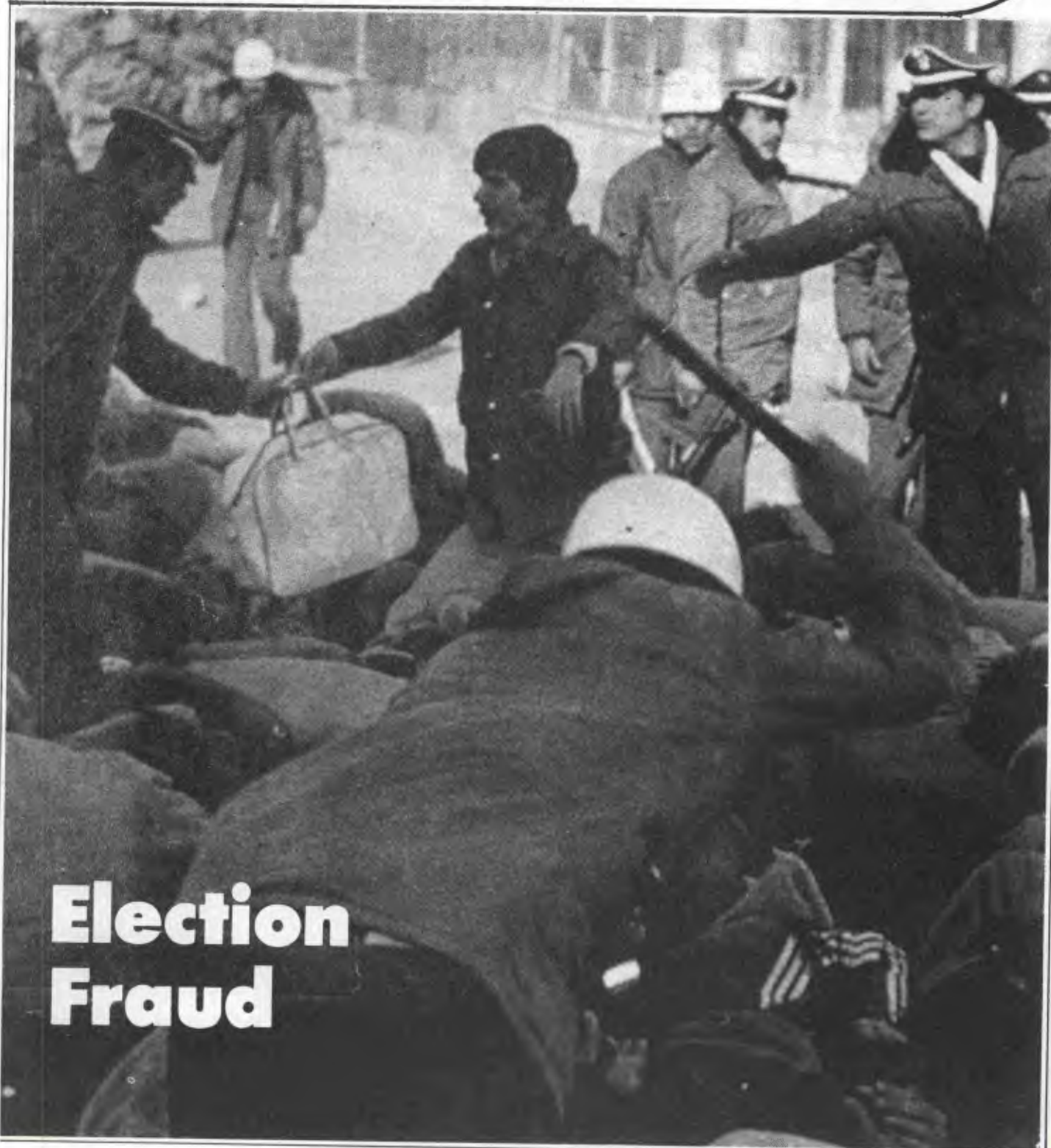


TURKEY NEWSLETTER



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

40-41 November-December 1983



**Election
Fraud**

JUNTA PLANS TO INVADE IRAQ AGAIN

As is shown by the accompanying article from the 'Guardian', the strange case of the shooting down of a Turkish airforce "training plane", which for some unexplained reason was flying over Iraqi territory, is being used by the fascist junta as a pretext for war preparations.

Once again the junta is planning to invade Iraq as it did in May of this year.

This news is important for several reasons. In the first place it shows the continuing and deepening collaboration between the dictatorships of Turkey and Iraq in the joint struggle against the Kurdish national liberation movement and the democratic forces in both countries. And related to this is the self-appointed role of the junta as a regional policeman.

The other significant feature is that this time the junta is *openly* preparing for war, is openly preparing a "limited operation" in a neighbouring country.

This fact is not unrelated to the sham general elections held in Turkey on 6th November. The junta clearly hopes, like

so many fascist regimes before, that war and aggression abroad will distract public attention away from the mounting internal problems. Clearly, there is a need to avert the danger of increased political activity and discussion in Turkey. They are trying to conceal the

fact that the elections are an open fraud, the exposure of which has been highlighted by the Council of Europe's refusal prior to the elections to recognise the results. This fact increased the junta's desire to find a war-like diversion in November.

Ankara plans rescue mission into Iraq

By a Correspondent

The Turkish army is planning a raid into northern Iraq to free two Turkish air force pilots held by Kurdish separatist guerrillas and to wipe out guerrilla bases which operate against the army and economic installations.

The pilots ejected from their training plane after it was shot down in Iraqi Kurdistan on September 14.

According to high-level Turkish sources, "a limited military operation" similar to the one carried out in July this year to "liquidate bandit gangs" of Kurdish separatists, Armenian terrorists, and left-wing Turkish exiles will be

carried out "any time now" with the permission of the Iraqi Government.

The sources also revealed that a Turkish delegation, led by the Foreign Minister, Mr Ilter Turkman, and a high-ranking officer from the office of the Chief of Staff, visited Baghdad last week to get approval for the operation.

At the same time, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, Mr Tarq Aziz, denied reports that Iraq had shot down the plane after the pilots had failed to identify themselves. He confirmed that searches by the Iraqi army had failed to find the men.

19. Oct. 1983-The Guardian

EARTHQUAKE DISASTER IN TURKISH KURDISTAN

In the recent earthquake in Turkey more than 40 villages were destroyed in Turkish Kurdistan. The death toll is over 2000. As more facts come to light about this tragedy, the appalling conditions in which the people of Turkish Kurdistan live are further highlighted.

Turkish Kurdistan is the poorest area of Turkey. Most people live in houses constructed of mud with rough stone walls and have timber and earth roofs. In contrast government buildings such as police or army barracks and some school buildings are built of brick and concrete and only these remain standing. Added to this, it has emerged that no special precautions were taken, and few emergency supplies were maintained despite the fact that this region is a well-known earthquake zone.

While the 50,000 people made homeless in the earthquake face the horrors of a winter in the open, the junta squanders resources on purchasing 160 F16 fighter planes, the largest military contract in Turkey's history.

In Britain four Turkish community organisations are raising material aid and collections to send to the victims in Turkey via the International Red Cross. In his recent press release Mr. Lionel



Murray of TUC stated: "The TUC asks that the application of political pressures against the regime should not interfere with the provisions for relief to the surviving victims of the disaster".

Donations can be sent to "The Relief Fund for the Victims of the Earthquake in Turkey, Midland Bank, Newington Green Branch, 58 Newington Green London N1, Acc. No: 5155046



BRITAIN'S MANOEUVRES

Max Hill

Turkey's strategic role and position is plain to anyone with a map. Common borders with the USSR, Iran, Iraq and Syria mean that Turkey, NATO's most southern member with the second largest land army of the alliance, is thrust deep into the zone of crisis in the Middle East.

The importance of this situation has not been lost on either the fascist junta or NATO and the USA.

October has seen massive NATO exercises in the Aegean and neighbouring areas of Turkey. The exercises included the armed forces of the USA, Italy, Britain and Turkey.

Of great concern to all democrats and progressives in Britain must be the fact that a highpoint of these exercises was an almost ceremonial landing by Royal Marines in Turkey on the north side of Saros Bay on 11th October.

Backed by the aircraft carrier HMS Hermes over 850 men of a Royal Marine Commando unit plus Royal Navy ships carried out an amphibious landing under US aircover and in conjunction with Turkish land, sea and air forces. The fact that this operation took place at all, let alone the fact that it was followed by four days of joint exercises between British and Turkish armed forces, should be of concern to all democrats.

Added to this, the nature of the Saros

Bay landing and the junta's attitude gives rise to even more concern.

As the *Times* correspondent on board HMS Hermes pointed out, the landings themselves seem to be more of a ceremonial nature than a real military operation. This was emphasised by the junta which laid on special facilities at the VIP viewing points including running water, marquees and even new roads. It was in such pleasant conditions that the hangmen of democracy in Turkey — the generals with the blood of the Turkish working class on their hands — could sit with their VIP guests from NATO and watch the spectacle.

It is clear that the junta has seized on this opportunity to emphasise their 'indispensability' to NATO and to the West, to try and legitimise themselves in the eyes of the world. The *Times* correspondent came near to exposing an important motive behind this display when he wrote: "The purposes of this elaborate show are not clear, though the Turkish military regime may regard it as politically helpful as a general election draws closer".

As is shown in other articles in this month's *Newsletter*, the junta is anxiously looking around to find any events that can be used to bolster-up the farce passing for a general election on 6th November. News of the NATO

manoeuvres in Turkey comes on the same week that *Newsweek* mentioned reports of the CIA's activities in a string of Turkish cities where support is being organised for some Iranian exiles to prepare for the overthrow of the present regime in Iran. Also the increasing use of the Turkish-Iranian border for intelligence-gathering purposes.

As is known, shortly after the Iranian revolution, Turkey became a base for officers of the former Shah's army. Now we see another step by which the fascist junta hopes to become (with Western support), a regional strongman and to fish in the explosive waters of the Middle East.

Recent developments indicate further the junta's twin aims of, on the one hand, glossing over recent setbacks in its relations with Europe by demonstrating NATO military and US support for it, and on the other hand, to utilise this support for it to carry out far-reaching and expansionist aims in the region, aims which bring the threat of fresh crisis to the region and which could enhance further the general war danger.

In Britain all people concerned with peace and the struggle for democracy should raise the demand for an end to military cooperation between the British government and the criminal regime in Ankara.





Report of the Labour Party Conference
Fringe Meeting

PERVERSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

CDDRT's Labour Party Conference Fringe Meeting held on 4th October in Brighton, was a well-attended one. Chris Smith MP, Clare Short MP and Alex Lyon, lawyer and former MP and Minister of State were members of a fact-finding delegation to Turkey sponsored by the CDDRT. They were joined by Jeremy Corbyn MP who talked about his experiences while in Turkey on another fact-finding mission in early September. This other delegation was sponsored by the European Committee for the Defence of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI). Ernie Roberts MP chaired the meeting.

Clare Short MP, stressed the position of Turkey as a member of NATO, an Associate Member of the EEC and a signatory to the European Declaration of Human Rights. She was forthright in her criticism of the British government for treating Turkey as an ally and openly apologising for that regime. She emphasised that before the coup, martial law was already in force in many parts of Turkey. She warned that if we want to defend our own freedoms, we need to protest the kind of repression that is going on in Turkey. Of the DİSK trial and the Peace Association trial that she sat in on, Clare Short MP like her colleagues, stressed that there was not a single allegation of violence in the evidence against any of the defendants in the trials.

Chris Smith MP described the accusations against the defendants in the trial as the "crime of ideas", "crimes" which would in any other European country, not be offences at all. The totally perverted way in which justice is done at the trials appalled him.

He explained how self-censorship operates in the Turkish press by fears of closure by the authorities of the offending newspapers. He was also struck by the fear in people he talked to everywhere in Turkey, all of whom insisted that they should not be named if quoted. Chris Smith MP spoke of how the defendants in the trials are denied the opportunity of properly preparing their defence by having pens and paper removed from them and not being allowed access to their lawyers and families. As an example of the lack of political freedoms in Turkey, he outlined some of the anti-democratic conditions under which the 6th November general elections in Turkey were to operate.

Next Aydın Meric, the former Assistant General Secretary of DİSK dealt briefly with the history of the trade union movement in Turkey and gave some up-to-date information about developments under the junta's rule. He also called upon major solidarity movements to direct their work towards helping the working-class in Turkey reclaim their trade union rights and political freedoms.

Jeremy Corbyn MP warned that in their propaganda, the junta was attempting to present the elections as "democratic". However, he was glad that the Council of Europe had decided to reject the election results in advance. He called the new Turkish Constitution put to referendum in November 1982, a "rascist document" for omitting any mention of the Kurds or Kurdistan. He also drew attention to the clause in the Constitution which specifically curtails trade union rights and freedoms. Jeremy Corbyn MP sees the present

government in Turkey as an extremely nationalist one, exercising a high degree of state control in every sphere. He attended the Fatsa trial of 759 defendants, half of their number on trial for their lives.

For some defendants in the Fatsa trial up to 6 different penalties are being demanded. In Ankara, Jeremy Corbyn MP attended the *Dev-Yol* (Revolutionary Path) trial where he saw all 200 defendants with shaved heads in one room and only 2 lawyers present in court. All the defendants in this trial have pleaded not guilty to the indictment against them which is in a 2-volume book of some 1300 pages. The press are excluded. The defendants' relatives present, are all too frightened to talk to anyone. He also mentioned the civil war being waged against the Kurds in Turkish Kurdistan. Finally, he called for action to stop the deportation of Turkish nationals from host countries in Europe, as one way of preventing further political persecution by the fascist Turkish regime.

Alex Lyon who spoke next, concentrated on the legal framework, tracing the constitutional developments in Turkey from the 1960 Constitution and explaining how the Penal Code, an adaptation of Mussolini's Penal Code, is used whenever a military takeover occurs in Turkey. He advised the use of all available agencies to achieve a higher profile on the debate around Turkey. He also called for the unity of all the organisations campaigning on Turkey so that they can speak with one voice to get the message of the deprivation of human rights and political freedoms in Turkey across.

There was a general consensus amongst all the speakers who have visited Turkey, that the use of torture is widespread and systematic in the junta's military prisons. They all voiced concern about the appalling prison conditions of political prisoners and it is generally recognised that since the end of the mass hunger strike by political prisoners, prison conditions have further deteriorated. None of the members on the delegations were able to visit a prison to investigate the conditions complained of, because the authorities had flatly refused them access. When closing the fringe meeting, Ernie Roberts MP revealed that the British government has recently approved a loan to Turkey of £15 million at special low interest. He suggested tabling Early Day Motions in the House of Commons or initiating a debate on Turkey there, as ways in which the lack of democracy and human rights in Turkey could be aired.

ELECTIONS AND ÖZAL'S "VICTORY"

In November 1982 the fascist junta of Turkey had taken a significant step towards constitutionalised fascism with the Referendum. One year after the Referendum, on 6th November 1983, the fascist junta has taken another important step towards civilian fascism through the elections.

In the elections, the Nationalist Democracy Party, *openly* backed by the generals, got 24 per cent of votes, the Populist Party 30 per cent and Turgut Özal's Motherland Party 45 per cent. The Motherland Party will have 212 seats in Parliament, the Populist Party 116 and the Nationalist Democracy Party 72.

After the election results the Motherland Party is presented as the "most independent of the three." We will see here briefly whether any of these parties and in particular Turgut Ozal's party, can be considered as "independent" of the fascist yoke in Turkey.

After the legislation on political parties was adopted, new parties were formed one after another. The junta did not welcome this occurring. First they closed the Great Turkey Party and sent 16 politicians, including former Prime Minister Demirel, to detention in a military installation in Dardanelles. Following the closure of the Great Turkey Party, the generals vetoed extensively both party founders and candidates to prevent them participating in the elections. As a result of these

vetoed, two parties, the Correct Way Party and the Social Democratic Party, which were going to challenge the junta-backed parties, were prevented from contesting the elections.

Then the election campaign of the three parties started. As they visited various cities there was a markedly low turnout of the audience. However neither this low turnout nor the lack of enthusiasm were indications of the people's lack of interest in politics, as the press has persistently maintained. Rather, these were reflections of the people's anger against fascism and was their silent protest against the junta's democracy fraud.

The high turnout in the elections, however, was the result of the fact that for the first time in Turkish history, voting was compulsory. Although the penalty for not voting was a fine, it was very obvious that an unofficial punishment would follow this fine.

In brief, the number of parties were artificially narrowed down to three and all candidates were hand-picked by the generals. Evren was *openly* promoting former general Sunalp's Nationalist Democracy Party. However, the Populist Party was also supported by the junta as a controlled alternative to SODEP. Özal's Motherland Party, the alternative to the Correct Way Party enjoyed the support of Demirel's followers after the closure of GTP. In short, all three parties had the full support of the generals for not only did

they not form a threat to the generals' order, but they were also seen as alternatives to those seen as threats by the generals.

Apart from these common features of the three, Ozal enjoyed some other advantages that the other two did not.

Özal's Recent Performance

In January 1979, Turgut Özal then acting as an economic advisor to the Demirel government, laid down a new economic policy known as the "24th January Decisions". This policy was along the monetarist lines prescribed by the IMF which foresaw the "liberalisation of the economy and a pruning of the inefficient sectors of the economy by the 'free market forces' ". After 12th September 1980 the fascist junta promoted Ozal to Deputy Premiership and invested him with full authority to fully implement the measures dubbed the "24th January decisions".

By implementing these decisions, inflation was reduced which in turn resulted in further unemployment and increased the level of starvation. Implementing this policy resulted in low living conditions which are now seriously threatening the health of the working people, massive unemployment, idle capacity due to bankruptcies and financial bottle-necks, a drop in investments etc.

This economic policy of Turgut Özal was complementary to the widescale repression by the fascist junta of popular opposition. However, one of the consequences of this economic policy was to create great instability in the credit market. This forced the junta to shift the blame onto Ozal in order to save their faces. It was under such circumstances that Ozal resigned last year.

With such credentials Ozal now leads the new government, the government of a state apparatus presided by Evren and his generals in the form of the "Presidential Council". It is a state which has been re-structured in the last three years with a high level of centralised control in every sphere of public activity, with fully curtailed public liberties, and with constitutionalised state terror.

This is what every democrat in the world would call the fraud of democracy and a mockery of the processes of constitutional rule.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The International Conference for Democracy in Turkey organised by the CDDRT, was held on 29th-30th October in County Hall, London. This successful Conference constituted great support for the democratic forces of Turkey.

The Conference was sponsored by MPs and MEPs from Britain and other European countries, Councillors from the GLC and other London Boroughs, prominent individuals, trade unions, solidarity organisations and immigrants workers' associations throughout Europe.

LIST OF SPEAKERS

1. Ernie Roberts MP
2. Stan Newens former MP
3. Yvonne Clément, IDDRT-France
4. Mark Lewis, YCL-Tower Hamlets
5. Cloudia Effertz, SI-Köln
6. R. Yürükoğlu, Editor of *Workers' Voice*
7. Jeremy Corbyn MP
8. Doğan Özgüden, Editor of *Info-Turk Agency*
9. Dr Alfred Frish, Lawyer Austria
10. Alf Lomas MEP
11. P. Gelepithis, PASOK
12. Richard Balfe MEP
13. Rep. of Kurdish Students Society in Europe, KSSE
14. Şirin Cemgil, Socialist Homeland Party of Turkey
15. Rep. of Association of Kurdish Students Abroad AKSA
16. Ken Livingstone Leader of GLC
17. Hüseyin Yıldırım, Lawyer for the Kurdistan Workers' Party
18. Chris Smith MP
19. Nicholas Bell, CEDRI
20. Bob Wright, Ass. Gen. Sec. AUEW
21. Zeki Atsız, Former Rep. of DISK's 10th District
22. Fay Kelly, YCL Women Committee
23. Heidi Wotzi, KVDRT, Austria
24. Heather Jordan, Swansea CPGB
25. Rep. of Fedayeen Majority, Iran
26. Clare Short MP
27. George Johannes, ANC
28. Alex Lyon, Former MP and Minister of State
29. Philip Bray, Councillor Manchester
30. Jane Cousins, writer and TV producer
32. Malcolm Bride, Grafton and Gospel Oak CPGB
33. Rep. of Iraqi Students Society, ISS
34. Sandra Hodgson, National organiser of Liberation.

Delegates, observers and journalists from 12 countries took part in the Conference. The presence of representatives of the democratic forces of Turkey enhanced the Conference. Hundreds of solidarity messages were received. 35 speakers in all had the opportunity to address the Conference. The first day of the Conference was chaired by Ernie Roberts MP and the second day by Bob Wright, Ass. Gen. Sec. of the AUEW.

Conference noted that the 6th November elections are a fascist fraud and stressed the need to redouble efforts to expose the junta and its election farce. It also emphasised the tremendous importance of joint action by all democratic forces at the level of solidarity movements to making this effort more effective. It mentioned the damage inflicted on the solidarity movement on Turkey, by allowing political divisions of opinion to divide that movement and expressed the need to coordinate our work with similar committees in Europe and America.

The Conference was concluded with heartfelt sentiments of solidarity with the working class and the Kurdish and Turkish people.

Here are some excerpts from the speeches:

ERNIE ROBERTS MP

"...In Britain we must be united against the common enemy, the military junta. We cannot afford the luxury of disunity and secretarianism whilst our comrades, our brothers and sisters are under the threat of death. Unity is essential, in face of common danger.

That is the lesson of the trade union movement internationally. That is the lesson of the peace movement internationally. Unity is our strength, sectarianism is the greatest weakness for us and will mean defeat..."



STAN NEWENS

Former MP, President of CDDRT

"...I quote Reagan's words on Grenada: "a gang of thugs who have siezed power". But what about a gang of thugs who have siezed power in Turkey and have been holding onto it for the past three years? Far from opposing that gang of thugs, the military regime has been given additional support. The military assistance from US is to be doubled from 402 million to 759 million dollars... The military regime is not merely regarded as important for Turkey itself, it is regarded as important as one of the bastions which the West is using to restore its hegemony throughout the Middle East as a whole."

Dr. ALFRED FRISCH

Lawyer, Austria

"...There is also a collective duty to stick to a minimum of human rights, otherwise the whole structure of International Law crumbles down to ineffective fractions that contradict each other on essential questions. It must be possible, for example, to intimate to Turkey that, according to the rules of the EEC, minimum basic rights are not to be neglected and effective sanctions are available should they be neglected. This is in addition to the long overdue question of expulsion from the Council of Europe. The financial aid of the Community to Turkey and the preferential contracts are surely advantageous for some EEC countries, but these must not obstruct the urgent demand for the preservation of minimum human rights."

FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY



HÜSEYİN YILDIRIM

Lawyer of PKK trials

"...In a democratic order, elections are made in order to determine the ruling party. What do these three parties struggle for on November the 6th? The fascist junta is in administration and is going to do so despite the elections. These elections shall determine the party which is going to be the spokesman of the junta. It is predicted that the participation in the elections is going to be low. Was the high percentage of the 'yes' votes in the referendum a result of the free will of people? No, they were forced to vote. It is the same method which is going to be employed now."

ALF LOMAS MEP

"...The Peace Committee leaders are accused by the junta of being dangerous militants, of being dangerous communists, a threat to the existence of the state. Those people in jail are like a roll-call of respectability. Yet what is the peace movement campaigning for? First to get a reduction in the arms spending by the Turkish government. Then they want no nuclear weapons on Turkish soil. They want peaceful coexistence with both East and West. They want an end to racism and colonialism. They want implementation of UN resolutions. These are the basic, broad aims of the peace movement in Turkey. Sounds a bit like the policies of the Labour Party or CND. Nobody would accuse those of having extremist policies which are a threat to the state."

KEN LIVINGSTONE

Leader of the GLC

"... I have been struck throughout the events in Turkey by the quite appalling contrast in terms of the coverage that the repression in Turkey gets... And the only papers that report even in a small way are the very quality papers that cater for very small audiences. The mass papers that ordinary workers read have barely mentioned the issue of Turkey and the repression that is taking place there. And radio and television barely touch on the issue. If the position of our media had been that they had given equal coverage to what has been happening in Turkey than say, given to Poland, there would be massive indignation in this country about the wave of repression that the military regime has imposed in Turkey. And there would, of course be a major embarrassment for our government, because our government is part of the NATO machine which again and again has intervened in the affairs of Turkey in support of the military regime there."

DOĞAN ÖZGÜDEN

Editor of Info-Turk Agency

"... The November 6th elections is only a mockery of elections. Against the three political parties of the military junta, the people of Turkey have only the possibility of boycotting the elections or casting an invalid vote. Being aware of this danger the junta has already launched a new intimidation campaign. The Interior Ministry already announced on October 16th that all propaganda or activity aiming to invite the people to stay away from elections will be considered criminal and those who commit that crime will be prosecuted. Five days later in İzmir 17 people were arrested for having committed this crime. Under these circumstances there is no doubt that a certain number of Turkish voters will go to the polling-stations to avoid being vilified as subversive elements."

G. JOHANNES

Representative of the African National Congress

"... Very soon there will be elections in Turkey and similarly a white-only referendum is to be held on the 2nd of November in South Africa. Both these events are playing at democracy, giving the impression that fundamental change is about to occur in Turkey and in South Africa."



RICHARD BALFE MEP

"... This struggle is too important to be divided. There are many people who spend their lifetime and vast amounts of money trying to divide the left movements and weaken them... We have called all the time for the labour, trade union and co-op movements of this country to unite behind the demands to overthrow the junta and see the restoration of democracy in Turkey. We have not called for them to unite behind one group or another group. We have called for them to unite behind the principle that the people are fighting for. I hope that the Turkish organisations that are fighting for these demands will also unite because in being seen to be divided, they are playing straight forwardly into the hands of people who want to deny democracy and human dignity and freedom for the people of Turkey."

ŞİRİN CEMGİL

Socialist Homeland Party

"...K. Evren said the following at a private meeting with newspaper owners: 'Our people are not used to democracy. Remember what Atatürk was faced with even though he saved the country... The noble upper strata has assimilated democracy. But there is the lower strata too. They have not seen or heard of any fruits of democracy. We must explain to them: It is too early for Western-style quarrels'. The junta which yearns for the single party era wants to play the same game with the puppet parties of office and opposition. The junta desires to quench the people's contempt in the pretentious quarrels of these puppet parties."



29-30 October 1983

LONDON

TÜRKİYE'DE DEMOKRASİ İÇİN
ULUSLARARASI KONFERANS
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY
INTERNATIONALE KONFERENZ
FÜR DEMOKRATIE IN DER TÜRKEI

CHRIS SMITH MP

"...We went to the DİSK trial, we sat in on a day and listened to what was being said. We also talked briefly to some of the people who were on trial. It was a very moving moment because they came over to us and across the barriers which separated us, and they said to us "thank you for coming, thank you for your solidarity." And that was very important. Because just for a day we had shown to them that there were some people in the West and in the labour movement of the West that cared about what was happening to them."

NICHOLAS BELL, CEDRI

"...The repression of political, trade union and ethnic opposition is not only taking place in Turkey, but also abroad, thanks to close cooperation and complicity between the Turkish and some European authorities. I am sure that a lot of you heard about the case of Cemal Kemal Altun, who after thirteen months of detention pending extradition, decided to jump from a window in a court in Germany and committed suicide. He is one of nearly two hundred people who are facing extradition to Turkey."

ZEKI ADSIZ

Former representative of DİSK in the 10th district in Diyarbakır

"... The colonialist fascist dictatorship does not stop merely at repression and operations designed to suppress the national liberation struggle of the people of Turkish Kurdistan. In line with the plans of American imperialism it is allowing the Rapid Deployment Force to position itself in Kurdistan and wages a struggle against the national liberation movement of our people in other parts of Kurdistan. However revolutionary practice in Turkey and in Kurdistan shows that even today, these aspirations of the junta will not be realised. Therefore important tasks await all those who side with democracy and peace and human rights. We appeal to all these forces: It is obvious that there cannot be a return to democracy through the farcical elections, through puppet parliaments, through repressive legislation..."

BOB WRIGHT

Ass. Gen. Sec. of AUEW

"...As long as we allow repression, colonialism, subservience in other countries to exist, we indeed put in peril our own rights. And our present government is very much alike in the need to repress the trade union movement in Britain. It may not be as vivid as those we see abroad, but it exists. And the philosophy and mentality of that repression, distortion in the media of the causes of peace, of the rights of workers, the trade unions and the democratic forces, are a vivid reminder that we are not a great distance away from some of the actions that we are here to discuss today."

ALEX LYON

Former MP and Minister of State

"...What is so important about Turkey is that it can be a precedent for a lot of other reactionary people who exist in Western democracies and dislike what they see going on there. At the moment they feel that they cannot change what is going on there, but they are getting stronger. The concepts which have been defended by us are being rubbished all through Europe, all through America. And governments have come into existence which are trying to deny all that we struggle for. We have to recognise that these people are the kind of people who have taken over Turkey, that Turkey is simply a vanguard for that kind of reactionary force. We have got to stop them in every country in the West. But we would win a sizeable victory in that if we could stop them in Turkey. Therefore this issue is bigger than Turkey."

P. GELEPITHIS, PASOK

"...In 1973 the Greek junta — presumably thinking similarly to the Turkish one today — decided to hold general elections. At that time many voices were heard, including some well-known West European ones, welcoming the colonels' decision. They argued that the elections would open the way to full democracy in Greece. What the junta's announcement actually did was to prepare the ground for an even more autocratic and inhuman regime. The Turkish fascist junta is now preparing its general elections, but can they be really called elections?"

CLARE SHORT MP

"...We should oppose all oppression anywhere in the world but in the case of Turkey, it is a country which is very close to us in terms of being part of the alliances of which Britain is a member.

If a country like Turkey can continue to survive under these treaties,... if a regime like Turkey can be an ally of Britain and be apologised for by the British government, then the human rights of all the people in Europe are less safe... So for these reasons we are determined to do all we can to bring to the knowledge of the British people the seriousness of the situation in Turkey and to fight for democracy and self-determination both for their benefit and in order to defend human rights for the people of Europe."



JEREMY CORBYN MP

"... We have to condemn the nonsensical elections that are taking place next week.... There is no return to constitutional rule, there is no return to freedom in Turkey with trade unions banned, with political parties banned, with the jails bulging, with trials taking place, with executions taking place, with torture taking place, with missing persons, with the war going on in Kurdistan. How can you call that return to constitutional rule, how you can call this a return to any sort of freedom? It is not, it has to be condemned because of that."

JANE COUSINS

Journalist

"...One of our initial duties must be to demonstrate that the Turkish junta cannot and must not be allowed to redefine the concept of democracy for its own authoritarian, undemocratic ends. Because this has implications *not* only in Turkey but on an international scale. Every fascist, every military regime throughout the world, every imperialistic power behind them is watching the Turkish junta with extreme interest: If this junta gets away with it, a possible blue-print will have been created for others to copy."



29-30 1st and 2nd October 1983

LONDON

**TÜRKİYE'DE DEMOKRASI İÇİN
ULUSLARARASI KONFERANS
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY
INTERNATIONALE KONFERENZ
FÜR DEMOKRATIE IN DER TÜRKEI**

R. YÜRÜKOĞLU

Editor of the "*Workers Voice*"

As we all probably know, Turkey is a country in which monopolies, financial groups, have taken shape on the basis of a very widespread small production, and have seized the state structure. At the same time, it is a country which is exploited in every way and dominated militarily by imperialism, first and foremost United States imperialism. In the context of under-developed countries, Turkey is a medium developed capitalist country.

This reality of our country, coupled with its geopolitical-strategic position of utmost importance, has dictated severe conditions for our people. Our society has always been in convulsions of economic-social-political crisis and has never experienced democracy; it has continuously been faced with oppressive, totalitarian regimes.

However, to take these conclusions as a starting point for trying to subdue the voice raised against the present fascist regime, to act as apologists of darkness with such excuses as "Turkey never saw democracy anyway" or "torture was always there", etc., one must either be stupid or be an exponent of that darkness.

The people of Turkey deserve democracy, like every other people. And they have been waging a fierce struggle for this goal especially over the past 25 years. The question is not that our people do not want democracy, are not worthy of it, or are happy with what they have, but that the framework within which the ruling forces in Turkey are operating, displays such weaknesses that it cannot withstand democracy, economically, socially, or politically. The way to achieve democracy in Turkey is by removing from power the forces which are hostile to democracy.

Our people are demanding democracy and, although not without retreats and periods of silence, are waging a struggle for this goal, a struggle which is advancing and rising all the same. The fact that since the middle of the 1960s, Turkey has been one of the countries in Europe having the highest degree of social confrontation, confirms this.

Let me give you an example from rather a calm area compared to strikes or killings, — publishing. Prior to 12th September, one of the progressive publishing houses in the country, the "Sol" publishers, were printing every one of their books in runs of 20,000. That printing would run out in a short time and second and third printings would be made. These books were not detective stories or thrillers, but books of Karl Marx. And the "Sol" publishers were only one of many progressive publishers.

The progressive forces have tremendous strength in Turkey. First of all, objectively, they represent the interests of the people as a whole. And then subjectively, they have (in the past) activated and were able to mobilise large crowds, the size of which cannot be overemphasised.

But, it must be pointed out that they failed to mobilise the majority of the masses they objectively represent, and, among the various factors responsible for this failure, the extreme disunity and lack of co-ordinated activity in the revolutionary movement has played a very important role.

Under these circumstances, fascism came to our country on 12th September 1980. A very difficult period was faced then and is being faced now.

Hence activity to expose the situation that exists in Turkey under fascism, to raise solidarity with the people of Turkey, came to the forefront as a vitally important area of work in Europe.

In every country in Europe, men of every persuasion, peace supporters, humanists, democrats, communists, are carrying out work in this field. And through such work, the fascist character of the 12th September regime has been established among European progressive public opinion. And significant support has been gathered for the working class and labouring masses of our country.

Recently, however, certain chronic weaknesses of the revolutionary movement of Turkey began to creep into the solidarity campaigns, as well. If we do not overcome these weaknesses, there is a danger that the entire revolutionary movement will be discredited before progressive public opinion in Europe, and that it will lose its support.

In a manner which reflects the divisions in the revolutionary movement of our country, every tendency, in proportion to its strength, tends to organise a solidarity campaign or a committee of its own.

We must decisively put an end to this very dangerous trend and expose and put a halt to those who insist upon this line. As progressives with differing political views, we should and must be able to work together in the solidarity movement. There is no other choice. No one has the right to divide the solidarity movement because of differences in political views.

We must broaden the solidarity movement to such an extent that every progressive can find satisfaction from the positive work he performs in it. In order to achieve this goal, in my opinion, work needs to be carried out on two levels:

a) We must unite the various campaigns that exists in a country, in a single solidarity campaign. We must find the concrete ways to achieve that unity in the conditions of each country. Regular meetings between campaigns, forming joint coordinating committees or establishing straightforward unity. These are some of the ways which immediately come to mind. But whichever way is chosen, all activities must be co-ordinated immediately and the confusion which has arisen on this issue in the progressive media in Europe must be eliminated.

b) We must achieve a single campaign all over Europe. For this purpose, as an initial step, a co-ordinating body, having periodical meetings and attended by every committee with equal representation, could be formed.

Now, the point I want to raise may not seem to be directly related to the solidarity movement. However, its consequences do affect the success of the campaign very deeply.

As the progressive forces of Turkey working in the solidarity movement, we must grasp the fact that without gaining the hearts and minds of the Turkish workers in Europe, without drawing them into activity, not only do we fail to achieve our other aims, but we also fail to create a strong solidarity movement.

Our strength in the solidarity movement lies primarily in the support we receive from the Turkish labourers in Europe.

We must become more involved in their problems in Europe. Instead of abstract and global politics, we must concentrate more on their immediate problems, on the community politics which arise from these issues. Every step forward in this area will also be a major contribution to the success of the solidarity campaign with Turkey on a European scale.



PICKET AT THE TURKISH EMBASSY

The commonly expressed wish of the participants at the International Conference, namely the unity of the all solidarity forces, was reflected in the joint picket at the Turkish Embassy in London on 4th November.

The picket organised by Labour MPs saw the participation by Turkey Solidarity Campaign, the Solidarity Committee for the Trade Union Rights and Democracy in Turkey and the

CDDRT. At the end of the picket Jeremy Corbyn MP delivered a joint letter by Labour MPs protesting the election fraud to the Embassy. The Union of Turkish Progressives, the Union of Turkish Workers, the Union of Turkish Women, Turkish Students Federation, Migrants Action Group, Liberation, local branches of several trade unions, Labour Party organisations and YCL organisations were also at the picket.

MOTIONS IN PARLIAMENT

Before the Elections in Turkey the following motion was tabled by Bob Clay MP and 24 of his fellow MPs in House of Commons:

That this House believes the election which is due to take place in Turkey on 6th November to be fraudulent and undemocratic as political parties and candidates have had to be vetted by the military regime before being allowed to contest the election, and a majority of parties have been prevented from standing; further believes that this is contrary to all democratic principles; and therefore calls upon Her Majesty's Government to condemn this election process and to refuse to recognise the outcome as a democratic one.

On the 8th of November, after the elections, a counter motion was tabled by those who either support the junta or are intimidated by the junta's plot:

That this House welcomes the fact that elections have taken place in Turkey; and wishes the new Turkish Government all success in the years ahead.

This motion once again shows the importance and far-reaching bonds of the struggle to defend democracy in Turkey, as was expressed by several speakers at the recent International Conference. Labour friends of democracy in Turkey tabled the following amendment to this motion:

Line 1, leave out from 'House' to end and insert 'notes that the outcome of the Turkish elections has represented a sharp rebuff to President Evren and his military colleagues; but also condemns the restricted and undemocratic nature of those elections, and the fact that martial law remains in force throughout. Turkey, with all the accompanying abuses of human rights which have characterised the past three years of military rule.'

Labour MPs' letter to The Times

Sir, There may be some who are under the impression that the general elections in Turkey this Sunday (November 6) will be democratic. This impression is false.

The Turkish military regime, under the leadership of former General Kenan Evren, has vetoed 12 of the 15 parties, which wished to take part in these elections. It has also vetoed 40 per cent of the candidates of the three parties permitted to participate.

Of the 483 independent would-be candidates only 55 received the military's permission to stand. Notably, none of these are from the Kurdish areas.

Moreover, all former democratically elected MPs and leaders of political parties have been banned for five to 10 years, not just from participating in these elections, but from taking part in any political activities.

We wish to draw attention to the fact that while voting is compulsory in Turkey, the military has made it illegal for lovers of democracy within Turkey to express their opposition to the undemocratic nature of these elections.

In August this year *The Times* supported the contention from former premier Süleyman Demirel that these elections were a fraud. His statement had to be smuggled out of the military barracks where he was detained. It could not be published in any Turkish newspaper.

With sadness, we feel the only responsible conclusion for anyone interested in promoting the cause of democracy, especially in a country which is a member of the Council of Europe and of Nato, is to agree that these elections make a mockery of the concept of democracy.

Yours etc,

Jeremy Corbyn, Clare Short, Roland Boyes, Brian Sedgemore, Mark Fisher, Robin Corbett, Eddie Loyden, Derek Fatchett, Jo Richardson, Norman Atkinson, Robert Kilroysilk, Dennis Skinner, Tony Banks, Andrew Bennett, Judith Hart.

House of Commons.
November 3.

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through the eyes of European Parliamentarians

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by Ernie Roberts, MP

Reports by
Chris Smith, MP
Jeremy Corbyn, MP

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CONSTITUTION OF THE CDDRT

1. The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (CDDRT).

2. The aims of CDDRT are as follows:
End military rule, martial law, torture and executions.

Release of political prisoners.
Freedom for all democratic organisations.
End national oppression of the Kurds and national minorities.

Stop expansionism; end the occupation of Cyprus.

Withdraw Turkey from NATO and close all NATO bases.

No military, political or economic support for the fascist junta.

Totally oppose junta harassment of overseas opponents.

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

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

4. Congress is the highest body of 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 motions. The conduct of business shall be on the basis of Standing Orders approved by Congress. Pre-Congress arrangements are the responsibility of the retiring General Council. Each Congress shall decide the size of the General Council.

5. The General Council is the continuing body of Congress and shall meet quarterly. It shall appoint the Executive Committee which is responsible to it. The General Council shall have the right to co-opt.

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

7. Local Branches of 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 General Council

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

Sponsors include

Peter Archer QC MP
Joe Ashton MP
Norman Atkinson MP
Tony Banks MP
Guy Barnett MP
Margaret Beckett MP
Andrew Bennett MP
Syd Bidwell MP
Roland Boyes MP
Ron Brown MP
Richard Caborn MP
Alex Carlisk MP
Dennis Canavan MP
Bob Clay MP
Harry Cohen MP
Jeremy Corbyn MP
Tom Cox MP
Harry Cowans MP
Stan Crowther MP
Ron Davies MP
Frank Dobson MP
Dick Douglas MP
Alfred Dubs MP
Alexander Eadie MP
Ken Eastham MP
Bob Edwards MP
Derek Fatchett MP
Martin Flannery MP
George Foulkes MP
John Golding MP
Judith Hart MP
Stuart Holland MP
Doug Hoyle MP
Bob Hughes MP
Roy Hughes MP
Lewis Carter-Jones MP
Robert Kilroy-Silk MP
Neil Kinnoch MP
James Lamond MP
R. Leighton MP
Bob Litherland MP
Allen McKay MP
William McKelvey MP
Kevin McNamara MP
Bob McTaggart MP
J Maxton MP
Joan Maynard MP
Michael Meacher MP
Martin O'Neil MP
Stan Orme MP
Bob Parry MP
Terry Patchett MP
Jo Richardson MP
Allan Robert MP
Ernie Roberts MP
Ernie Ross MP
Clare Short MP
Dennis Skinner MP
Clive Soley MP
Jack Siraw MP
Stan Thorne MP
Robert Wareing MP
Dalydd Wigley MP
Richard Balfé MEP
Barbara Castle MEP
Ann Clwyd MEP
Kenneth D Collins MEP
Brian Key MEP
Aif Lomas MEP

Dr Barry Seal MEP
Colin Barnett, Sec. NW TUC
Ken Brett, AGS AUEW
Stan Cole AUEW NC
Harry Conroy, NUJ
Lawrence Daly, NUM
J. Davidson, NW FTAT
Beryl Hufinley, Yorks & Humb TUC
E.V. Hughes, NW TUC
Alex Kitson, TGWU
Mick McGahey, NUM
Allan Sapper, ACTT
Bob Wright, AGS AUEW
ACTSS Central London Branch
APEX Holborn Branch
ASLEF
ASTMS Divisional Council 8
ASTMS Manchester HS Branch
AUEW Kingston District
AUEW N. Manchester District
AUEW Sheffield District
AUEW (TASS) Div Council 9
COHSE Caterham Branch
Fire Brigades Union
GMWU Burnley Branch
GMWU 22 Bury Branch
GMWU 115 Manchester Branch
GMWU Pendle 122 Branch
GMWU Warrington Branch
NALGO Met Dist Council
NALGO Hackney Branch
NALGO Southwark
NATFHE Leek

NUM
NUM Derbyshire
NUM Scotland
NUM Yorkshire
NUPE
NUPE Northern Ireland Div
NUPE West Midlands Div
NUR Manchester
Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance
SOGAT '82 LCA & EP Branch
TGWU
TGWU Reg. No.1
UCATT London Region
UCATT NW Region
Greater London Association of Trades Councils
Cambridge & Dist Trades Council
Gloucester Trades Council
Greenwich Trades Council
Hackney Trades Council
Kingston & Dist Trades Council
Leeds Trades Council
Cities of London & Westminster Trades Council
Preston Trades Council
Rotherham Trades Council
Stockport Trades Council
Waltham Forest Trades Council
GEC Openshaw JSSC
Union of Turkish Workers
Beckenham CLP
Bermudey CLP

Chelmsford CLP
Greenwich CLP
Hazelgrove CLP
High Peak CLP
Keighley CLP
Walthamstow CLP
Wigan CLP
Labour Party Young Socialists
National Organisation of Labour Students
Communist Party of Great Britain
Young Communist League
Forening For Progressive Fr Tyrkia
Iraqi Students' Society UK (Branch of GUSIR)
KNE (Communist Youth of Greece) org. in Britain
Kurdish Students Society in Europe (UK)
Communist Party of Portugal (org. in Britain)
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain
Turkish Students Federation of UK
City of London Polytechnic Students' Union
Cyprus Students' Society — Manchester University
Leeds University Union
UMIST Students' Union
Manchester Poly Students' Union

Manchester University SU
Teesside Polytechnic Students' Union
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Demokrat Narway
Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers
London CRS Political Committee
Frank Allau
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Alan Bush
Bob Cryer
Arthur Davidson QC
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Les Huckfield
Lord Jenkins of Putney
Mgr. Bruce Kent
Arthur Latham
Ken Livingstone
Robert J. Longuet
Jim Marshall
Lord Mollay
Stan Newens
John Platts-Mills QC
George Morton
William Pomeroy
Reg Race
Andrew Rothstein
Marion Sarafi
Gordon Schaffer
E.P. Thompson
John Tilley
David Watkins
Philip Whitehead
Sheila Wright

ICFTU Mission in Turkey

An ICFTU mission headed by its General Secretary John Vanderveken, had talks with the Turkish Trade Union Confederation (Türk-İş) (an ICFTU affiliate), on the current trade union and political situation in Turkey, from 19-21 October 1983. The new trade union "legislation" now being applied, means that hundreds of congresses of local and district unions have to be convened at immense expense to elect delegates to the congresses of the 28 national unions, who in turn will send delegates to a national congress. These congresses have to be completed before 31 December 1983. Suspended unions cannot take part in the formation of recognised national unions, while hundreds of small unions will disappear, as they have no bargaining rights.

On 19 October in İstanbul the ICFTU mission attended the DİSK trial and was able to view the Metris military prison where the trade union prisoners are kept. The mission also had close to a two-hour session with the DİSK prisoners themselves, and had an opportunity to convey the solidarity of the world's workers to these victims of repression.

Prison conditions are bleak, regulations harsh to the point of humiliation. These regulations have recently been enforced more strictly. Prisoners are stripped naked before attending court or talking to visitors; DİSK prisoners as a special concession are allowed to remain in their underwear. Food, while similar to that of the soldiers, is simple, monotonous but unsuitable for the older DİSK prisoners. For instance

Abdullah Baştürk, the DİSK President, suffers from entero-gastritis. There were no complaints about medical care, but the medicines beyond simple prison supplies, have to be bought by prisoners themselves and arrive after at least a week's delay.

Visits by relatives now take place with a glass partition in between and communication is by telephone in the presence of a prison officer. The glass partition runs down the length of the long corridor, and several interviews go on at the same time. They are allowed only ten minutes per week with their relatives. The defence lawyers also have to interview their clients under the same conditions but are allowed twenty minutes. There is always a possibility that their conversations are being tapped. This inhibits a proper defence and contravenes the right of the defence to have private interviews with clients.

DİSK prisoners are now accommodated in collective cells below ground level with up to twenty prisoners at a time in them. Subsequently there have been complaints of dampness and pains and aches in muscles and joints. Fresh air and exercise which is limited to a hundred minutes a week, take place in concrete courtyards. The whole impression of the Metris prison, a new building specially built for "political" prisoners, is one of utter greyness and bleakness: The prisoners have never seen green.

Relatives now have to send money by postal order and not, as previously, by handing money over to the prison authorities. This has given rise to

complaints of unnecessary delays sometimes of up to two weeks. It should be remembered that additional medicines have to be paid for from this money.

The commander of the prison stressed that being martial law prisoners the defendants are treated as soldiers under military discipline. Recreational facilities, which the mission saw included an art room, a sparsely-supplied library, a room where amateur drama can be performed-while the mission was there a play in honour of Kemal Atatürk was being prepared. Recently the prisoners have been deprived of newspapers, radios, though one TV set apparently was left to the DİSK prisoners. The mission was assured that newspapers would be freely available and the supply for radios would shortly be restored.

The prison authorities, including the commander treated the mission courteously and answered questions to the best of their ability. For instance the commander informed the mission that 1,200 prisoners are at present at Metris. However, other sources of information tend to suggest that the maximum of 3,000 prisoners are already incarcerated at Metris.

The ICFTU for the record, always stated that the trial is unjust and should never have taken place. As a first step it has demanded the release from detention of all DİSK prisoners.

Further it should be stated that 24 of the 28 member unions of DİSK are also being tried, and that many involved in the DİSK trial are also to face trial themselves.

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