

According to some reports over 200 people were killed in the March 4th raid by the Turkish regime. While this was continuing, the Turkish press reported that Turkish troops including some 400 specially trained commandos were "systematically ransacking villages" up to 5km inside Iraq.

By March 6th the Turkish regime was boasting that "the traitors' camps have been levelled to the ground" and was basking in the undivided support of all the legal political parties in Turkey.

However, on March 8th, the same day that Prime Minister Ozal is reported to have telephoned from his hospital bed in Texas to order another 1,000 Turkish troops to join the operation, Kurdish militants struck back. This time PKK guerillas attacked the house of a village headman near Turkey's border with Syria killing 8. This particular attack led to a worsening of Turkish-Syrian relations, with the Turkish regime accusing Syria of giving refuge to Kurdish militants. It also showed that army operations were far from ending the activities of the guerillas.



Kurdish guerillas fight on

At the time of writing the current operation on the Turkish-Iraqi border is continuing. The regime is continuing an arms build-up in the border region with West German-built Leopard tanks, modernised US M47 and M48 tanks, plus helicopter gunships being deployed.

The regime is claiming that the arms build-up is to prevent a 'Nawroz' (Kurdish New Year) offensive by the PKK. As part of

KURDISTAN

this, the Turkish army are claiming the PKK was preparing to attack the joint Turkish-US base at Pirincik.

Mass arrests of suspected Kurdish activists have also been reported. A special task force made up of members of the General Detective Bureau, MIT (the notorious Turkish intelligence agency), the 7th Branch of the Political Police and the so-called 'Bureau for Struggle Against Terrorism' is now operating in the area.



Area inhabited by the Kurds

OPPRESSION

What is behind the current dangerous developments?

Firstly, at the root of the bloodshed in the South East Anatolian provinces of Turkey is the oppression of the Kurdish people by successive regimes in Turkey.

As the CDDRT has repeatedly pointed out, the brutal oppression of the Kurdish people who constitute between 8 and 10 million people in Turkey are denied all rights to national identity let alone self-determination. This oppression is practiced in the political, cultural and economic spheres. It is a criminal offence in Turkey to write, speak Kurdish. Many publishers have found to their cost that it is even illegal to mention the name Kurdistan on historic maps of Turkey. Those who play Kurdish music or poetry also face prison. No one can say "I am a Kurd" and those who organise or participate in political movements calling for self-determination for Kurdistan face torture and very often death as with 32 Kurdish activists done to death in Diyarbakir prison in 1985.



'Village protectors' armed militia who are paid bounties for killing or denouncing militants to the regime

The aim of this policy is to turn Kurdistan in Turkey not only into an internal colony but to absorb it completely. To achieve this, the regime will use any methods. Just as earlier in the century a Turkish regime massacred the large Armenian population in Anatolia.

Against this continual oppression it is no wonder that large sections of the Kurdish population adopt many forms of resistance including armed struggle.

GAP

The latest twist in this saga of oppression has been the acceleration of a massive programme called 'The South East Anatolia Project' known as GAP. The aim of this scheme is to rapidly develop the economy of the predominantly Kurdish areas of Turkey. To this end hydro-electric, road and communications and land reclamation schemes are under way. The aim of GAP is to turn the area into a source of great profits for Turkey's monopolies.

At the same time GAP is seen as an effective way to stamp out the Kurdish national identity in the area. An example of this is the construction of a large TV station and transmitter at Sirnak costing 1 billion TL. Great importance is attached to this project. Even a special security force has been formed to guard the station. The real importance of this TV station was revealed in *Hurriyet* 4.3.87, when a commentator remarked that: "For years the people of Siirt, Hakkari and Mardin (provinces) — approximately 500,000 viewers have had to watch sectarian and divisive programmes, now they will be able to watch Turkish television for the first time". In other words the TV station will be part of the cultural colonization of Kurdistan.



Bloodshed continues in the villages of Turkish Kurdistan

DESIGNS ON NORTH IRAQ

The northern Iraqi province of Mosul has been the object of secret agreements and conflicts since the first decades of the 20th century when the discovery of vast oil reserves made it one of the most valuable pieces of property which came up for grabs with the imminent collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1916 the area, still under Ottoman control, was included in the French sphere of influence by the Sykes-Picot Agreement which set out the terms by which Britain and France planned to divide much of the Ottoman Empire between themselves once the First World War was over.

In the event it was British troops which occupied Mosul and Kirkuk in 1918. The British *fait accompli* compelled France to surrender its claim to Mosul in return for a share in the oil fields once they were developed and the right to construct a pipeline from Mosul to Alexandretta so that its oil could be conveyed to France.

Meanwhile, however, at the National Congress held in Sivas in 1919 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, the nationalist forces set out the territorial terms which they considered acceptable for the new Republic of Turkey which was to be founded. These terms became known as the National Pact (*Misak-i Milli*) and in February 1920 were also accepted by the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies meeting in Istanbul.

Then and now considered as having established the legitimate and just boundaries of the new Republic, the terms of the National Pact were accepted at the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, except for the inclusion of Mosul, control of which was instead granted to Britain as part of its mandate over Iraq. Turkey renounced "all rights and title" over Mosul and other territories not granted to it by the Lausanne Treaty which, despite some criticism over the abandonment of Mosul, was overwhelmingly accepted by the National Assembly.

Later, in 1926, the disposition of Mosul was confirmed when Turkey surrendered all its rights to Mosul in return for 10% of the oil produced there and British agreement to refrain from further agitation on behalf of the Kurds or Armenians. (Shaw & Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.376)

Eventually the League of Nations awarded Mosul permanently to Iraq.

Since that time there has always been a strong revanchist current in Turkey seeking to recover Mosul. This current gained strength and credibility with the rise in oil prices in the 1970's and the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980's, two developments whose effect has been compounded by the upsurge of the Kurdish national movement in eastern Turkey and northern Iraq where the Iraqi government has proven unable to suppress the insurgency which is also receiving Iranian aid.

SCENARIO FOR AN INVASION

Even before the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, although it was clearly imminent, Iraq and Turkey signed a military cooperation agreement which gave Turkey the right to carry out military operations on Iraqi territory against Kurdish guerillas. Turkey has taken advantage of that agreement to conduct constant 'police' actions in the area and to carry out three major raids, one in May 1983, another in August 1986 and the latest last month.

At least since 1983 there has been speculation, fuelled by an article in the *New Statesman* by Claudia Wright, that Turkey and the United States have concluded a secret agreement by which, in the event of a total collapse of Iraq, the United States would concur in and perhaps aid a Turkish seizure of northern Iraq.

Speculation has been revived in recent months by a new flare up in the Iran-Iraq war and expectations that Iran may soon carry out its long delayed final offensive. Thus on 1 November 1986 the *International Herald Tribune* carried the following report:

"Earlier this month, a commando from Iran, apparently acting with help from autonomy-minded Kurdish tribesmen, raided the Kirkuk oilfields in Iraq. These fields are roughly equidistant from Iran and Turkey, some 159 miles (243 kilometers) into Iraq. Turkey gets much of its oil from Kirkuk, has a substantial pipeline income from the oilfield, fears Kurdish autonomy, and has a historical claim to the Kirkuk region, which is peopled by Turks.

"The Iranian raid prompted what a leading Turkish daily called 'a scenario being discussed in the diplomatic and political lobbies of Ankara.'

"The scenario goes as follows:

"1. Iran's forthcoming offensive breaks through Iraqi defenses.

"2. Turkey invades Iraq to take Kirkuk before Iranian forces arrive.

"3. The Soviet Union threatens Turkey.

"4. The United States sends its Rapid Deployment Force, ostensibly to defend the Turks, actually to support their pre-emptive seizure of Kirkuk and its oil for the West.

"The Turkish opposition replied that 'this scenario looks as if it is cooked up by the United States; America, opposition figures said, wants to punish Iran as well as to deny Kirkuk's oil to Iran and its ally, Syria. The outcome, these Turks say, would be US forces permanently in Turkey, and 'Turkey's independence reduced to zero.'

"On Oct 16, the Turkish foreign minister denied that his country had any intention of invading Iraq, and restated Turkey's neutrality in the Gulf War."

NATIONAL 'RIGHTS' AND 'MOTIVES'

Whatever the denials, particularly since last summer when Iraq launched air attacks against Kirkuk and threatened to destroy the pipeline running through Turkey, and when collaboration between Iran and Kurdish guerillas was stepped up, the Turkish press has been conducting a vigorous campaign to create a suitable climate for an invasion in public opinion.

For instance, on October 16th 1986 *Milliyet* advanced the following three "national motives" for military intervention by Turkey:

● More than one million Turks live in the Mosul and Kirkuk regions. At the beginning of the National Liberation War of Turkey (1919), these regions were included within the borders claimed by the national liberation movement. But, after the war, this question could not be resolved in a favourable way because of Turkey's weakness at the time, and the Mosul and Kirkuk regions were left to Great Britain. However, Turkey historically has rights to these regions.

● Turkey imports a large part of its oil needs from Iraq. Most of Iraqi oil comes by way of a pipeline. Furthermore, Turkey annually receives \$300 million in exchange for the location of this pipeline. Ankara cannot accept a threat to its economic interests.

● In case of collapse of the rule of Saddam Hussein, Iraq could fall apart. By profiting from this situation, the Kurds could obtain a more advantageous position in northern Iraq. They have already been strengthened thanks to the lack of power in this country. Moreover, the separatists of Turkey are based in this region.'

On 14th October 1986 a *Hurriyet* columnist wrote:

"The oil installations in Kirkuk are very important from the point of view of our country's oil needs. The cessation of oil production in Kirkuk or disruption of the oil pipeline would do great harm to the Turkish economy. Moreover, Kirkuk is a Turkish region. Without a doubt, Turkey will not want this region to come under the influence of rebels aided by Iran. Turkey has full respect for international borders. We do not have our eyes on Kirkuk of which Turkey was unjustly deprived at the conclusion of the National Struggle. But Turkey cannot tolerate the upsetting of the status quo in this region or a halt to the production of the oil installations.

"Even if reports that some or all of the oil installations in Kirkuk have been destroyed are false it is clear that Iran, which issued the reports, has begun to forget our warning of a few years ago.

"Our warning has to be revived in the memory of the Iranian leaders."

TORTURE, TRIALS AND PRISONS

ARRESTS



In February 7 people accused of being members of the Socialist Homeland Party Young Communist League were paraded before the cameras by the political police. The group had been caught with leaflets, Marxist-Leninist literature and a photocopier. They face long prison sentences. Despite this, as the photo shows, one of the accused gave the victory sign and when asked what his profession was replied "I am a socialist revolutionary, a communist".

MAGAZINE SEIZED

Discussion of the 'Kurdish question' is not encouraged in Turkey.

On March 20 all copies of the current issue of *Yeni Gundem* an authoritative and liberal weekly magazine were seized by the Turkish authorities. Its 'crime' was to carry a leading article on the situation in the Kurdish part of Turkey.

The cover story was the most frank and open discussion of the situation in Kurdistan to be published in a legal publication inside Turkey. The feature included interviews with retired military officials as well as Kurdish nationalists. This was obviously too much for the Ozal government.

The owner of *Yeni Gundem*, Murat Belge has been questioned by the public prosecutor in Istanbul and court proceedings are likely to follow.

STRANGE BUT TRUE

A new draft Penal Code is being prepared by the regime in Turkey. Despite claims to the contrary, the code still fails to bring Turkish law into line with the provisions of the European convention on human rights.

Apart from the retention of punishments for a whole range of political 'crimes' the new draft contains some weird additions. For example, anyone having the misfortune to 'break wind' in public will be liable to a prison term of up to 6 months!

FREEDOM TO PUBLISH?

In a trial still continuing, the regime's public prosecutor has called for publisher Huseyin Kivanc to be sentenced to a total of 22 years and 6 months in prison for translating and publishing seven books which the state claims contain 'communist propaganda'.

A QUESTION OF DEATH

In January, a commission was set up by the Turkish parliament to investigate the death some months earlier of Adnan Tevizi.

Adnan Tevizi had been arrested and taken to the Ceylanpinar police station in relation to an investigation. After a few hours in the police station he seems to have disappeared. Two days later his body was found in a hastily dug grave. He bore marks of having been tortured and shot.

Following the failure of local police to provide a satisfactory explanation the commission was established. They want answers to four questions:

- The police said Tevizi has voluntarily given himself up to the police. How then do they explain their own claim that Tevizi later escaped from the police station and ran away through some fields?
- The police say he escaped some hours before. Why then did the alleged search operation only begin at 3am and end before dawn?
- It is said by eyewitnesses that after 'questioning' Tevizi needed several people to help him walk. Yet not long later he is supposed to have run for a long period to escape.
- The police said at first that Tevizi had escaped from them. Then they changed their story and said he had been shot in the back while attempting to escape. How then do they explain the fact that they did not retrieve his body for days?

Other prisoners in the same police station are alleging that torture is being conducted on a routine basis. But they have been prevented from contacting their members of parliament.

RAID

Security police carried out a big raid in Istanbul on February 28th. The target was a supposed 'safe house' of Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) organisation. The police arrested 7 people who they claimed constituted a Dev Sol cell. One of those arrested was a woman who broke her spine while allegedly jumping from a window to escape arrest.

Over the last year Dev Sol have been active in the Istanbul area putting up banners attacking the regime, distributing illegal leaflets and in one case attacking the offices of the ruling ANAP party.

During the raid police claim to have found documents and weapons.



Arrest of alleged Dev Sol members headlined in the media

TORTURE, TRIALS AND PRISONS

TORTURE

A local branch secretary of the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), Ali Turkmen had a surprise when he asked for police assistance in Sinop.

Mr Turkmen, besides being an SHP branch secretary is the proprietor of a cafe. Late one night a group of drunks began causing trouble on his premises. He therefore phoned the local public prosecutor whose phone number he knew and asked him to get police assistance.

The police arrived but were furious that Ali Turkmen had gone over their heads rather than contacting them directly. 'Words were exchanged and Mr Turkmen rather than the drunks found himself at the local police station. There he was subjected to a barrage of verbal abuse. He was then accused of hitting a policeman on the ear.

Ali Turkmen was then subjected to systematic torture for the rest of the night. Cigarettes were stubbed out on his face and a squad of 5 policemen took it in turns to subject him to general beatings and falaka (beating on the soles of the feet). Next day, he was taken to Samsun State Hospital. Doctors who saw Ali Turkmen's injuries have joined with him in making an official complaint.



Ali Turkmen shows the marks of torture

THEY ARE TRYING TO ISOLATE AYDAN BULUTGIL

We reported in the last issue of *Turkey Newsletter* that prisoner of conscience Aydan Bulutgil who is serving a 16 year prison sentence in Mamak Military Prison had had his appeal against his sentence postponed until October.

Not only is Aydan Bulutgil ill as a result of his treatment by the authorities and enduring a long prison sentence merely for a 'crime of thought'. It now appears attempts are being made to cut him off from the outside world.

In December Ayse Hasan a councillor in the London Borough of Islington sent Aydan a parcel of warm clothes and books. In March the parcel arrived back in the state shown in the photo. There was no accompanying explanation.

On contacting the authorities in Turkey Ayse Hasan was informed that "no packages are accepted any longer for prisoners". This is in fact a lie.

In reality it appears that packages are not being accepted for certain political prisoners.

Recent months have shown that certain political prisoners are being singled out for especially harsh treatment. It is hard to determine the logic, but the group appears to be made up of those suspected of being leading members of opposition movements.

This latest proof of the regime's double dealing on human rights issues must be exposed.

Protests at this continued persecution of political prisoners should be sent to:

President Kenan Evren
Devlet Baskanligi
Ankara
Turkey

Messages of greetings to Aydan Bulutgil should be sent to:

Aydan Bulutgil
Mamak Askeri Cezaevi
A Blok
Tecrit On 1
Mamak/Ankara
Turkey



Parcel returned

Torture Report No.3 is now available from the CDDRT price 30p including post and packing.

Torture Report No.3 covers the period from January 1986 to February 1987.

TORTURE, TRIALS AND PRISONS

A FORGOTTEN PRISONER



Pamuk Yildiz

At a time when the Turkish regime is formally applying for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) accepted norms of human rights continue to be violated in Turkey.

An article in the Turkish magazine *2000* highlighted another of the 15,000 or so political prisoners still suffering in the prisons of the regime.

Pamuk Yildiz was 17 years old when she was arrested in October 1980. She was detained along with the other members of the Akdere group of the *Dev Yol* (Revolutionary Path) organisation.

Pamuk Yildiz was one of the innumerable members or supporters of left wing groups thrown into prison and ill-treated or tortured following the Turkish army's seizure of power on 12th September 1980. She is still there.

At the time of her detention according to her mother and friends she was "a very healthy young girl". However during her custody in notorious prisons and interrogation centres her health rapidly deteriorated. Eventually, in 1983, the authorities took her to the Ankara Mevki hospital, where she spent 40 days. Dr Deniz Demirkan diagnosed heart disease — in fact the valves of her heart had decayed. When she was returned to prison Dr. Demirkan requested that she must be given regular treatment including a visit to hospital every six months. This was never done.

"Let her die"

In March 1984 Pamuk Yildiz's mother, Akkiz Yildiz was driven frantic by the news that her daughter was dying. Pamuk was in a cell, not allowed to receive any visitors and could only communicate with her family with the occasional letter. Her mother heard from released prisoners that her daughter was not getting any hospital treatment — only a fortnightly

injection and permission to occasionally stay in bed. *She had still not even been brought to trial.*

When Mrs Yildiz tried to complain to the authorities they increased the maltreatment of Pamuk and her condition deteriorated further.

During her attempts to get proper treatment for her daughter responsible prison officials told Mrs Yildiz:

"Are they human beings? ... You are still protecting these anarchists. Instead of releasing them, let them die here".

In 1985 Pamuk Yildiz was finally sentenced by a military court to "15 years heavy imprisonment". She was 22 years old.

On the 27th October 1986, in accordance with laws (Article 647) passed by the civilian regime which had replaced the ruling Junta, Pamuk Yildiz's lawyer Emin Deger applied to the No 1 Martial Law Court for her release. This was done on the basis that Pamuk had served 6 years and 1 day in prison. Under the law, she should therefore have been released on the 3rd November 1986.

Instead, the regime's state prosecutor carried out a sick manoeuvre — he appealed against the original sentence. The state are now asking a higher court to sentence Pamuk Yildiz to hang.

On the 1st December in the No 4 Martial Law Court Pamuk's lawyer said "It is unthinkable to give her more than 15 years imprisonment even more so when you consider that her health is broken, her file is under review by the military authorities and the prosecutor did not file his appeal until long after the original sentence"... during the appeal period "her sickness will become incurable".

The court refused to release Pamuk.

As her lawyer pointed out, this decision is against human rights and every normal understanding of law.

We demand the immediate release of Pamuk Yildiz.

Pamuk Yildiz is alone and seriously ill in Mamak Military Prison.

Send short messages of good wishes to:

Pamuk Yildiz
Mamak Askeri Cezaevi
Tecrit On 1
Mamak/Ankara
Turkey

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The CDDRT has begun a Solidarity with Political Prisoners in Turkey Campaign. You can help. You or a group you are a member of can 'adopt' a political prisoner in Turkey. This means writing to the prisoner and maintaining contact. This helps both to raise the particular prisoner and her/his fellow prisoners' morale and put pressure on the regime to release prisoners.

Your help can bring great pressure to bear.

Many of these prisoners while still very young sacrificed everything to struggle for a better society in Turkey. Many of them have endured torture and ill-treatment. Help ensure there are no forgotten political prisoners in Turkey!

If you wish to receive more details of the political prisoners campaign, write to Political Prisoners Campaign, CDDRT, 129 Newington Green Rd., London N1 4RD, Britain.

BOOK REVIEWS

VITAL SOURCE OF INFORMATION

In June last year, the publishers of the Belgium-based information bulletin — *Info-Turk* brought out **Black Book on Militarist “democracy” in Turkey.**

This book covers the period from the 1980 coup until 1986. In addition there is an interesting section giving the background the 1980 coup. This 405 page book is a valuable addition to the very sparse literature on Turkey available in English.

The Black Book is made up of commentaries, documents and tables which explode the myth that the military seizure of power in 1980 was “necessary to end anarchy” and the even more dangerous myth that today Turkey has somehow become a proper democracy.

The only criticism this reviewer has of the Black Book is that perhaps the writers pay too little attention to the reviving struggle for democracy inside Turkey — particularly in the trade union sphere. However, this does not detract from the fine qualities of this book. Particularly the damning indictment of the human rights record of successive regimes.

No one who wishes to gain a detailed knowledge of events leading up to the present situation in Turkey can afford not to read this book.

BLACK BOOK ON THE MILITARIST “DEMOCRACY” IN TURKEY is available from:

Info-Turk, Rue des Eburons 38, 1040 Brussels, Belgium.
Price: 1000 BF (or international money order)

PUBLICATIONS

- WOMEN IN TURKEY, 95p
- TORTURE REPORT No.1. (1986), 30p (CDDRT)
- TORTURE REPORT No.2. (1986), 30p (CDDRT)
- THE CASE OF AYDAN BULUTGIL, 40p
- HUMAN RIGHTS IN TURKEY, (1983). 40p (CDDRT)
- CDDRT BRIEFING PAPERS (30p each):
 - No.1. Trade Union Rights in Turkey
 - No.2. Women in Turkey Today
 - No.3. Turkey and the European Community
- INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN No.3 50p inc
(Information bulletin produced for CDDRTs and similar bodies in various countries).
- TURKEY NEWSLETTER 1986 £2.50
(Complete sets of Turkey Newsletters for 1986)

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4th BIENNIAL CONGRESS

The 4th Biennial Congress of the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey in London was held on March 28th.

A full report of the Congress will be carried in the May issue of *Turkey Newsletter*.

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

To the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey.

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TURKEY AND THE EEC

On March 22nd the following article written by Nigel Hawkes appeared in London *Observer*.

The Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Ozal, is expected in London this week bearing what the British Government fears may be unwelcome news.

Ozal is expected to tell the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, that Turkey intends to launch its formal application to join the European Community within the next six weeks — perhaps on 1 May.

The news will not be welcome because, although the British Government supports Turkey's desire for closer links with the EEC, it has advised delaying a formal application.

Last year, Sir Geoffrey warned the Turkish Minister for European Affairs, Ali Bozer, that a formal application this year would invite a prompt rebuff. He is likely to give Ozal the same advice, suggesting that Turkey should attempt first to improve its sticky relationship with the EEC, and also give the Community some time to cope with the addition of Spain and Portugal.

But Ozal may choose to disregard this advice and apply, while Belgium, which is sympathetic to Turkish aspirations, holds the presidency. On 31 June the presidency passes to Denmark, which is notably cooler towards Turkey.

After Denmark comes West Germany, which is equally doubtful about Turkish accession. So Ozal may feel there is a case for going now rather than waiting. He will have in mind the fact that he must call a general election by November 1988 at the very latest. In practice, he will want to go to the polls sooner than that, claiming that he has mapped out Turkey's future by making it clear that it wants to become part of the EEC.

The risk is that his application will be vetoed by Greece, and perhaps by West Germany. Even those European nations who support Turkey believe that a considerable improvement will be needed in civil, political and trade union rights before accession could be agreed. In particular, the EEC will need to be certain that full democracy has been restored and is functioning well.

Relations between the Community and Turkey have been frozen for many years. Last September, when Britain was in the chair, the council of the association agreement between Turkey and the Community met for the first time in six years. This was seen by Britain as a token of goodwill towards Turkey although it advanced their cause little.

Any goodwill that might have been generated was soon dissipated when the EEC reneged on an agreement signed in 1963 which promised Turkish workers free movement within the Community after 1 December 1986. Alarmed by the prospect of an influx of millions of Turkish workers, the Twelve simply declared the agreement could not be honoured.

The impression in London is that Ankara does not fully appreciate the implications of making its application, is underestimating the opposition, and believes it will be able to muscle its way in by using its importance within NATO. Sir Geoffrey will be trying to inject a more realistic understanding when he talks to Ozal this week.

NO COMMENT



'Aaa!... Don't we belong to America anymore?' A comment on Turkey's relations with both Europe and the USA published in the Turkish daily *Milliyet*.

TURKEY NEWSLETTER



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