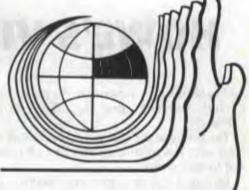
TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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



Issue 51

March 1985



WOMEN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

HOWE S VISIT

As has been widely reported in the press, Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, paid an official visit to Turkey in

The nature of the visit and the prevailing tone permiating it must give rise to concern amongst all friends of democracy

and human rights.

During his visit Howe met Turkish Foreign Minister Halefoğlu. After Howe had conveyed good will messages from Bulgaria to the Özal regime, they went on to discuss a number of topics. According to the Turkish press on the issue of Cyprus, Halefoğlu made great play of Turkey's alleged flexibility on the issue and blamed the breakdown of recent talks entirely on the Greek side. Howe is said to have praised this flexibility and expressed disappointment at the failure of

EEC-Turkey relations figured prominently in both the talks Howe had with Halefoğlu and Özal. Halefoğlu demanded that the "anti-Turkey campaign in Western Europe be stopped". He laid great emphasis on the theme that this campaign dealt a serious blow to Turkey's relations with the Western world. He, in effect, asked the British government to act as a go-between in relations between Turkey and the EEC and Council of Europe.

Howe came down in favour of unblocking all \$600 million worth of EEC aid which had been withheld since 1980 because of the reppression in Turkey. This EEC move is one of the key weapons in putting pressure on the Ankara regime to

moderate its murderous policies.

At a dinner in Turkey Howe emphasised the need for the 'democratisation process' to continue, but he must know that only determine opposition in Turkey and the witholding of foreign aid will prod the regime towards any relaxation in oppression at all. It was only the rising discontent in Turkey the isolation of the regime both at home and abroad that led to the disintegration of fascism - against the wishes of Evren and Co., and it is a continuation of this that will help rid Turkey of this anti-democratic gang altogether.

According to the Turkish newspaper, Tercuman, (15th February), Howe agreed with Özal that international and national terrorism is linked, that both Turkey and Britain had been victims of terrorism and that on this basis there should be close cooperation between Britain and Turkey.

Tercüman also claimed that "informed sources" believe Howe thinks that Evren is not opposed to an amnesty for prisoners. But that it should be "carefully planned". Whether this is kite-flying or not we know that left to himself Evren's careful plan would ensure thousands of men and women languishing in his prisons for quite some time yet!

Besides becoming an advocate for the Evren-Özal gang in Europe, Sir Geoffrey Howe also discussed defence matters and arms sales. This is a field where Britain is becoming increasingly involved with Turkey. The British government has agreed to cover 37% of the cost of funding Turkey's purchase of Tornado jets and Rapier missiles. The development of joint weapons industries was also on the

It is clear from the anxiety expressed by Özal, Evren and Halefoğlu that European economic and political sanctions have had an effect on Turkey. Contrary to what Sir Geoffrey Howe seems to think, these sanctions must remain until real democracy is established and the political prisoners released.



We print below two of the questions asked in the House of Commons on 20th February regarding Howe's visit and the replies from Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Luce. We leave it to our readers to draw their own conclusions.

Mr Boyes: The Minister mentions the interests of NATO, but did the Foreign Secretary have an opportunity to raise the interests of members of the executive of the Turkish Peace Association who are languishing in a lousy, stinking jail described in a pamphlet that is in my possession? Did the Foreign Secretary make strong representations to the Turkish Government to the effect that our relations with them will not improve until human rights in Turkey are

improved and the peace prisoners are set free?

Mr Luce: Turkish leaders have been made aware on a number of occasions of the anxieties and views of hon. Members, the British public and the Government on human rights. However, the hon. Gentleman ought to acknowledge the progress that Turkey has been making in recent months towards the restoration of democracy and the strengthening of human rights. There is no shadow of doubt about the fact that considerable progress has been made. The hon. Gentleman should bear in mind that before 1980 there were an average of 20 political murders a day in Turkey. There has been a considerable improvement and we ought to encourage that process.

Mr. George Robertson: Is it not true that only last week Amnesty International published reports showing that there is still widespread official torture in Turkey and that thousands of Turks are facing the death penalty in Turkish goals? In that light, what conceivable justification can there be for the Foreign Secretary to offer his help in unblocking the EEC aid which was the one effective means by which Turkey has been brought closer towards democracy? How does the Foreign Secretary think that sort of support given in Ankara to the Turkish Government will help the prisoners who are languishing in the goals of our NATO partner?

Mr. Luce: As I have said, we are well aware of the allegations that have been made over many months about the abuse of human rights. We should acknowledge the facts in Turkey today. Martial law has been lifted in 33 of the 67 provinces and the military prison population was reduced from 43,000 in 1981 to 16,000 in 1984. If the hon. Gentleman is referring to allegations of brutality, I point out that more than 100 police officers have been convicted of ill-treatment of prisoners. It is absolutely wrong to turn our back on a country that is responding to representations from the Western world that it should improve its human rights treatment. On the contrary, we should give encouragement, and that is why we support the releasing of European Community aid to Turkey.

NEWS IN BRIEF

SUMMIT

In February a summit meeting took place between the leadership of Türk-İş, (the Trade Union centre), TİSK (Employers Federation) and the Turkish Government. Five key issues were discussed, the 'results' were as follows:

1. The right to strike and lockout: Türk-İş said, "The law must be changed". TİSK said, "A law so new cannot be changed." The government said, "Let's discuss it again in the future."

2. Lay-offs: Türk-İş said, "They should not be arbitrarily decided by the employer." TİSK said, "It is the employer's right." The government says, "We can put the issue on the agenda."

3. The pension age:

Türk-İş said, "The pension age must not be raised." TİSK said, "Being a young pensioner must be prevented." The government said, "We will not allow young pensioners."

4. Seniority payments: I ürk-Iş said, "Existing rights must not be attacked." TİSK said, "Money accumalated in funds for such payments should be given to the employers." The government said, "We will find a formula."

5. On collective agreements in state enterprises: Türk-İş said, "The so-called Coordination Council is intervening unlawfully." TISK said, "The Private sector gives more than the state sector." The government said, "Wage restraint will continue to be enforced in the public sector.

Thus ended the great summit to solve all problems between employers, government and the unions!

FRIENDS OF REPRESSION?

Under the initiative of a West German deputy, Gerth Ludwig Lemmer, an attempt is being made to form a group called 'Friends of Turkey' composed of members of the European Parliament. The aim is to present the case for the Evren-Özal regime to European parliamentarians. The formation was timed to coincide with the arrival of a delegation of eight parliamentarians from Turkey to attend European Parliament on 11th February.

SINISTER DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH CYPRUS

Two developments have taken place in the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' that give cause for alarm to all friends of peace and human rights. Firstly, on the 19th February it was announced that measures had been taken to form an airforce for Northern Cyprus. A Cyprus Turkish Aviation Institution which will establish the airforce in a staged programme has been formed.

It will be a copy of the Turkish Aviation Institution founded by Atatürk to do a similar task in Turkey before World War II.

The Ercan airport will be transformed into a military airport under the Institution's control. The new airport being built at Geçitkale will be used for international traffic when Ercan becomes an airbase. The institute will also provide facilities for crop-spraying, tourism, general pilot training and paratroop training.

The second development is that the self-proclaimed government in Northern Cyprus is to institute the death penalty. A new provision has been inserted into the constitution to allow for the death penalty for persons convicted of high treason, Piracy according to international law, and terrorism.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

The Turkish press reported that the European Human Rights Commission have concluded a five-day visit to Turkey. A report prepared by them will be presented to the Commission's meeting in May.

The five-man delegation visited Diyarbakır, Metris, Sağmacılar and Mamak prisons. They received briefings from prison commanders and had interviews with prisoners.

The object of the visit was to gather information related to Turkey's obligations under the Europan Convention on Human Rights.

UNILATERAL SACRIFICES -YILMAZ

In an interview in Nokta (January), Türk-İş President Şevket Yılmaz again warns his masters, the government, about their failure to give any concessions to the working class. In answer to questions he says: "Solving the problems (of the workers) by dialogue is an obligation not only because of our structure, but also because of the transition period through which our country is passing. However,, no one in Turkey has understood that labour peace cannot be maintained by unilateral sacrifices". "The Türk-İs community has been harassed and irritated continuously and has been forced towards some action. Our great patience has been interpreted as powerlessness. This is extremely wrong."

RIGHT TO STRIKE - TUNÇ

Halil Tunc, former president of Türk-İs, is now active in establishing a party claiming to be a 'real' Social Democratic Party — the Democratic left Party (DSP). In the same issue of Nokta as the Yılmaz interview he attacked the present leadership of Türk-İş. Criticizing the restrictions on the Trade Unions he said: "The first condition for a liberal democracy is Trade Unions with the right to strike". "The right to strike is the main artery of Trade Unionism." "There does not exist any country where rights of Trade Unions and the right to strike is curtailed as in Turkey — maybe there are some, but we don't call the democracies."

MORE ARMS

According to DPA News, the West German government is having talks with Ankara about Leopold 11 tanks. The arms firm Kraus-Maffei is involved. The plan is that Leopold 11 tanks will be built in Turkey, finance to come from Bonn as part of NATO aid. The tanks will then be sold to Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

TURKEY'S WOMEN IN THE FRONT LIN

From the vantage point of this year's International Women's Day, 8 March, we wish to look back at the stormy path traversed by the women of Turkey and their situation in Turkey in the present period of repression and lack of democracy.

For 700 years women in Turkey suffered under the weight of feudal conditions and Islamic tradition which relegated

them to an inferior position in Turkish society.

Their situation was not dramatically changed either by the formation of the Republic of Turkey or the granting of women's sufferage in 1934. To the continuing dead weight of tradition women had also to carry the burden of exploitation that capitalism brings to the people of developing countries.

The 1970s ushered in a new era for women. This resulted from two features in the development of Turkey. On the one side the acute economic crisis that the country was plunged into hit women particularly sharply. Both as housewives and as workers the 100% inflation rate and 25% unemployment undermined their living standards. On the other hand however, the crisis led to a revolutionary situation in Turkey where vast sections of the population were politicised on an unparallelled scale. For the first time Turkish working class women were galvanized into political action. Women stepped into the centre of political life in Turkey.

Bearing a double burden as women and workers or in the case of Kurdistan a triple burden as members of an oppressed nation, women flocked into left-wing political parties, trade unions and womens' organisations. Women began to shakeoff the dead weight of backward traditions and become aware of their rights as women, workers and mothers. They participated fully in the gigantic strikes and May Day demonstrations that shook Turkish society to its foundations. In the towns they took part alongside their male fellow workers in demonstrations against food price rises, education

cuts and unemployment.

They took a leading part in the youth and student movements.

In rural areas women led the seizure of the property of the big landowners.

In the streets and universities women fought back against

the attacks of the fascist terror gangs.

An important role in the mobilisation of women was played by the Progressive Womens' Association (IKD). Founded in 1975 in less than a year it could bring 5000 women onto the streets in Istanbul demonstrating against fascist violence. Its paper Kadınların Sesi (Women's Voice) soon achieved a circulation well over 20,000 in a country where 60% of women cannot read or write.

In workplaces where women made up all or a majority of the workforce, they organised strikes and go-slows to push demands for free milk for their children, creches,longer maternity leave before and after birth. Under their pressure Trade Unions included many of these demands in collective bargain agreements.

On the eve of the coup women were fighting alongside the men on the barricades, in clashes and uprisings that took

place in various parts of Turkey.

The 1980 coup heralded a black time for women. Their organisations were among the first to be suppressed.

Thousands of women were thrown into the prisons and



torture chambers. The fear and hatred of the Turkish ruling class for women prepared to fight for their rights was never

more graphically demonstrated.

In Turkey Newsletter issue No.47 we reported the experiences three women active in the CDDRT and one of its affiliates — Union of Turkish Women in Britain, underwent at the hands of the torturers. Both at DAL — the torture centre in Ankara and at the MAMAK military prison. (They also figured in Amnesty International's file on torture in Turkey in May 1984 and in a BBC 'Brass Tacks' programme.)

Every woman political prisoner in Turkey faces the prospect of the most acute forms of torture both mental and physical. These can range from torture in front of their families and vice-versa, rape, threat of rape, electric shocks,

crucifixion, severe beatings.

Despite all this, women political prisoners from the start organised protest demonstrations inside the prisons and refused to be terrorised into submission. For the women in the prisons the change from outright fascism to 'controlled democracy' has meant no let-up in the repression. Outside the prisons, women play the lead in the agitation for better conditions and an amnesty for political prisoners. As witnessed by the trial of ten mothers of prisoners in Istanbul, who face the threat of 3 years imprisonment for protesting at the treatment of their imprisoned children.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

During the period of fascism every effort was made to strip women of the gains made in the 1970s, and particularly to turn them into a pool of cheap, quiesant, labour. The present situation where, in the words of the pirate broadcast on Istanbul TV "Fascism has gone but democracy has yet to come" for working class women continues to be grim.

Women of the rural areas, in the villages of Turkey and NE Kurdistan continue to be forced to work for the landowners from morning until night in all seasons and with poor tools. In a recent Turkish book containing interviews with women, the author describes a rural woman of 35 looking like a 55 year old. One village woman describes her day thus "I work in the fields, cook meals, take care of the animals, look after the children" at the end of the day she cooks an evening meal waits for her husband to eat and only then eats herself.

In the constricted atmosphere of the villages, many young girls look at marriage as a way of escaping from parents who exercise particularly tight control over female children. But for many it ends in only exchanging one form of bondage for another.

Rural women have little access to education, medicine, doctors and hospitals. This has led to a situation where thousands of women and children die every year. To take one figure alone, according to the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet 30 January 1985, an average of 15,000 women die while in labour every year.

For women in the cities life is not much better. The restrictions on Trade Union rights have hit women particularly hard. After the coup many women workers were re-classified as "civil servants". This description is used to describe workers employed in any publically owned or controlled workplace. The significance of re-classification is that civil servants under the present laws do not have the right to join or form a Trade Union. This is now a major grievance for many working women. In Turkey with inflation admitted to be over 50% and in reality nearer 70%, with the minimum welcome it as one of the monthly wages less than the minimum monthly food bill for a family of 4, for a woman with children the need to find a job is build a real democracy.

literally a question of survival.

Many women are forced into domestic service and cleaning jobs where there is no job security or insurance, and where humiliating treatment at the hands of employers is commonplace. Recent surveys show that most women, given the chance, prefer to work in factories.

In a country with no general social security system there are at least 600,000 women working "illegally" — that is without any form of insurance cover whatsoever. In fact women, who constitute a large proportion of Turkey's workers make up only 7.9% of insured workers.

Another major source of discontent is creche and pre-social facilities. This is a vital question for mothers who are forced to work difficult hours by sheer necessity. In Istanbul with a population of 6 million, the total creche/nursery capacity is for only 15,000 children. Even for those fortunate enough to get place in one of these for their children the problems do not end. According to law there should be one member of staff per 10 children in creches or nurseries, but poor funding means the ratio is more like 1 to 20 plus.

Nurseries are not free. By law the parents should pay 13.600TL per week. At the same time the official minimum wage is 12.000TL per week! — which is itself above the wage of many women. Private enterprise has stepped in to set up 'Childrens' Houses' for 0-12 year-olds. These are new and not covered by existing legislation. They take care of children for only half a day and charge 25.000TL per month with no proper facilities or services.

The only progressive development for women in Turkey since 1980 seems to be the new law on divorce which makes divorce easier for women and improves alimoney payments.

This is the background against which the Evren-Ozal regime recently celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the granting of womens' sufferage. Speaker of the Grand National Assembly Necmettin Karaduman went so far as to pronounce that women had "made remarkable progress since 1934 and have attained the place they rightfully deserve". No doubt Karaduman considers the fact that women now comprise 3% of MPs in parliament as opposed to 24% in 1935 the level women 'rightfully' deserve. Or that out of 3022 Judges 149 are women, or out of 10670 lawyers only 1592 are women. "President" Evren's excuse is that "this equality is not possible because our women also have duties to perform at home..."

The regime in Turkey is terrified at the prospect of the women's movement and its implications. When legislation was prepared allowing for the establishment of some legal political parties, special clauses were inserted banning any political party from establishing youth or womens' sections. Even though these 'legal' parties are totally committed to the status quo they cannot risk any independent activity on the part of women — their preparedness to fight for democracy and their rights is too well known.

It is common even among some "progressive" circles both in Turkey and abroad to portray Turkey's working class women as somehow backward or needing to be 'led' through knitting-circle style organisations. We believe recent history shows something else. Women in Turkey lack many basic rights and are treated as second class citizens, but the 1970s and today show that they were and are able to fight for real freedoms for themselves and all of society.

The number of women in the "permitted" political parties is limited but the number of women prepared to fight for democracy and their rights is unlimited.

The present regime and the interests it represents — big capital — know and fear that potential. We know and welcome it as one of the basic guarantees that the working people of Turkey can sweep away this crumbling regime and build a real democracy.

FROM THE PRESS

HOWE BACKS TURKISH DEMAND F R FREEING OF \$60 m EEC AID

Sir Geoffrey Howe said yesterday in Turkey that Britain "firmly supported" Turkey's demands for the unblocking of \$600 million worth of EEC aid, held up since the army seized power in September, 1980.

Other EEC government, notably Denmark, feel that Turkey has yet to restore full democratic rights and are likely to judge the Foreign Secretary's remarks as premature. Their view was endorsed by Amnesty International, which yesterday released details of the widespread use of torture in Turkish prisons and said that several thousand people could intimidation is also an important element." now face the death penalty.

Amnesty added that the use of torture continued to be a can be routine in some police stations. matter of concern, as it was before the military coup.

Geoffrey praised what he called Turkey's "wisdom and courage" in maintaining democratic aspirations. At the same time, the US State Department in a review of human rights, has declared that Turkey's record had "significantly improved" during 1984.

the amount of aid now being processed by the US Administration — \$230 million of military aid, plus a longterm credit package — was unsatisfactory, and that were in a serious condition and receiving medical care. Turkey wanted much more money than was being offered.

prolonged periods of torture, resulting in a number of cases in around 300 prisoners of conscience on its list.

The organisation states that the freedom of action of the Turkish Government, headed by Mr Turgut Özal, with whom the Foreign Secretary also had talks, remains severely restricted by the Presidential Council, under General Evren.

It adds that the most severe cases of torture, including electric shocks and beatings on all parts of the body, usually take place in the 45-day detention period before a trial. The main purpose, according to Amnesty appears to be the extraction of information and confessions — "although

Evidence indicates that torture during the detention period

The death penalty, which was reintroduced by the army At a Government reception in Ankara on Tuesday, Sir • 1980 as a means of combatting what was then widespread violence in the country, was halted for a 15-month period until last October. About 400 people are now thought to be facing the death sentence, and in several thousand other cases military prosecutors have asked for the death sentence.

Amnesty also gives details of a hunger strike against The Turkish Foreign Ministry yesterday complained that alleged torture initiated by 400 prisoners in the military prison at Mersin, on the south coast. Earlier this month, the Mersin public prosecutor admitted that 30 hunger strikers

There are now estimated to be several thousand political Amnesty said last night that it had received many reports, prisoners in Turkey. Amnesty, which calculated 21,000 being some of them detailed, of individuals being subjected to held in military prisons 18 months ago, says it now has

(Reprinted from Guardian, 14.2.1984)

TURKISH-CYPRIOT POLL DEALS BLOW TO SETTLEMENT HOPES

A further blow to hopes for a speedy settlement of the Cyprus problem was delivered yesterday, when a date was announced for general elections in the seccessionist Turkish Republic in the northern third of the island.

The government of the self proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus said that elections to the Constituent Assembly would be held on June 23, and would be followed by local elections.

The announcement follows the breakdown of talks at the UN last weekend. With the active involvement of the secretary general, Mr Perez de Ceullar, they were aimed at reaching a peaceful solution to the Cyprus issue by setting up a bizonal, bicommunal federal republic. The negotiations foundered because of a failure to resolve the question of a Turkish troop withdrawal.

The June elections will be the first in the north since the Turkish Cypriot leader, Mr Rauf Denktash, declared an independent state 14 months ago. Mr Denktash has been saying for some time that he planned elections and, while the announcement came as no surprise, its timing was being interpreted on the Greek Cypriot side as designed to press President Kyprianou to return to the negotiating table.

"On the face of it, this decision on elections is going to make it harder for the secretary general to bring both sides back together again," said one Western diplomat in Nicosia. "Mr Kyprianou won't like feeling that he is being nudged back into talks."

There was no specific response yesterday from the Cyprus Government, although an official statement commented that Mr Perez de Ceullar had appealed to Greek and Turkish Cypriots to refrain from any action which might endanger the future of the negotiating process.

The Nicosia Government is especially sensitive to any moves which can be interpreted as consolidating the existence of the illegal state in the north. Mr Denktash has also said in the past that a referendum will be held on a new constitution.

Turkish Cypriot official said yesterday that there was no contradiction between consolidating their own state and their declared radiness to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

(Reprinted from the Guardian, 26.1.1985)

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- 2. The aims of the 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 necupation of
- Cyprus.
 Withdraw Turkey from NATO and close all NATO bases.

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Totally oppose junta harassment of overseas

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utilising every means at our disposal.

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 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-
- General Secretary and such other members as the General Council may decide. The Executive Committee shall meet at least fortnightly and be responsible for the day to day work of the CDDRT.
- 7 Local Branches of the CDDRT are formed with the approval of the General Council
- 8. This Constitution may be amended by a twothirds 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.

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SEMINAR FOR WAR

In February a seminar was held under the title "seminar on cooperation of government and armed forces". Evren, the armed forces chiefs of staff, ministers and important government officials took part. The communique from the Chief of the General Staff stated that in the seminar a system of cooperation was discussed which would "enable the monitoring and evaluation of events and crisis in the politico-military field which take place in the world and around the country, and which closely influence our national security, and which will enable us to decide the measures to maintain peace and stability in the region and will enable us to put them into practice rapidly by coordinated authority..."

It was further stated that government and army were in a state of alert. Discussions took place around Turkey's relations with Syria, Greece and Bulgaria and "the not fully extinguished situations such as of SE Anatolia" (Kurdistan). Security, internal security and measures to be taken during a state of war were also discussed.

Lack of confidence was expressed by the military in ANAP Party ministers who had come to power "lacking State experience". This is to be corrected with the help of civilian and military experts.

Inönü, leader of the opposition Social Democratic Party SODEP, criticised the Chief of General Staff's use of the term cooperation between government and armed forces; "We are not used to such a term. This term brings to mind an act contrary to the constitution, it is harmful. Cooperation can exist between two equals not accountable to each other". However, Inönü says the army, according to the constitution, is supposed to be accountable to parliament.

Right wing commentator Ergün Güzel reveals more when he says that the new term "politico-military field," expresses the needs of the epoch. He criticises the foreign ministry for "failing to adjust to these new conditions" and says "the last resort of foreign policy is military power". It is clear from this that the regime is prepared to use military force to 'resolve' its differences with neighbouring countries and pursue its genocide campaign against the Kurds. The Ankara regime and its expansionist ambitions remains a serious threat to regional peace.

EVICTIONS: WOMEN RESIST



The brutal attacks on the rights of working people by the regime were again highlighted on the 26th January, when the press reported moves to evict gecekondu (shanty town) dwellers in Yeşildirek. Because of high rents and low or non-existent wages, most large cities in Turkey have a ring of gecekondu settlements round them. In this particular one the authorities decided to carry out a major 'clearance' in the middle of winter with no alternative accommodation provided for the families to be evicted. In the course of their 'operation' the authorities encountered fierce resistance mainly from women. In the end 60 homes and 11 workshops were destroyed.



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