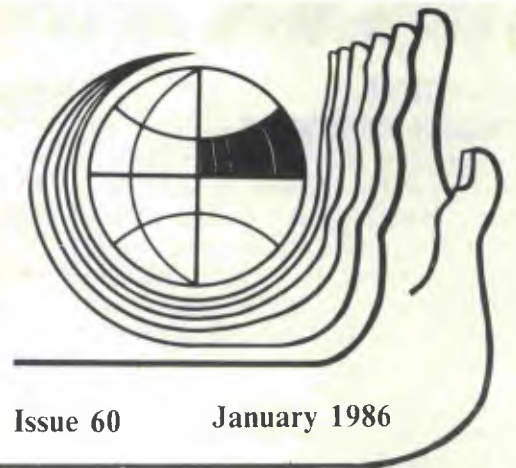


TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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



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THE CALL GROWS: BREAD AND DEMOCRACY!



STUDENTS UNDER PRESSURE

Towards the end of 1985 the Turkish weekly *Nokta* carried several news items illustrating the routine harassment of students by the regime. In one case, a hostel for female students privately owned by Mr Sabancı— one of Turkey's richest businessmen was raided by police.

The police claimed to have information that there were immoral activities at the hostel.

In the middle of the night the 1150 female students were woken by the announcement "Do not leave your rooms, we are searching for political elements". They waited up until morning but not all the rooms were searched. However, police took away some students for 'virginity tests' at a nearby hospital.

Backward religious forces are taking advantage of the accommodation crisis among students; religious foundations run student hostels housing some 100,000 students. The main organisation running these types of hostel — 'Suleyman's People' when asked why they were interested in this type of work replied: "We want to create a new kind of human amongst our youth. The main principle for these new type youth must be to be afraid of God".

JOINT DEFENCE INDUSTRY

The "British-Turkish Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group" — headed by Conservative MP James Spicer — a body whose main aim seems to be to make life easy for the present regime in Turkey — invited a delegation of parliamentarians from Turkey to visit Britain in November 1985. During the visit, the main item on the agenda was the effort to establish a joint British-Turkish defence industry.

Leader of the Turkish delegation Albayrak stated that the "British authorities told the Turkish delegation visiting the Royal Ordnance Factory which makes the Rapier guided missile, that they wish to make joint defence industry investments in Turkey".

The Turkish delegation said that Defence Minister Michael Heseltine told them that Britain placed great importance on relations with Turkey, a friendly country and an ally.

'Unpleasant questions' such as the Ozal regime's human rights record or the lack of democracy in Turkey do not appear to have been raised during the visit.

SCANDAL

Allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 jet fighter purchases have gone around in connection with ex-general Tahsin Sahinkaya, former member of the military junta and commander of the Turkish Air Force.

After a long period of bargaining, the Turkish government had decided on September 7, 1983 to select the F-16 Flying Falcon as the fighter it will co-manufacture with General Dynamics. The contract covers assembling and co-manufacturing 160 planes at an estimated cost of 4.2 billion dollars.

On June 25, 1985, General Evren laid the foundation of the F-16 jet fighter engine plant in Eskisehir.

A few weeks later, the former vice-president of General Dynamics, Mr Takis Velotis revealed in an interview to the Turkish daily *Milliyet* dated July 11 that the company had given a bribe of TL 12.5 billion to some top officials in Turkey in order to get the contract but he did not give the names of the bribed persons.

However, the US magazine *Time*, on November 14, 1983 had already mentioned the name of General Sahinkaya as one of the bribed persons and qualified him as "one of the ten richest army generals of the world".

Though the opposition circles asked that the State Council of Inspection should take up the matter as the highest authority in this field, the Provisional Article No.15 of the Constitution drawn up by the military junta forbids any legal investigation or action against any decisions or measures whatsoever taken by the Council of National Security (the military junta).

Justice Minister Necat Eldem said that allegations of bribery concerning the F-16 issue may be investigated if Parliament decides to lift Provisional Article 15.

But Parliament, because of the pressure coming from General Evren, cannot act accordingly and the bribed General Tahsin Sahinkaya still keeps his title of "Member of the Presidential Council".

FREE TRADE ZONES = EXPLOITATION

On the 19th November 1985, the first Free Trade Zones went into operation in Turkey. These are mainly aimed at attracting foreign investment. One of the 'attractions' of the zones for business is that even Turkey's minimal

labour protection rules do not apply in them. In addition all trade unions are banned within the zones.

COAL MINERS UNDER ATTACK

Under Turkey's draconian labour laws the Turkish Coal Board has begun an investigation with a view to prosecuting 1,000 miners who carried out a protest action in late August. They were resisting the arbitrary lengthening of their hours of work.

70 miners have already had their wages docked of one day's pay for taking part in "actions".



CAN WE STRIKE?

Prime Minister Ozal recently visited a factory at Kirikkale belonging to the giant MKE industrial complex — one of the largest state-owned enterprises employing about 20,000 workers.

Ozal spoke to the workers. When he had finished, he was asked one question — "can we strike now?". All Ozal could say in reply was "it is possible, but it is not useful for you or for our state. Please don't, we trust you."

The regime, increasingly alarmed by the potential threat to it posed by the workers has passed a special Statute. This states that higher wage rises can be given to workers who agree to leave their Trade Unions.

STRIKES

Hurriyet reported a strike at a factory in Cankiri. The strike is interesting in that it is in effect a strike against article 17 of



Turkey's Employment Law which states that an employer can sack a worker for being "bad" or insolent.

The boss of the Cankiri factory took advantage of this to sack 45 workers for 'moral reasons'. Their union Oziplik-IS has declared an official strike in response.

The important strike by members of Petrol-Is (Chemical & Petroleum workers' Union) is continuing.

THE MOTHERS WENT TO ADANA

Yeni Gundem reported that SODEP (Social Democracy Party) organised a meeting to call for an amnesty for political prisoners in Adana. Many people came from the surrounding towns to ask about torture and the conditions of their sons and daughters in military prisons.

Tevfik Cavdar from SODEP read a paper on Amnesty, Martial Law and the issue of torture.

The press reported that the listeners gained some hope, talked to each other then went back to their homes lonely and sad.

FILED

Ozal's Government has started a new practice with the view of reinforcing the Police State and enlarging the repressive arsenal against the adversaries of the regime.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* on the order of the Ministry of Interior, headmen of 35,268 villages of Turkey have begun to file all inhabitants of their locality. These files consist, among others, of information concerning the political tendency and ideological choice of each inhabitant. Headmen are charged to oblige the concerned person to sign his file, and to send one copy to the Gendarmerie of the village. The second copy will be kept in the office of the headmen.

The Justice Minister Necat Eldem announced that the judicial record of each citizen will be computerized in order to accelerate the process of investigation.

SENTENCED TO DEATH

A mass trial of 430 members of the Artvin organisation of Dev-Yol has ended. A military court in Erzurum has sentenced 11 members to death, 10 others to life imprisonment and 373 defendants to between 2 and 24 years imprisonment.

PEACE TRIAL

At the time of going to print, the fate of the leaders of the Turkish Peace Association still hung in the balance. The regime's courts are still deciding on the TPA 'leaders' appeals against their prison sentences. On the initiative of Jean-Pierre Fourre, Vice-Speaker of the French National Assembly 200 parliamentarians of 21 European countries have signed the following appeal:

"The trial opened against the officials of the Turkish Peace Association has ended.

"Six out of 18 leaders of the Association, of whom the Chairman, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, and the Vice-chairman, former president of the Bar of Istanbul, Orhan Apaydin, have been condemned to prison terms of 5 and 8 years.

"However, thanks to the solidarity of all peace partisans and of the defenders of human rights, Mr Dikerdem and Mr Apaydin have recently been released temporarily, after many months of detention. While the defense was appealing to the Military Court of Cassation, a second trial has been opened against 48 former members of the Peace Association of Turkey. According to the formal charge from the military prosecutor, this second trial will be enlarged and will concern 501 persons.

"These men have been placed in the dock merely on offense of opinion: defending a just and everlasting peace, disarmament and the respect to the Final Act of Helsinki. They have never participated in any terrorist action, they have never committed any crime.

"In solidarity with their action, we undersigned parliamentarians, ask the Turkish authorities to take every measure for putting an end to the trials and for assuring the liberation of the members of the Turkish Peace Association."

The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and 30 members of the US House of Representatives have sent a letter to General Evren, asking him to intervene in favour of the members of

the TPA.

A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP

Hard bargaining is continuing between the US and Turkish governments over the question of military aid (see *Turkey Newsletter*, No.59)

The Ozal regime claims £620 millions in aid currently, making it the third largest recipient of US aid, is not enough to maintain the regime's 600,000 strong army

In addition, Ozal & Co, are annoyed that what they see as they Greek and Armenian lobbies in the US Congress being 'allowed' to obstruct aid to Turkey.

The regime's press has mounted an hysterical campaign against a draft resolution before the US Congress which would make 24th April a day of commemoration for Armenians massacred by the Turkish government during World War I. The present regime in Turkey, which appears happy to think of itself as the direct heir of the Ottoman Empire, denies that the massacres took place and has spent a great deal of time trying to 'adjust' the historical record. This has become an added factor in US-Turkish relations.

In the present negotiations with the United States, the Ozal regime's aims appear to be as pointed out by David Barchard in the *Financial Times*...

Turkey is believed to have been pressing for seven major points in the talks this autumn. It is thought to want: a higher level of US aid, perhaps about \$1.2bn a year, and this to be guaranteed over five years; the removal of Congress's ratio of 7 to 10 on military aid for Greece and Turkey, and an end to congressional pressure on Greek and Armenian issues; more economic aid; more joint ventures in the arms industry; a reduction of foreign military sales loans in favour of grants; a reduction in interest payments on loans already made; and the possible conversion of the agreement into a fully treaty.

The US is believed to want more freedom to use bases in Turkey for purposes such as the use of the Rapid Deployment Force to defend the Gulf.

Despite apparent strains, no repressive regime in Ankara is likely to seriously damage relations with the US administration. The uncritical support of US governments for regimes in Turkey whatever lack of human rights and democracy exists, and US aid no matter what the exact figure are too important for the Ankara government.

DEFEAT FOR REGIME

The adoption by the European Parliament of a Report on Turkey drawn-up by Richard Balfe MEP has brought a hysterical response from the regime in Ankara.

The Turkish foreign ministry trumpeted — "Europe needs Turkey more than Turkey needs Europe". A wave of abuse against the European Parliament. European socialists, and Richard Balfe and Gwyn Morgan (EEC representative in Ankara) broke out in the Turkish media.

Following the oldest tricks of dictatorial regimes the world over, Ozal & Co. tried to imply that the Report was an attack on the whole Turkish people. The truth is the report exposes what the regime has done to the people of Turkey. The Turkish media tried to accuse R. Balfe of being in the hands of Greeks, Communists, 'seperatists', terrorists, and all the other 'bogymen' the paranoid regime sees surrounding it. The Balfe Report is in fact a well-balanced examination of the present state of human rights and democracy in Turkey.

A Resolution was passed by the European Parliament as a result of the Report on the 23rd October.

RESOLUTION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN TURKEY

The European Parliament,

021— having regard to the following motions for resolutions:

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Van Hemeldonck on the imprisonment of Süleyman Yasar (Doc.2-556/84)

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Kuijpers and Mr Vandemeulebroucke on the trial of 56 intellectuals in Turkey (Doc.2-568/84)

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Staes on the fourth anniversary of the coming to power of the military regime in Turkey and events there condoned or instigated by the Turkish Government (Doc. 2-595/84)

— motion of a resolution tabled by Mr Simpson on torture and death sentences in Turkey (Doc. 2-1495/84).

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mrs Lizin on the imprisonment in Turkey of Mr Tamer Kayas (Doc. 2-1521/84)

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Vandemeulebroucke and Mr Kuijpers on the fate of the Kurdish minorities in Turkey (Doc. B 2-63/85)

— motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Ulburghs on the alarming situation of Kurdish prisoners in Turkey (Doc. B. 2-89/85)

— motion of a resolution tabled by Mr De Gucht on the abolition of the death penalty in Turkey (Doc. B 2-413/85)

— motion of a resolution tabled by Mrs Hoff and Mr Felelrmaier on the death of Fikri Sönmez, Mayor of Fatsa, Turkey (Doc. A 2-117/85)

A. recalling that now fewer than 11 resolutions expressing concern about the human rights situation in Turkey have been passed by the Parliament since the 'coup d'état' in September 1980, and that more than 20 motions for resolutions to this effect have been tabled during the same period by Members from many different political groups,

B. recalling also the decision of the Parliament of 11 October 1984, sponsored by all the political groups, that the Delegation of the European Parliament/Grand National Assembly of Turkey Joint Committee will not be set up until the Association Agreements is implemented once again and until the European Parliament has reconsidered the situation in Turkey' (Sec OJ No. C300, 12.11.1984, p.49-50)

C. noting also that allegations of breaches of the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights by Turkey have been formally tabled, under Article 24 of the Convention, by five countries (Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden), of which three are members of the European Communities; and that these allegations have been referred to the European Commission on Human Rights, which has not yet reached a decision on this matter, but in an interim ruling on 6 December 1983, without in any way prejudging the merits of the case, declared the applications admissible,

D. recalling that a rapporteur appointed by the Political Affairs Committee visited Turkey, under the authority of the Bureau of the Parliament, to prepare a report on the human rights situation, and had full discussions there with leaders of

political parties and members of the Grand National Assembly as well as with other leading politicians, and with trade union leaders, lawyers, journalists, international and national civil servants, members of diplomatic missions ex-prisoners and relatives of prisoners and with numerous other witnesses,

E. welcoming the rapporteur's finding that some progress has been made towards the restoration of human rights in Turkey and that there appeared to be a widespread recognition of the need for further such reforms,

F. regretting, however, that these improvements did not appear to amount to the return to democracy and respect for human rights called for in the aforementioned resolutions passed by Parliament, and furthermore that safeguards have not even been restored for those human rights consistently regarded by the European Parliament as the most basic and elementary (See Annual Reports of the Parliament on Human Rights for 1983 and 1984 and the resolution adopted following the report by Mr von Hassel on behalf of the Political Affairs Committee in July 1982—OJ No. C238, 13.09.1982, p.51 — and the resolutions adopted by Parliament under urgent procedure on 24 May 1984 — OJ No. C172, 2.7.1984, p.128-129, namely the right to life, the right to integrity of the person and the right to a fair trial on charges brought

G. noting, in particular, that as regards the right to life, while a most welcome reduction in the number of executions has taken place in the past eighteen months, the death penalty is still being imposed and occasionally carried out,

H. noting, further, that as regards the right to integrity of the person, the Parliament's rapporteur was repeatedly informed by distinguished political leaders, lawyers and academics, among others, that torture, particularly in police stations, was still endemic and systematic and that its incidence did not seem to be diminishing significantly, and that furthermore the Prisons Committee of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, while its establishment is clearly a laudable development, did not seem to be having a significant impact in controlling this grave abuse of human rights,

I. noting, further, that as regards the right to a fair trial on charges brought, the unsatisfactory procedures and practices noted in the Parliament's previous resolutions referred to above were continuing, notably infringements of the rights of prisoners to an adequate legal defence and to fair legal procedures,

J. deploring, in this connection, the continuance and the protracted procedures of the mass trials of various bodies such as the Turkish Peace Association and the trade union confederation DISK and its affiliated unions, and of various groups of academics and intellectuals, for offences which seem to amount to no more than the peaceful and non-violent expression of political opinions,

K. recalling, in particular, its resolution of 13 June 1985 (OJ No.C 175, 15.07.1985, p.222) on the trial of members of the Turkish Peace Association which called on the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation to request the Turkish authorities to bring this trial to an end immediately; to abandon future such trials and to free immediately the accused,

L. welcoming signs of relaxation in the strict and repressive censorship of writing and publishing, but concerned that a number of authors and publishers are still being prosecuted for expressions of non-violent opinions and that new legislation gives the police-wide powers to seize films and video cassettes of a non-violent and non-pornographic character, to prohibit or control cultural activities without prior authority and to detain without a warrant persons whose behaviour they believe does not conform to the moral standards of society,

M. regretting also that widespread violation of the human rights of the Kurdish minority is still occurring in Turkey and, even more so, of those who are politically active as Kurds,

N. welcoming, in the field of freedom of association and the right to engage in democratic politics, the holding of local elections in 1984 for the first time since the 'coup d'état', with a wider representation of political parties than had been permitted in the general election of 1983,

O. recognizing, nevertheless, that political democracy cannot yet be considered to exist in Turkey while major political parties, particularly the Social Democratic Party on the left and the 'True Path Party on the right, remain unrepresented in the country's parlia-

ment, while leading political figures such as Mr Demirel and Mr Ecevit remain excluded from active political life, while the Turkish Communist Party remains under a total ban with many of its members in prison, and while other political parties have been harassed and their members prosecuted and imprisoned,

P. recalling in this connection Parliament's decisions of 22 January and 8 July 1982 not to renew the mandate of its Members on the Joint Parliament Committee of the EEC-Turkey Association until such time as the Turkish Grand National Assembly has been freely elected, as well as the decision referred to above of 11 October 1984,

Q. regretting that trade union rights continue to be severely restricted, with one major trade union confederation, DISK, a body affiliated to the European Trade Union Confederation and one of these recognized by the European Communities, forbidden to function in Turkey, and with its funds and assets sequestered,



R. noting that martial law still remains in force in some areas of the country, including the largest city, Istanbul, and covers a large section of the population, that this involves severe restrictions on human rights, and that even where martial law has been lifted, it has been replaced by states of emergency in many areas with similar severe controls,

S. noting, further, with concern that there are some developments, notably in the recently acquired power of the police to remove, without the legal authority previously required, prisoners from prisons to police stations for further interrogation, and in new legislation giving the police substantially more extensive powers in the field particularly of censorship, powers of arrest and search without prior authority, incommunicado detention and the use of firearms by the police, the use of which may result in a worsening rather than an improvement in the human rights situation.

T. noting that the Turkish authorities violate the rights of ethnic minorities

even when they are protected by international treaties,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STUDENTS IN TURKEY

Below *Turkey Newsletter* prints an exclusive interview with three students in Turkey. For obvious reasons their identity has had to be concealed. We believe these interviews reflect the disaster that has befallen the education system in general and students in particular both under the junta and under the present authoritarian regime.

Q: What are general conditions like for students in Turkey?

A.L.: If we put aside military and secondary education and look at higher education, students do have great problems. All the facilities in the universities are very limited apart from two universities — the Bosphorous University and the Middle East University. For instance there are no universities which can provide enough halls of residence for the students — you can say the same for those two as well but they do provide some better conditions. However when you look at say the Gazi University in Ankara which has the largest number of students, leaving education aside it does not provide anything — no facilities for social activities — nothing.

Lots of students cannot get their own accommodation so they share rooms with many friends — even that is difficult. Accommodation is the greatest problem.

C.A.: There is a food problem as well. If a student receives money from their families that's OK, but they are in a minority. The rest of us can hardly live.

Q: What about grants for books etc?

A.L.: Books are very expensive. Most of us do not have the books we need. You look for second-hand books or share with other students.

C.A.: There are two types of students in Turkey; those who come to university with the only aim of getting education and the other type who come just to delay military service or get a label for themselves as educated.

These second types work outside the university ... you can't say they are real students in the true sense of the word. They only come to school at examination time.

A.L.: But the majority of students can neither work nor get a good education. These are the types who are squeezed between — they can't get education, jobs or get married. Because of this they are in a desperate situation and are depressed and demoralised.

Problems of different sections of society in Turkey are reflected in education. So children starting from primary school are forced to find jobs outside, especially students who come from the gecekondu (shanty towns — ed). Hours of education at schools are divided into morning and afternoon classes. If they attend in the morning, they work in the afternoon especially shoe shining and jobs like that, or vice versa. Most of them would not dream of going to Secondary School. The same conditions apply in Secondary Schools — students feel they cannot survive if they don't work and just go to school. In the long run most cannot continue their education. They hope to

become apprentices.

The number of students who want to continue their education decreases because the quality of education has fallen and because when they graduate they cannot find work.

In the Lycees (High Schools — TN), the students who wish to get into universities start from the 1st year preparing for the entrance exam for university like a competition. They go into special cramming courses, get private tuition as the quality of Lycee education is not high. On top of this the books are full of reactionary ideas — they try to indoctrinate you. The aim of these books is not to encourage students to think. They train the students and not asking questions or discussing anything.

In the universities, whole subjects have been arbitrarily replaced with others, where this is not possible they have just abolished the course. On the other hand, there are more students than there is capacity for. Quotas are set for each university, but these are artificially inflated. They think "let's enrol them now because so many will be kicked-out later". They do this via the periodic examinations brought in by the Higher Education Act.

In the past year in Izmir more than 1500 students were expelled from the university. Those were students who had only failed one or two term exams. Even if you are in the last year, if you have one or two lessons left over from the previous year you are still thrown out. The students cannot use their spare time because there are no facilities for sport, cultural things etc... This increases the number of hours students spend in cafes where you can only drink tea and play backgammon — there is nothing else to do ...

A.L.: Apart from these things there are tuition fees. Previously it was not compulsory — education was free. But with the Higher Education Act they introduced tuition fees. During the first year they were low to prevent a 'reaction' but of course later they put them up very high. Students who get grants and scholarships from foundations now have to pay it over in fees. So they take the grants back through fees. Now you pay for tuition fees, books, food and accommodation.

C.A.: The text books are the enemy of thought or real education. The books just pump the student with the ideology of the present regime — brain-washing.

The Education Ministry, since the Higher Education Act, try to dictate to the students what books they are allowed to read — even the kind of novels!

Q: Can you explain how they administer the universities through YOK (the Higher Education Council)?

A.L.: In this field too they have tried to reorganise the university governing body like a military hierarchy with a 'Chief of Staff' — Isandura Maci (Chairman of YOK).

Every educational institution throughout the



country has the same course in every university. Professors are compelled to recommend books. They don't let you use the books they want to use, only YOK.

C.A.: Every university has its own curriculum, time table imposed from above. So universities have reduced — choices are limited.

YOK has the power to sack any governing bodies of faculty or to sack any professor.

Q: Is it possible for students to form Associations or Student Unions?

C.A.: There are associations, but they are mostly folk dances, sports activities are very limited in the gymnasium but it is rented most of the time, students cannot use it. The same at my school. The P.E. course which was reduced was a written course in the end — there were no sports.

Q: Are students free to form unions?

C.A.: Yes — with the supervision of the government. The framework is narrow.

A.L.: But recently they have the right to set up student unions but they actually apply it depending on the authorities.

C.A.: As far as I know there have been 4 or 5 applications for unions but only in two universities with permission.

Students would like to have unions and Student Unions so they have heard.

Q: What is the standard of education?

A.L.: ...When I look at the curriculum I can see that from the beginning everything was geared to a rote education system does not encourage initiative. The teacher controls the class shows how things should be done, statements like drugs - effort on his/her part, knowing what they are doing in the education system.

C.A.: When the students are not formed as

KEY SPEAK OUT



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Because of all this learning by rote you cannot be an independent person.

The result is when you go to university you cannot learn as you should. You don't know how to search for knowledge or do research.

The main purpose of the university is research and you cannot do that after such an education.

So learning by heart continues in the universities. The lecturer comes in, reads his notes and goes out. You just swallow what you are told. So students just copy everything down and prepare for the exam.

A.L.: That's the situation in the university. When you look at the quality of the graduates you can see this... The students are trapped, they can hardly find a way out...

Q: *Unemployment in Turkey: how does it affect the youth?*

C.A.: I can tell you something about the graduates and how it affects them. As I said before the universities are divided into two types. There are only two universities with a European standard of education — the Middle East Technical University and the Bosphorous University. These are where the cadres for the big companies are educated. For that reason most of the students are booked 3-4 years before they leave by these private firms and are employed by them as soon as they leave. They went to the best schools too — the Science Lycee and the Anatolian Lycee so they were able to get into the best universities. These are the top section of students... they are the small percentage who can find jobs easily. There are no other students who can find jobs in their own subject... If they get jobs, it's in fields that have no relation at all with their specialities. Most become unemployed.

A.L.: According to statistics young people form the majority of the population of Turkey. For this reason Turkey is called a young country. Therefore youth are the most affected by unemployment. Unemployment is the greatest problem faced by youth today.

There is no guarantee of work for graduates. The majority ... have. An increasing number of graduates are doing jobs like shop assistant, shoe polishing or street trading... Unemployment affects students' life in every way.

Q: *Can you describe a typical student character?*

C.A.: They have lost interest in education... They have bad habits because research is not encouraged...

A.L.: Yes, we can mention a typical student character today. Particularly after they came to power they laid the blame for the political upheavals before 1980 on the youth. They still say the youth are deceived by "external forces". They put the greatest oppression on the youth and thousands were arrested. They have terrorised the youth. The newspapers said that the youth should be straitjacketed and brought to order. That the 'peace principles' of Atatürkism should be learnt by them so they have put us through special

programmes.

C.A.: If you go back before 1980 the university youth gained some reforms in the universities. During the struggle they were faced with the connection between their struggle for reforms and the system of society. When they saw this connection they started to act to change the system. Of course this was not liked by the ruling forces. Therefore the youth with their demands which were connected to changing the system itself found themselves confronted by the state, security police and army.

So there has been a continuous struggle and conflict with State, police and army because within the framework of the system it was impossible to realise our demands.

When the State failed to defeat the student movement, it tried to build an alternative force. They did this in a systematic way. After 1970 they tried to strengthen the reactionary and rightist youth and made a great effort to encourage them; allowing opportunities for them. The youth movement was labelled an "anarchist movement" by the government. Together with the police the rightist youth were provoked to attack the youth movement.

After 1980 when the military came to power, they gave great attention to the youth, but actually this attention was how to crush the youth. They wanted to create a youth insensible to their own interests. A youth who would accept whatever they were told by their elders and rulers, a youth who would not raise their voice at all — a silenced youth.

It could be successful in silencing the youth. Even the bourgeois sociologists have started talking about the fact that we have produced a wrong type of youth. They are now afraid of their own creation. Even the bourgeois press have started getting uncomfortable about it. In every research they put this question into the agenda.

At the beginning, in order to divert the attention of students from their own problems, the authorities overloaded us with lessons and there was compulsory attendance at all of them. They also introduced numerous exams throughout each year... After 1980 all student unions and associations were banned.

They have got so afraid of the term "revolution" that they changed the name title of a book and the name of the (compulsory) course linked to it, from "History of the Revolution" into "Principles of Atatürk" or use the arabic word for revolution "Inkalp" instead of the Turkish word. A lot of attention has been paid to this course — retired army officers and other military staff are used to teach it.

The policy of the generals was such that the student youth lived through a type of experience that they never had to live through before. When teachers entered classrooms they ordered students to stand to attention. They tried to apply a military hierarchy even in the classroom.

cont.

Students cont. ...

Q: Did they succeed?

A.L.: Yes, they succeeded. The majority of the teachers especially in the second year after the coup went onto the offensive against the students. They saw the students as guilty. So much so that they would swear at us during lessons.

We could say that students cut off their ties with different fields of life. The only thing they paid attention to was to prepare for the next day's lessons.

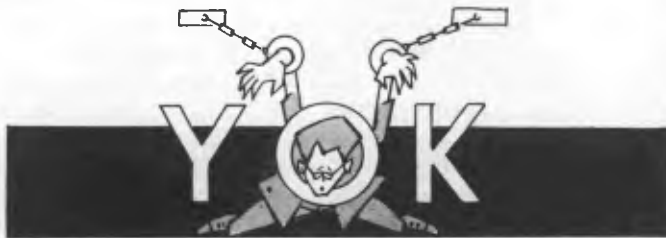
It was a problem even to have time to read a daily paper we were so overloaded with lessons; we were having 40 exams in one term. All this was aimed at creating a youth with only one dimension, without any thought except lessons. As it stands today it can be said they succeeded to an extent.

Seperately we interviewed a female student who we shall call J.G. She said:

Up to high school, education is too far from practice and real life. Students just memorise their lessons. They grow up remote from real life and have no chance to show their natural skills and create something of their own.

These days, the Minister of Education is talking about national history, national geography, national everything and rejecting Darwin's theory. This is all aimed at ending scientific thought in educational institutions. In these conditions, students especially have not got freedom of thought. Students are allowed to set-up associations but if they are connected with any of the old associations indicted before the military courts, they are not allowed to establish a new one. In addition, though associations can legally be established, they are not able to function freely. Before YOK was established, universities were autonomous. After this committee was established all universities were brought under their strict central control.

In the universities now there are even dress regulations and compulsory attendance at all lectures. Anybody disobeying is thrown out. All these regulations are aimed at making a student who does not think...



WHAT IS YOK?

The Higher Education Council (YOK) since 1981 is responsible for all aspects of academic life, from student admissions to research activities of academic staff. It is made up of 25 members whose appointments are subject to the approval of the head of state. Eight are appointed direct by the President, six by the Government, two by the Education Minister and one by the army Chief of Staff. The Inter-University Council which is made up by the rectors of each university, a military academic and one professor from each university provides the remaining eight members of YOK.

From World University Service Briefing Paper.

YOUTH SUICIDES

Yeni Gundem 18.19.85 reports that the ratio of young people committing suicide has risen sharply since 1980. In 1984, 1700 committed suicide. The main scenes of suicides are dormitories and universities.

YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

Nokta of October 15 reports that after 5 years university students are establishing organisations again.

"There are many material and spiritual handicaps, but students want to build organisations... The Constitution does not ban the building of organisations in the universities. But some persons in administration put obstacles in the way, they do not want students to organise. The students trying to establish new organisations say that "the consciousness of democracy will be raised through our efforts".

ORDEAL OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

The contracts of 7,360 university professors and 123 faculty deans expired on August 31, 1985. If their contracts are not renewed, they will join the mass of unemployed intellectuals. For this reason, in all Turkish universities, during the period of annual vacations an atmosphere of anxiety reigns.

For the replacement of 129 deans, the chairmen of university have submitted to the Higher Educational Council (YOK) the names of 369 candidates. According to the regulations drawn up by YOK, intelligence services carry out a profound investigation on the philosophical and political tendencies of all candidates.

On the other hand, although martial law was lifted in many university cities, none of the professors who had been dismissed on the order of military authorities have yet been allowed to return to their posts.



Earlier this year High School pupils were indicted before a military court for singing the Turkish national anthem in a "disrespectful manner" at a school assembly.

PASA GÜVEN IS FREE!

Pasa Guven, youth activist and a leader of Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) a banned left-wing organisation in Turkey has been freed from detention in Italy (see *TN* No.59).

Pasa Guven who had escaped from Turkey where a military court was preparing to sentence him to death had been detained in Italy pending an extradition request from the regime in Turkey. His case aroused wide-spread concern among political refugees in Europe.

In London The Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey contacted Members of the European Parliament, informed the press and mounted a campaign for his release. K D Collins MEP wrote to the Italian Ambassador in London.

In Ireland the Irish CDDRT wrote to the Italian Embassy there and raised the matter with the Irish Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Similar activities were carried out in France and West Germany. The CDDRT understands there is now no danger of Pasa Guven being extradited to Turkey where he faced torture and probable death.

This news must be welcomed by all friends of democracy and human rights in Turkey. It must also be welcomed by those concerned with the safety of political refugees in Europe.

The extradition of Pasa Guven would have created a dangerous precedent for other political refugees in similar circumstances. The CDDRT Executive Committee would like to extend it's heartfelt thanks to all those who raised the issue of Pasa Guven and worked to save him from the executioners in Turkey.



A NEW DEVELOPMENT

Info-Turk Bulletin based in Brussels in late 1985 reported further repressive measures taken against students and academic staff.

The Higher Education Council (YOK) has recently decided not to admit to universities those who work part-time to finance their studies. So, the children of poor families are automatically excluded from university education, even if they pass the new entry exams.

The National Defence Minister has decreed that if a cadet of a military school is ousted, he will not be allowed to enroll in a civilian school.

For the new school year, the YOK has adopted new regulations concerning university education. From now on, university staff will be charged with giving their students "a uniform philosophical and ideological outlooks so as to make them fight against subversive and separatist current."

The application of these new regulations will be controlled by special units to be set up in each faculty.

Irrespective of academic capacity, nobody will be allowed to have a university post unless he obtains the preliminary OK of the intelligence services.

*In the next issue of
Turkey Newsletter:
**KURDISTAN:
OPPRESSION AND
RESISTANCE***



FROM THE PRESS

LABOUR PARTY STATEMENT

On 14th October the British Labour Party issued the following statement on Turkey:

Statement from George Robertson MP, Deputy Opposition spokesman on Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs:

"The continued trials of trade unionists and peace campaigners in Turkey make a mockery of claims of progress to democracy.

The Labour Party has welcomed the limited steps taken to weaken Martial Law and to return to democratic institutions. However we are dismayed that in spite of this limited progress, the trial of people for legitimate political activities go on.

Turkey asks its fellow Western European nations to judge her by Western standards. In the field of basic human rights the standards on display these days in Ankara still give grave cause for concern.

We call on the Turkish government to lift the charges against the leaders of DISK, the trade union organisation and the Turkish Peace Association. Such a move would do much to bring about a

more respectable image for one of our NATO allies.

The Amnesty International Report on Torture in Turkey earlier this year has still to be convincingly answered, and it casts a terrible stain on a country ostensibly in the democratic Western Alliance."

TURKEY – STILL NO DEMOCRACY

The following item appeared in *Free Labour World* published by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 15/11/85.

Five years have passed since the military takeover in Turkey.

Turkey's claim that it is making a steady transition back to democracy has lost all credibility.

The international free trade union movement is particularly concerned at the very slow progress towards democratic rule. Important parts of the

country, including major cities, remain under martial law or a state of emergency and the final decision in many state affairs still rests with the military.

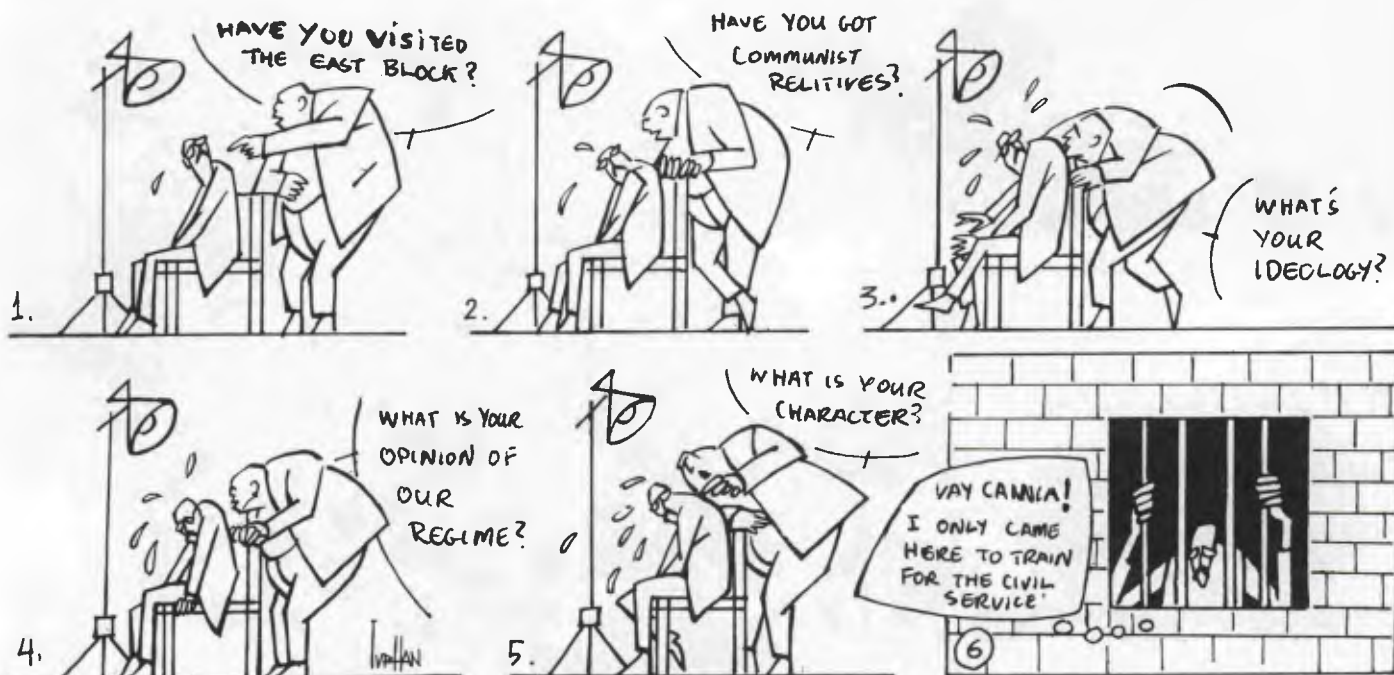
The area of permissible political discussion remains limited.

The ICFTU is deeply disturbed at the large number of political detainees, the harsh prison conditions, widespread torture and maltreatment carried out routinely in police stations and prisons, the continuing human and trade union rights violations and politically motivated trials.

We call on governments with which Turkey is associated to support all efforts aimed at promoting democratisation of political life and restoring the exercise of free trade unionism in the country.

We fully support the action of the ICFTU affiliate Turk-Is aimed at restoring human and trade union rights and revising a number of restrictive provisions in current labour legislation in order to recover full trade union freedom in Turkey.

The ICFTU reiterates its demand for the halting of the unjust trials and the lifting of the suspension of the trade union federation DISK and its affiliates. We also demand that their assets and funds — placed under trusteeship since 1980 — be returned to their rightful owners.



The above cartoon appeared in the Turkish daily *Milliyet* and reflects the heavy pressures applied to civil servants — a term which applies to all state and local authority employees in Turkey.

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.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CDDRT

1. The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (the CDDRT).
2. The aims of the CDDRT are as follows:
End all vestiges military rule, martial law, torture and executions.
Release of political prisoners.
Freedom for all democratic organisations.
End national oppression of the Kurds and national minorities.
Stop expansionism; end the occupation of Cyprus.
Withdraw Turkey from NATO and close all NATO bases.
No military, political or economic support for the anti-democratic regime.
Totally oppose the regime's harassment of overseas opponents.
Organise solidarity on the basis of the foregoing

utilising every means at our disposal.

3. Organisations and individuals accepting the aims of the CDDRT can apply to affiliate. Such applications are subject to the approval of the General Council. Affiliation fees shall be set by the General Council and become payable from 1 January each year.
4. Congress is the highest body of the CDDRT and shall meet every two years. It shall consist of delegates from Branches and affiliated organisations and individual affiliates. Congress shall elect the General Council and consider reports and the motions. The conduct of business shall be on the basis of Standing Orders approved by Congress. Pre-Congress arrangements are the responsibility of the retiring General Council. Each Congress shall decide the size of the General Council.
5. The General Council is the continuing body of

CDDRT Addresses:

Britain: 129 Newington Green Road, London N1

France: 7 Rue Leclerc 75014 Paris

Ireland: 9 Cavendish Row, Dublin 1

USA: Box 90. 924 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

CDDRT General Council

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.

Bedir AYDEMIR
John M BLOOM
Jeremy CORBYN, MP
Bill DEAL
Max HIRONS
Sandra HODGSON
Aif LOMAS, MEP
Aydn MERİÇ
Ernie ROBERTS, MP
Marion SARAFI
Faik SINKİLİ
Peter SPALDING
Tijen UĞURİŞ
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

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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
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Bob Clay MP
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Fire Brigades Union
GMWU Burnley Branch
GMWU 22 Bury Branch
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Leeds Trades Council
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Preston Trades Council
Rotherham Trades Council
Stockport Trades Council
Waltham Forest Trades Council
GFC Openshaw JSSC

Union of Turkish Workers
Beckenham CLP
Bermondsey CLP
Chelmsford CLP
Greenwich CLP
Hazelgrove CLP
High Peak CLP
Keighley CLP
Walkhamstow CLP
Wigan CLP
Labour Party Young Socialists
National Organisation of Labour Students
North Islington CLP Turkish Section
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)
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain
Turkish Students' Federation in the 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
P.U.K.-UK Branch
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Demokrat Norway
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Affiliate to the CDDRT

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

To the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey.

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

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A CRUCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Hard on the heels of the historic Resolution of the European Parliament, December saw an extremely important development both in relations between Western Europe and the present regime in Turkey and in the internal situation in Turkey.

News appeared in the media that the five European countries had withdrawn their case against Turkey before the European Commission for Human Rights in return for "certain commitments" by Turkey.

The case dated from July 1982 when five countries — the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and France reported Turkey to the Commission for numerous violations of the European Convention on Human Rights in the aftermath of the 12th September 1980 coup in Turkey.

Following mediation by the European Commission for Human Rights, the five countries announced that they had accepted the following undertakings by the Ankara regime:

1. A commitment that torture will not occur.
2. A pledge on the lifting of the military state of emergency in the remaining provinces.
3. A plan to take up in parliament the question of an amnesty for "groups affected by sanctions imposed by the earlier military government." (Taken from the *Financial Times*).

Western sources in Turkey are claiming that the undertakings mean the regime has agreed to work on an amnesty for political prisoners. The Ankara regime is also reported to be prepared to submit secret reports on human rights conditions in gaols and detention centres to the Human Rights Commission and three meetings with officials will be held in the first half of this year.

A note of warning

Of the five European countries, Sweden appears to have been the most reluctant to withdraw the case against Turkey's regime. The Swedish Foreign Ministry pointed out that the agreement did *not* mean that Turkey could be seen as a country "that fulfilled the demands for democratic rights contained in the European Charter". The French Foreign Ministry also indicated that action could be restarted if the regime failed to ease human rights restrictions.

The Turkish press have made additional claims about the

agreement which have not appeared in western press reports. The Turkish press are claiming there are, in effect, two agreements. One, the public undertakings, and the second, a secret "gentleman's agreement". It is claimed that this second agreement provides for wide-spread continuous monitoring of human rights, release of political prisoners and even relaxation of the notorious Articles 141-142 of the Mussolini-based Penal Code which outlaw most working class politics. Speculation is also rife as to the benefits the Ozal regime will receive in return — particularly in economic relations with the EEC.

The only road

Whatever the details of the deal, for those who really want to see democracy and human rights in Turkey one thing must be clear. These partial concessions — if honoured by the regime are important, but they do not amount to 'normality' and democracy in Turkey. Apart from other points, agreements whose clauses are vague or where real implementation relies on unwritten "gentleman's agreements" are difficult to enforce when dependant on a most "ungentlemanly" regime such as the odious gang in Ankara.

Looking at Turkey today we cannot call it a democracy. The political organisation of the working class remains a crime. The machinery which can lead to a reimposition of military terror (as witnessed after 1980) remains. The 9 million people of Kurdistan in Turkey are denied any national rights and are subjected to a regime of bloodshed. The Turkish trade union movement remains hamstrung by laws to an extent where the legal right of workers to combine for the purpose of defending or advancing wages, rights and conditions is virtually non-existent. A democracy in which people can participate and can control their own lives does not exist in Turkey. All aspects of life remain constricted by the lack of basic freedoms. Those who have committed murder, torture and trampled on every human right remain in control of the state.

Deals behind closed doors will not bring freedom to the people of Turkey. At best they can open a large crack in the facade of the regime. Only the people of Turkey themselves supported by all true friends of democracy around the world can break-down the whole edifice and reach the bright light of a genuine, popular democracy.

**TURKEY
NEWSLETTER**



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