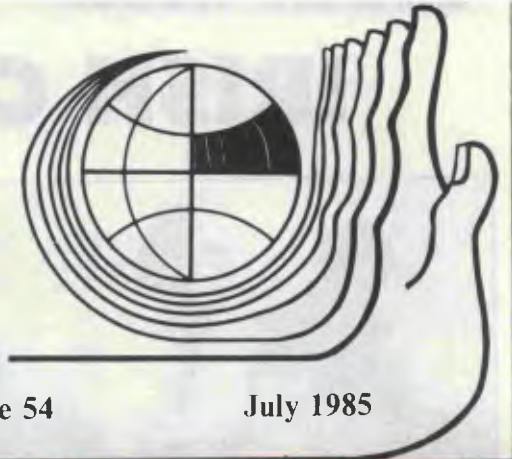


TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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

Issue 54

July 1985



40,000 DEMONSTRATE IN İSTANBUL

**INSIDE: CYPRUS &
AEGEAN CRISES**

IRISH CDDRT FOUNDED



At the invitation of the Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union, a CDDRT delegation including General Council member Dr Bedir Aydemir and Adnan Bucak, Chairman of Islington Labour Party Turkish Section visited Dublin on 11th June.

Meetings were held with IDATU General Secretary John Mitchell, the Irish Labour Party, Irish Congress of Trade Unions General Secretary Donal Navan and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ireland.

In the evening a public meeting was held at Buswells Hotel in the centre of Dublin. John Mitchell who had just returned from a visit to Turkey chaired the meeting.

FESTIVAL

The CDDRT participated in a lively festival on 16th June at Newington Green, London, organised by the Union of Turkish Workers. In all over 8,000 people visited this event where the emphasis was on youth and friendship between the various local communities.

Peter Spalding a member of the CDDRT's General Council and President of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils came with a group of London Trade Unionists to visit the festival after attending the London Anti Apartheid demonstration.

VISIT

The first week in June witnessed a visit by members of Chicago CDDRT to London.

While in Britain they were able to discuss with their colleagues the work of the CDDRT in the USA and Britain and strengthen links. They were also able to speak to a wide range of figures in the Turkish community and political life.

AFFILIATION

On 26th June, Richard Balfé MEP, gave his first public report in Britain of his recent visit to Turkey to the Turkish section of Islington Labour Party.

Following the talk, (full report in next month's *Turkey Newsletter*), the Turkish Section agreed unanimously to affiliate to the CDDRT.

Speakers covered the current situation in Turkey with regard to the legal opposition and the trade unions. Dr Aydemir — a founding member of the Turkish Peace Association spoke of the dangers to regional peace posed by the regime's foreign policy and the TPA trials.

A lively question and discussion period followed the speakers. The audience represented a wide cross section of Ireland's labour and political movements.

The meeting ended with the founding of an Irish Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey.

A dynamic new CDDRT has been formed. *Turkey Newsletter* wishes our Irish colleagues success in their work confident that it will contribute greatly to raising the level of international solidarity with the fight for democracy in Turkey.

Anyone wishing to join Irish CDDRT or receive more information should contact:

**CDDRT
9, Cavendish Row,
DUBLIN 1
Republic of Ireland**



KOHL T VISIT

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany is to pay an official visit to Turkey between 9-12 July.

The West German government is one of the Turkish regime's closest allies abroad.

The projected talks will include such issues as the 'problems' of Turkish workers in Germany, NATO and economic aid to Turkey. No doubt the continuing joint production of arms will also be discussed.

MONETARISM RULES

In June the Ozal regime published a new minerals law which puts the country's mineral resources up for grabs. Under the new law prospecting and mining by private and foreign companies is only limited by payment to the state of 10% royalties in total on any successful find.

Free trade zones are to be established on the Mediterranean coast at Mersin and Antalya. In these zones all payments will be conducted in foreign currency. Other zones are planned for the future.

EXPORTS FALL

Turkey's exports fell by 15% in the first four months of the year. This poses a threat to Turkey's external payments position — especially as Ozal was unable to renew Turkey's annual standby agreement with the IMF this year.

Turkey's external debts are continuing to mount and the regime has still failed to get inflation under control. The inflation rate is still in the region of 50%.

NATO-TURKEY

Joseph Luns, former head of NATO gave a talk at a conference at the War Academies Command in Istanbul on 20th May. He said "Turkey's importance in the NATO alliance increases every day". Luns stated that NATO did not worry about its southeastern flank "because Turkey is there". He also lavished praise on the 12th September 1980 "operation" and claimed Turkey had returned to democracy.

MARTIAL LAW

The regime has announced that Martial Law will be lifted in six provinces including Ankara and Izmir from 16th July and will be replaced by a State of Emergency.

Six other provinces are to have the State of Emergency lifted. The continuation of States of Emergency in some provinces has been explained by the 'National Security Council' as owing to the "widespread ideological illegal underground movements resulting in anarchic incidents and law and order and security problems".

KURDISTAN

According to reports in the Turkish press in the course of a drive against Kurdish fighters in the Musaybin area, the army forced 7000 villagers to abandon their homes.

EVREN AGAIN

'President' Evren took the opportunity of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Aegean University to 'warn' the youth against 'subversive' thoughts and indulge in a by now ritual attack on members of the European Parliament. Warning youth against returning to the revolutionary struggles of the 1970s Evren said ... "The instigators of youth incidents act so professionally that you cannot notice that you are being carried away. Trained professional trouble-makers may infiltrate into the ranks of youth, exploit your very innocent demands and try to bring you back to the same old quarrels". Referring to the Council of Europe and the European Parliament he ranted "These institutions also place such demands as the abolition of capital punishment, the pardon of executions and the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus". ...

"As you see, those working against us are not a single definite circle, but there are many of them. *If something happens in one of the neighbouring countries* (our emphasis) their supporters immediately take action. I will not refer to them by name, for we are at a very crucial point". Perhaps the reference to neighbouring countries means Evren and Co. are planning further attacks in Iraq and elsewhere.

POLICE BILL - TORTURES' CHARTER

Violent scenes in the Ankara parliament marked the passage of the repressive Police Bill sponsored by the Ozal government.

The Bill gives wide-ranging powers to the police. It is basically designed to enable the police to carry-out several 'tasks' previously the preserve of the army and intelligence forces. The Bill provides the regime with an arsenal of repressive measures for use once Martial Law and States of Emergency are lifted throughout the country.

According to the *Financial Times* the law gives the police wide 'discretionary' powers, ... "including the right to use force and to prevent possible offences being committed. Legal sanctions for police abusing their powers have been softened and the police force will pay for the defence of any policeman who goes on trial because of his professional conduct.

Persons without adequate identity cards, couples walking arm in arm, anyone under the influence of alcohol or improperly dressed can be detained for upto 24 hours. Police will not have to show identity cards even when in plain clothes.

The police will be able to tap telephones and intercept mail provided a judge issues an authorisation. Previously only Turkey's intelligence services were able to do so. Powers of arrest and search have been widened ..."

The Bill ran into heavy opposition in parliament. All opposition parties opposed it and significantly 34 members of Ozal's own Motherland Party (ANAP) felt unable to vote for it.

Ozal reacted angrily to criticism of the Bill by the European Commission of the EEC. Ozal claimed in a Radio and Television Broadcast that the EEC had no right to comment on, react to or oppose a Bill being debated by the Turkish Parliament.

EEC representative in Ankara, Mr Gwynn Morgan has said that this legislation will put back relations between the Community and Turkey by "half a decade".

In the parliamentary debate Necdet Calp, leader of the Populist Party described the police bill as a "torturers' charter".

THE CRISIS CONTINUES

May and June have witnessed significant developments in the crisis gripping Cyprus and contributing to the danger of war between Turkey and Greece.

Following the collapse of talks between the Greek and Turkish sectors of Cyprus in January at the UN, Denktash "president" of North Cyprus went ahead with two measures the effect of which is to consolidate the split of the island into two separate states.

The first was the Constitutional Referendum of 5th May. As reported in previous Newsletter the new 'Constitution for the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus' has significant anti-democratic features. As Özker Öygür, leader of the Republican Turkish Party which led the 'No to the Constitution' campaign said the constitution contains "oppressive and militaristic clauses". Significantly the constitution makes no mention of the possibility of a united federal Cyprus.

The effect of the Constitution was summed up in the editorial of the *Guardian* 8th May under the heading 'Mr Denktash isn't helping'.

"The effect of the constitutional referendum in Turkish Cyprus is to throw yet another obstacle in the way of urgent, behind-the-scenes efforts by the United Nations to bring about the reunification of the island. And that, it must be assumed, was the object of the exercise. The Denktash administration declared unilateral independence 18 months ago. But, under pressure from Ankara, whose 1974 army of intervention remains firmly dug in, the creation of a new constitution, to be followed in short order by elections, was postponed. The internationally recognised government of Cyprus (in practice the voice of Greek Cyprus) has indicated that it would find it hard to treat with a regime which flaunted its breakaway status.

By holding a referendum Mr Denktash has indicated that neither he nor the government of mainland Turkey has any great concern for Greek Cypriot sensibilities. If President Kyprianou will not talk to "President Denktash of the Turkish State of North Cyprus" as an equal, then *de facto* partition will continue and Turkish Cyprus will seek international recognition — at first

from the smaller Islamic states. Further the nature of that constitution, modelled closely upon the new "guided democracy" constitution in effect on the mainland, is to emphasise the links with the Motherland. Thus the conservative president and the army have gained considerable power at the expense of the restive liberal national assembly. Denktash has the right to outlaw any political party which, in his judgment, does not follow the principles of Ataturk and to suspend all basic political and trade union rights almost at will. So the new constitution bodes ill for the significant centre and leftwing opposition groups which have, somehow, survived these past eleven years.

In sum, this is a constitution which emphasises and exploits the differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and which endangers, rather than enhances, the democratic rights of Turkish Cypriots within their own community. All of which is the greater pity because it appears that President Kyprianou is finally willing to come to terms with the Turkish Cypriot community as the major Greek Cypriot political parties have been pressing him to do since the collapse of the Cyprus summit in January."...

Denktash's efforts to placate public opinion at home and abroad with loud claims that the measures he is taking will not prevent genuine negotiations for reunification with the Greek Cypriots were given the lie when he reaffirmed that 'concessions' the Turkish side were prepared to make in January are no longer on offer. Denktash and his real masters—the Evren-Ozal regime in Turkey, have been assiduously cultivating the impression that it is their side which has supported UN initiatives aimed at solving the Cyprus question. This too has been exposed as a cynical ploy. When Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary General, presented his new initiative entitled the 'consolidated paper', the Turkish press poured scorn on it and Denktash, to date, has not even deigned to reply to de Cuellar.

Denktash followed up his 'success' in the Constitutional Referendum with 'Presidential Elections' on June 19th in which he received 70% of votes cast.

During the referendum and presidential campaigns Denktash had the unqualified support of the Ankara regime whose powerful means of persuasion include its 25,000 strong garrison in North Cyprus. However despite this, a close look at the voting figures reveal that roughly half of all Turkish Cypriots eligible to vote did *not* back Denktash.

In the referendum 77% of electors voted. Of these 70% voted Yes and 30% No, added to those who voted with their feet by staying away from the polling stations, (no easy thing in the present climate in the North), we see a situation where over 50% did not endorse the new constitution.

In the presidential election 85% of the electorate turned out. The opposition to Denktash was split five ways. Denktash received 70% of votes cast. Again, despite a split opposition, the press creating a siege mentality and powerful persuasion from the 'motherland', a significant percentage of Turkish Cypriots registered their opposition.

Even certain imperialist powers who were not unhappy with the Turkish army's occupation of North Cyprus are now disturbed by the implications of the continuing crisis. For some the creation by Ankara of a colony in Cyprus was seen as a useful base from which NATO and the US could intervene in the Middle East at will. But now the other side of the coin is expressed in a *Sunday Times* article on 9th June — ... "Cyprus has greater geopolitical stature these days. A conflict there could lead to war between the two NATO members, Greece and Turkey. The friction has weakened NATO's southeastern flank."

For Turkish finance capital, North Cyprus continues to be a godsend. Not only were they able to get their hands on an economy more developed than their own, North Cyprus also proved to be a two-way gateway through which exports and investment could flow. How long the newly developing Turkish-Cypriot capitalists will be prepared to be junior partners of their 'elder brothers' on the mainland however remains to be seen.

One thing is clear, a democratic solution to the Cyprus question is increasingly linked to the struggle for a real democracy in Turkey itself.

TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN TURKEY

CDDRT BRIEFING
PAPER NO. 1

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

INTRODUCTION

At the CDDRT's last General Council meeting for 1984. The present situation was analysed as one of the disintegration of the regime in Turkey to the point where it could no longer be described as fascist but at the same time is *not* democratic. In the words of the "Report on Turkey" agreed at the meeting. The Constitution adopted in November 1982 gave a "legal" facade to the arbitrary rule of the junta. But in doing so, it effectively removed the monolithic concentration of power in it's hands. Into the field of opportunity created by the formation of three puppet parties leapt a dozen *real* parties. As an end result of this, the puppet parties had also to function, at least formally, as real parties to maintain credibility with the electorate.

This is the context in which the sham November '83 general elections, and the March '84 local elections must be evaluated. Designed as a measure to strengthen the regime, they in fact had the opposite effect of accelerating it's disintegration. Today we are confronted with the farcical situation of an opposition unrepresented in parliament, but which carried 40% of the vote in the local elections.

The process of the disintegration of the fascist regime, which, in essence, began with the adoption of the 1982 constitution, has thus reached a qualitatively new stage whereby the present regime in Turkey can no longer be described as fascist.

This is *not* to say that the disintegration process has resulted in a democratic regime, or that disintegration can be

equated to democratisation or liberalisation. Far from it. The present regime is anti-democratic and repressive in the extreme. But if we are to define "fascism" scientifically and correctly, the present state structure in Turkey does not fit that description. This fact, however, does not in the least, detract from the importance of waging a struggle for true democracy in Turkey. On the contrary, it calls on all of us to redouble our efforts in this direction, because the *opportunities* for raising the democratic struggle are now increasing.

Turkey is presently going through a *transitional period*, which can evolve in either of two directions. Either, the fascists (who maintain positions of enormous power, via their links with the military) will reassert themselves. If this happens, then we will see a return to the monolithic fascism which existed prior to the constitution. Or, on the other hand, the present regime will continue to disintegrate, and *through struggle*, a greater measure of democracy will eventually come about. Whether that democracy will be limited affair or the full democracy we all hope for, rests very much on the ability of the democratic forces in Turkey to raise the struggle and rally the people to this cause. Solidarity has a vital role to play in raising this struggle. That is why we say: "THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IS INTENSIFYING!"

This Briefing Paper hopes to show the present state of trade union rights in Turkey and what this means in terms of support from the labour movement internationally for the struggle for democracy in Turkey.



CONDITIONS TODAY

In Turkey today the living and working conditions of the working class remain unbelievable. No amount of mathematical juggling can bridge the gap between the average wages of workers on the one hand and the minimum they have to spend in order to stay alive. For example, in early 1985 a Turkish newspaper (*Cumhuriyet*) calculated the minimum income necessary for a family of four (that is, an income covering food and heating, but *not* rent). The figure they came up with was 71,645 TL per month (for March 1985), at the same time, the minimum wage was only 16,996 TL!. In other words, the minimum wage would only be enough to buy 11 loaves of bread. It should be borne in mind that millions of workers in Turkey earn just the minimum wage. Even skilled workers only get 4-5 times the minimum.

As if all this were not enough, workers in Turkey have to endure a national inflation rate of approximately 50%, massive unemployment, (with no unemployment benefits) and income tax which is even applied to the minimum wage.

In this situation the need for strong trade unions is obvious. Yet in Turkey, even the permitted trade unions are hampered by a straitjacket of repressive labour laws which were rushed through by the junta during the fascist period.

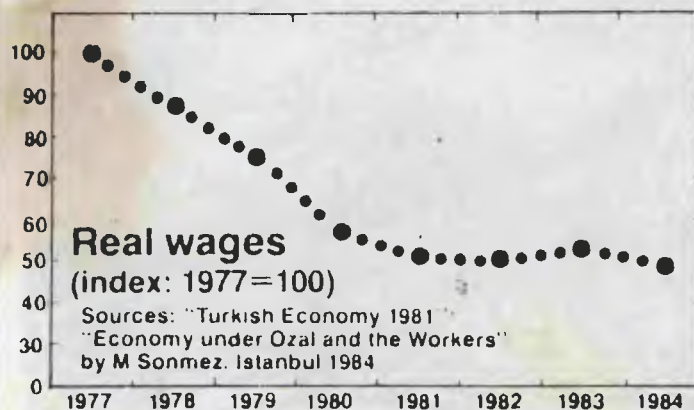
A glance at a selection of these laws is sufficient to illustrate the obstacles confronting trade unionism.

SOME LABOUR LAWS

Unions may be established on the industry level, but collective bargaining can only take place on the enterprise or workshop level. Thus, industry-wide bargaining is banned.

— In order to be officially recognised, a union must gather at least 10% of the workers in a given industry, plus more than half the workers at the enterprise concerned, and they must obtain an authorisation certificate to confirm this. This rule in particular has become the source of countless battles as the Labour Ministry makes a point of challenging and discounting trade union figures, thus necessitating long drawn-out legal disputes before a union can be recognised. Even if the union wins the court case, the Labour Ministry still attempts to withhold recognition. Examples are rife in the Ministry figures released in January this year. Five out of 8 unions which had won a court battle in July 1984 were left out. (Two examples are the *Öz İplik* trade union and the *Öz Demir* union both affiliated to *Hak-İş*.)

reprinted from South, May 1985



On the other hand, the Labour Ministry takes a free hand to "recognise" unions which have demonstrably failed to meet its own requirements. Such is the case with the TÜMTİS union affiliated to *Türk-İş*. In July 1984 a court decided that it did not meet the 10% requirement. Nevertheless, in January 1985 it appeared on the Ministry's list of recognised unions.

Labour Minister Kalemli's preferences are no doubt influenced by his fascist background in the Nationalist Action Party.

— The same arbitrariness is evident in the application of the rule that trade union officers must have been working for 10 years before they can be elected to office.

— There are open-ended restrictions on the right to strike. Strikes are banned outright in banks, coalmining, petroleum, gas-works and all forms of transport and transportation. This situation caused a lot of friction with the coal board during negotiations last December when *Türk-İş* officials refused to greet or sit at the same table with coal board officials and the president of the Metal Workers' Union affiliated to *Türk-İş* declared that the union was signing the agreement because it "had to". (*Hürriyet*, 9 December 1984).

— General strikes, sympathy strikes, occupations, slow-downs and falls in productivity are outlawed, as are political strikes and strikes that run counter to the "integrity of the state".

— Even when permission for a strike is granted, the government has the right to postpone it for 60 days.

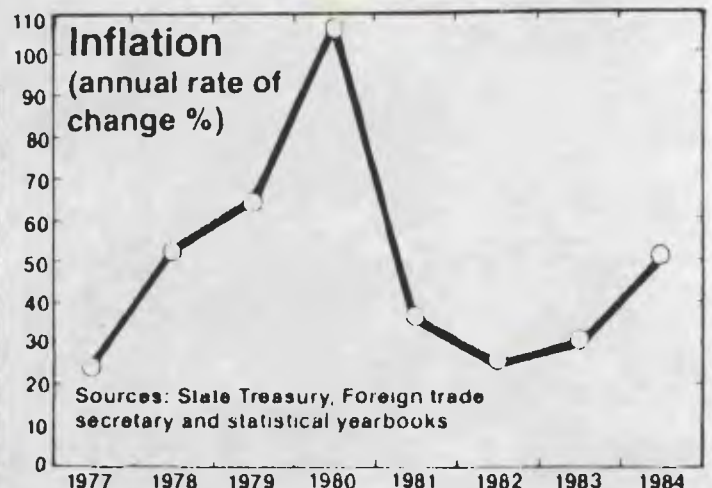
There are many more restrictions but these alone serve to indicate the kind of straight-jacket in which the unions are forced to try to defend the rights and interests of their members.

In November, *Türk-İş* president Şevket Yılmaz warned that "changes are necessary in the laws regulating "labour" (*Cumhuriyet*, 25 November 1984). Obviously feeling that he was not getting the message across, he used sharper language in December:

"A great crisis has struck our working life. *Things are not going well*. These problems should be resolved now so that the social peace of Turkey tomorrow is not destroyed today." (*Tercüman*, 23 December 1984)

Other restrictions include the provision that workers working in establishments employing 10 persons or less are not allowed to join trade unions. This particularly hits young workers who are widely employed in small-scale production.

The procedure under these laws by which a strike can take place, in those workplaces where it is permitted at all, is so tortuous, that one paper has calculated that it would take about 287 days to go through the procedure necessary to call a 60 day strike.



If members of a leading body of a trade union are charged with 'crimes against the state', then the whole trade union is banned from activity.

Vast numbers of workers classed as 'civil servants' or workers in 'defence industries' are banned from taking industrial action or even belonging to a trade union. Civil servant is a term used to describe anyone employed by the state including teachers and factory workers in state owned enterprises, while even those who manufacture buttons for army uniforms are classed as defence industry workers.

It is in a way an achievement that in spite of all this the regime's Ministry of Employment has had to recognise 1,594,577 workers as belonging to trade unions (January 1985). The great bulk of these trade unionists belong to Türk-İş.

FUNCTIONING TRADE UNION CENTRES

TÜRK-İŞ: The largest trade union confederation in Turkey, founded in 1948 with AFL-CIO support.

HAK-İŞ: Founded by proponents of an Islamic line similar to that advocated by the former National Salvation Party. It now includes some social democrats.

MİŞK: A fascist trade union confederation, very small but favoured by the Ministry of Employment and the courts. Associated with "gangster unionism".

CRISIS

As can be seen the leadership of Türk-İş have, in the past played a far from glorious role in the battle for trade union rights in Turkey. Many Türk-İş leaders compromised themselves by collaborating with the junta — to the extent that the then President of Türk-İş became the junta's Social Security Minister. The current President of Türk-İş, Şevket Yılmaz has gone through contortions in his efforts to stay loyal to the regime but at the same time not completely antagonise his increasingly restive membership. An example of his tactics is his statements about the Public Sector Council.

Having "discovered" that the Public Sector Collective Bargaining Council, which has the public sector in a stranglehold, is not a legitimate institution, Yılmaz pleaded with the government to abolish it, to head off open resistance to the laws:

"The government is causing a reversal in the economic and social interests of the workers through this illegal attitude. I publicly condemn this attitude. If non-observance of these laws become more widespread tomorrow, no one will be strong enough to reap the whirlwind. The government should recognise this major error in their thinking and show the virtue of correcting their error." *Tercüman*, 23 December 1984) (our emphasis)

The warning was proved correct within the space of a week at an expanded meeting of the *Türk-İş* general council. The meeting, which began on 27th December and lasted several days, was marked by acrimony. Some trade unionists proposed such actions as boycotting collective bargaining negotiations, working-to-rule, silent marches and holding demonstrations. One worried right-wing leader accused these people of "hankering after the pre-12th September and the *Internationale*".

As long as the present labour laws persist, the official trade unions and trade union leaders, basically *Türk-İş*, will find it increasingly difficult to even pretend to be defending the rights and interests of their members. Their defeat is pre-ordained. Thus the attention they are giving to the labour laws.

At the same time, their slowness and reluctance in pressing the issue is creating a groundswell of support for the type of "illegal" actions proposed at the recent general council meeting and an upsurge of rank-and-file activity in the workplaces themselves.

This in turn has led to an average of 2,400 sackings *per months* (*Türk-İş* estimate) of workers involved in trade union activity, a fact that is openly admitted by employers like Tekin Altınar at the Altı Zincer Machine Works. He told the magazine *Nokta* (no:43):

"This is a workplace. You have to work here. The two workers that we dismissed were making the other workers restless. We dismissed them to bring peace and quiet to the workplace." (*Nokta*, no:43).

Rising tension at the workplace level and organisational efforts there are beginning to be reflected in the press with one sacked worker telling *Nokta*: "There are people wandering about the factory. If anything happens, we will get the blame."

Despite the efforts of the regime and their friends in the trade union leadership many strikes have taken place and the demands of the workers for real action increase every day. Deadlock has been reached between the unions and employers over collective bargaining agreements affecting over half a million workers. The Türk-İş membership are demanding industrial action as a way out of this deadlock.

This state of affairs confronts all friends of democracy in Turkey abroad with some key decisions. How and what we decide will have a great effect on the speed by which a real democracy can emerge in Turkey.

TRADE UNION UNITY — AND THE ROLE OF TÜRK-İŞ

Apart from Türk-İş and some small trade union confederations, before the 1980 coup there was one other trade union centre — that was DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions). DİSK was created in 1967 by trade union leaders dissatisfied with Türk-İş and its failure to fight the employers and state. At its peak in the 1970s DİSK had something in the region of 400,000 members in its affiliated trade unions. Throughout most of its existence DİSK spearheaded the struggles of the working class in Turkey for their political and economic rights.

In 1980 DİSK was banned immediately after the coup. Its assets were seized, many activists were arrested, all its leaders were either put on trial or fled abroad. To all intents and purposes DİSK as a functioning trade union centre was disbanded.

Since then, over a long period of time many thousands of former DİSK members have flowed into Türk-İş trade unions. Into this legal movement they have brought the fighting traditions of the DİSK of the 1970s and linking up with the progressive opposition that there has always been in Türk-İş are spreading these traditions amongst the Türk-İş workers. Never before has its leadership been offered the choice by the membership of getting up and fighting for the interests of the workers or of getting out. The

democratic forces within Türk-İş are developing into the spearhead of the fight to end restrictions on trade unionism and workers' rights in Turkey.

A feature that has plagued the working class of Turkey in the past has been division of the trade union movement into (often small) unions owing allegiance to rival trade union centres. In the early 1970s the fragmentation of unions into separate bodies supported by different political forces became very pronounced.

This led to a situation where the most advanced section of the working class grouped around DİSK was cut-off to a greater or lesser extent from their less advanced brothers and sisters in Türk-İş, who were left to be led by leaders who could not defend their interests.

Whether this situation was good or bad, inevitable or not it is not our intention to judge. However today, as a result of a negative act — the oppression and crimes perpetuated by the junta against the trade union movement one unforeseen, (and by the regime unwanted), positive development has emerged.

AN EXAMPLE

Unprotected by trade unions Turkey's miners work without social security cover in appalling conditions. Turkey has the highest rate of serious industrial accidents in the world. In addition to low pay, because of distances from settlements, miners have to spend week-long, shifts in Coal Board barracks living on sub-standard food.



That is the gathering of most organised workers into one trade union movement — Türk-İş. For the first time in Turkey there is the possibility of a united trade union centre.

Whatever the role of the top leadership, (who only just managed to retain their positions at the 1984 Türk-İş Congress), the worker-membership and middle rank trade union cadres are showing they are willing to fight. They are engaged in a crucial struggle to regain trade union rights in Turkey. It is the duty of trade unions and democrats in all countries to end the isolation of these forces, to demonstrate concrete support for the Türk-İş rank and file who are carrying on the finest traditions of DİSK and free trade unionism.

Amongst certain isolated groups in Turkey and abroad there can be observed an as yet small but dangerous trend in favour of establishing a trade union centre bearing DİSK's name but not its content. It is clear that such a development would help only the regime and the Türk-İş leaders who have compromised themselves.

For the regime it would mean the steadily mounting opposition to them would be split. In fact their existing labour laws favour small fragmented unions for obvious reasons. Such a development would also be a godsend to the Türk-İş leaders. It would mean separating the advanced workers once again into a separate centre while they would be left in undisputed control of the majority of organised workers.

The best way to avoid such an unfortunate development is for trade union bodies in Western Europe and elsewhere to act now support of those fighting *within* the existing trade unions.

Since the coup the CDDRT has been second to none along with many trade union bodies in protesting at the persecution of DİSK and in fighting for full freedom for all DİSK members and leaders. This we will continue to do, but there are also new forms of solidarity with Turkey's trade unionists which if applied now will bring freedom for *all* Turkey's trade unionists to function nearer.

The CDDRT believes a strong, united and free trade union movement in Turkey is indispensable if democracy is to be established in that country. Below we put forward some points that if acted upon by wide sections of the labour movement internationally will assist the fight for free trade unionism.

POINTS OF ACTION

If further information or assistance is required contact CDDRT

- * Continue to protest at any trials of trade unionists taking place in Turkey and call for the release of all DİSK prisoners.
- * Trade unions nationally and where possible locally should establish contact with their equivalent trade union in Turkey.
- * Invite trade unions from Turkey to visit for exchange of views etc.
- * Send delegations to Turkey to examine the situation and speak to trade unionists in Turkey.
- * End international isolation where it exists of functioning trade unions in Turkey.

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AEGEAN WAR THREAT

Turkish Press Fans War Hysteria

For several months a tense situation has been developing between Greece and Turkey over various questions connected with the Aegean Sea and islands.

The disputes range over the interpretation of pre-World War II treaties, air space, territorial waters-particularly oil and mineral exploration rights, and the presence of military forces on Greek islands near the Turkish coast. All these have led to a spate of charges and countercharges by both governments and in Turkish and Greek press.

The issues at stake in reality go beyond the Aegean and have more to do with Greek-Turkish economic rivalry in the lucrative Middle East market. However, on the Turkish side the situation has developed into a time bomb. When looked at in conjunction with Turkey's involvement in Cyprus and

in fighting along the Iran and Iraq borders it all adds up to a very real war danger.

Since the bulk of this article was prepared the Greek elections have taken place with PASOK retaining power. For the Ankara regime all this has meant is a continuation of its campaign against the Greek government and even more violent attacks in the press.

In present conditions in Turkey the greater the social and economic crisis, the greater the temptation for the anti-democratic regime to seek a way out in 'foreign adventures'.

A non-democratic regime in Turkey backed by rapacious monopolies poses a threat to the peace not only of the region but of the world.

The Turkish newspapers were quick to seize on Papandreou's 9th March withdrawal of support from Karamanlis as part of his supposed long-range preparations for "new *fait accomplis* in the Aegean". According to *Milliyet*, for example, the downfall of Karamanlis was only the latest in Papandreou's campaign to remove one by one all the obstacles to his foreign policy aims. With Karamanlis, who had tried to reduce tension in the Aegean, gone, "there is no one left to restrain Papandreou". The impression is being deliberately created that Papandreou has been straining at the leash to jump on Turkey. With the leash gone, there is no telling what he will do. "Beware of Papandreou!" warned *Milliyet* on 12th March, declaring that there is now no obstacle to a declaration of a 12-mile sea limit by Greece.

Finding another occasion to make propaganda for military leashes on democracy, *Milliyet's* Metin Toker found it difficult to hide his satisfaction at the prospect that the Greek army will know how to deal with Papandreou:

"The question is the provocation by politicians. As politicians who dragged the country into catastrophe have emerged so often in Greece, civilian and military administrations have alternated since the country became independent.

Unlike the Turkish army, it is hard to say that the Greek army has faith in democratic order and cherishes such an aspiration. This is why when it takes over the administration, it stays in power as long as possible." ...

"If Papandreou exceeds the bounds of commonsense and, with the

psychosis of a person who clutches at a serpent, masterminds an armed clash with Turkey in order to promote the support of the masses, the duo of the Greek Army plus Karamanlis is now powerful enough to prevent this. As a matter of fact, everybody with commonsense knows the outcome of such a move."

The situation in Greece led *Tercüman's* Rauf Tamer as well to remind his readers of the values of a military leasü. "Papandreou's campaign to establish his own control over the army, his recent purge must cause idealist democrats in many parts of the world who 'want to see the army under government command' to think long and hard". (*Milliyet*, 12 March 1985).

Nazlı Ilıcak too used the situation in Greece to "draw lessons" about democracy in general and democracy in Turkey in particular. In her opinion the right in Greece has failed to form a "powerful alternative" to the PASOK government. (*Tercüman*, 13 March 1985)

Agreeing with the general view being promoted that Papandreou is "mad", nevertheless *Tercüman* sees him as a "clever madman". Papandreou does not really intend to enforce a 12-mile limit even if he declares one:

"He will create a crisis and then try to manoeuvre Turkey into an aggressive posture before world public opinion." (13 March 1985) Poor Turkey, forced into aggression!

Perhaps alarmed by the vicious and war — mongering tone of the newspapers, Prime Minister Özal felt it necessary, while reiterating the position that "Turkey will not recognise any *fait*

accomplis in the Aegean ... If a hot situation emerges in the Aegean, we will also accept that", to warn elements in both countries not to play the role of 'catalysts'. "There will be no need for catalysts in the problem between Turkey and Greece." Nevertheless, despite this warning (which may be read 2 ways) the *Tercüman* headline turned Özal's reference to a "hot situation" into "We are ready for war in the Aegean". (15 March 1985)

The *Hürriyet* columnist Haluk Ülman virtually called on the United States to support another military coup in Greece with, of course "careful observation by Turkey":

"Papandreou should not depend on having reorganised the command echelons of his army. There is a limit to everything in countries where armies traditionally interfere in politics, especially if political developments bring up the danger of exhausting the weapon resources of the army. After the elimination of Karamanlis, who was considered by Athens to be the moderate element, Washington cannot be expected to remain indifferent towards Papandreou's caprices and blackmailing."

The war hysteria was quite plain in a *Tercüman* article in April by Prof. Fahit Armaoglu when he wrote. "Papandreou today has left Turkey with three fronts: Cyprus, the Aegean and Western Thrace. To assume that Turkey will not succeed against Greece on all three fronts is an underestimation of Turkey's strength." ... "If we look into the past, we see that Turkey's strength is enough to sustain a long war."

FROM THE PRESS

Turkish foreign trade suffers sharp setback

Turkey had a foreign trade deficit of \$655.3m in the first three months of this year, slightly more than double the figure a year earlier.

This is the first time since Mr Turgut Özal, the Prime Minister, launched his economic reforms five years ago that a reverse of this kind has been seen in Turkey's trading performance and figures will undoubtedly be scrutinised carefully over the next few months to see whether a new trend is emerging.

Any worsening of the trading position would be particularly embarrassing because of Turkey's inability to reach agreement with the International Monetary Fund on a new stand-by arrangement. The Fund is believing to have pressed the Turkish government to go for slower growth and to have challenged its balance of payments targets as too optimistic.

The trade decline was largely due to a fall in exports in February and March. Businessmen blame a reduction in subsidised interest rates for exporters.

The government, which is planning to phase out most export subsidies over three years from this autumn will be perturbed by the latest figures, not least because the first quarter of the year saw sharp depreciation of the Turkish lira against most European currencies.

Turkey had a trade deficit of \$2.9bn last year and plans to trim this to \$2.6bn this year. Exports grew by more than 25 per cent in 1984 and are targeted to increase by 17 per cent this year.

Financial Times 29th May 1985.

TARIK AKAN DENIED A PASSPORT

Tarik Akan, the Turkish film actor famous for his leading roles in the films of Yilmaz Güney, has recently been refused permission to leave Turkey for the second time in as many months. On the first occasion he was refused a passport to travel to the Berlin Film Festival (*see last month's Mosaic*). Then in April, he was prevented from going to France to attend the Film Festival of French Television.

Akan, a Kurd, was detained for two months in 1981 for a statement he made in West Germany allegedly in favour of a separate Kurdish state. Although he was acquitted of the charge, his passport was confiscated.

In 1984 he was one of the defendants in the Turkish Peace Committee trial, in which he was again acquitted. Later he signed the petition to the government from 1,383 intellectuals and artists to allow freedom of expression and a return to democracy. Tarik Akan's name remains on the blacklist.

Meanwhile, Bilge Olagac, whose film *Enemy of the Spoon* won first prize at the Seventh Feminist Film Festival in Créteil, France, in March, was refused permission to attend the festival. She is among those charged in a current trial of film trade union activists.

The Middle East, June 1985.

MINERS' CONDITIONS

Hürriyet, 1st May, reports that Miners in the Kale and Tavas coal mining areas are complaining about their working and living conditions. While the Coal Board talks about transport and distribution problems for their coal, the miners face unhealthy working conditions with no proper safety precautions, *no social security at all* and low pay. The excavation of the new 'Black Gold' Mine is described not as a job but as torture.

The mines are situated far from any settlements so the miners have to spend their week-long shifts in company barracks where they live on a poor diet.

S M E C NGRESS!

Does this photograph show a prison camp? No, this according to *Hürriyet* 24th May is a congress of small farmers' cooperatives in Tokhat, Turkey. The congress was attended by 3500 shareholders and was held in the town stadium. The army was there to ensure an 'orderly congress'.



WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

If you want to do more to assist the struggle for genuine democracy in Turkey there are several ways you can help. You, or an organisation to which you belong, can affiliate to the CDDRT. You can take extra copies of *Turkey Newsletter* to distribute to friends and colleagues or raise the issue of Turkey in your Trade Union, Party Branch etc... The CDDRT can provide speakers.

Join or help establish local branches in your area.

If you live within reach of London you can participate in the work of the Executive Committee.

The CDDRT has a limited number of cassettes of famous revolutionary songs from Turkey.

Price £3.00 including p+p.

Payment with order. Cheques/POs should be made payable to CDDRT.

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

4. Congress is the highest body of the CDDRT and shall meet every two years. It shall consist of delegates from Branches and affiliated organisations and individual affiliates. Congress shall elect the General Council and consider reports and the motions. The conduct of business shall be on the basis of Standing Orders approved by Congress. Pre-Congress arrangements are the responsibility of the retiring General Council. Each Congress shall decide the size of the General Council.

5. The General Council is the continuing body of

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

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

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

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

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

CDDRT General Council

Bedir AYDEMİR
Richard BALFE, MEP
John M BLOOM
Philip BRAY
Sandra HODGSON
Alf LOMAS, MEP
Aydn MERİÇ

Stan NIWINS, MIP

Ernie ROBERTS, MP

Alan SAPPER

Marion SARAFI

Faik SINKİL

Peter SPALDING

Tijen UĞURİŞ

Martin UPHAM

Bob WRIGHT

and one representative each from:
Turkish Students' Federation in 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

Tony Benn MP

Andrew Bennett MP

Syd Bidwell MP

Roland Boyes MP

Ron Brown MP

Richard Caborn MP

Dennis Canavan MP

Alex Carlisle MP

Lewis Carter-Jones MP

Bob Clay MP

Harry Cohen MP

Harry Cowans MP

Tom Cox MP

Stan Crowther MP

Ron Davies MP

Frank Dobson 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

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

Ron Ross MP

Clare Short MP

Dennis Skinner MP

Clive Soley MP

Jack Straw MP

Stan Thorne MP

Robert Wareing

Dafydd Wigley MP

Dafydd Wigley MP

Richard Balfe MEP

Barbara Castle MEP

Ann Clwyd MEP

Kenneth D Collins MEP

Brian Key MEP

Alf Lomas MEP

Stan Newens MEP

Dr Barry Seal MEP

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Alex Kitson, TGWU

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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 Mct Dist Council

NALGO Haeckney 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

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Trades Councils

Croydon Trades Council

Cambridge & Dist Trades Council

Gloucester Trades Council

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Fr Tyrkia

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KNE (Communist Youth of

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Europe (UK)

Communist Party of Portugal

(org. in Britain)

Union of Turkish Progressives

in Britain

Turkish Students' Federation

in the UK

City of London Polytechnic

Students' Union

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Manchester University

Leeds University Union

UMIST Students' Union

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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.

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

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RALLY IN ISTANBUL

Sarachane Square in Istanbul on Sunday 9th June, saw the first open demonstration against the regime since the 12th September 1980 coup.

The demonstration, called by SODEP (Social Democratic Party), brought over 40,000 people onto the streets. The meeting was called under the slogan of 'For democracy and freedom' and as a protest at rising unemployment and inflation.

The rally was addressed by Inonu and other SODEP leaders. Inonu denounced the government for not lifting all the restrictions imposed after the 12th September coup and said "these restrictions have no relationship at all with the constitution". He pointed out that the regime's economic policy was "day by day bringing poverty to the people". He pledged that if SODEP came to power they would abolish income tax on workers on the minimum wage and tax the companies instead. Inonu further called for Turkish workers abroad to be given the right to vote in Turkey's elections. Significantly, Inonu also called for a "wide amnesty to take in all prisoners" and an end to the Radio and Television ban on reporting the activities of opposition parties.

A major feature of the demonstration was the presence of thousands of women brandishing empty pots and who formed the majority of the demonstrators. The press also noted the large number of relatives of political prisoners in the crowd. Despite 'wide security' at the meeting and 45 arrests the crowd shouted slogans such as; "empty the jails", "unemployed unite".

SODEP speakers called for Turkey to be "a place where people can live comfortably without fear". The SODEP Provincial Party Secretary said "there can be no democracy without free trade unions" and that the regime "want the youth and students not to be interested in the country's problems. That is why the schools have been turned into centres of oppression".

Among the placards carried during the demonstration were ones which read "Empty the jails", "general amnesty", "an early election for democracy" and "pockets and purses are empty the bosses are happy".

On the day after the demonstration, 'president' Evren denounced it in a violent speech during which he said that some of the slogans "had been heard before" — ie. before his 1980 coup. He further criticised the press for reporting the event favourably and asked for their help in attacking such 'events' in future.



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