

TURKEY NEWSLETTER



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BY-ELECTIONS IN TURKEY

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ANTI-STRIKE POLICE UNITS BANNED

The Turkish regime has implemented an additional law concerning strikes and lockouts. Called "Precautions to be taken during strikes and lockouts", this law provides for the setting-up of police 'Special Teams' by all local authorities and provincial governors to deal solely with strikes.

The tasks of the police special teams will be to record and film all strikes as well as control 'public order' during disputes. Not only that, but this law even stipulates that the teams will — at the request of the employers — be present during negotiations between trade unions and management and video the proceedings.

The law states that each local and provincial authority shall form a special bureau to handle strikes and lockouts and that if the situation becomes too much for the special police teams to cope with, the bureaux can call in para-military gendarmes and army commando units.

Turk-Is (Trade Union Confederation) President, Sevket Yilmaz said the law was a sign that "Turkey is fast becoming a police state."

The law shows clearly the regime's fear of the increasing role being played by Turkey's trade union movement in the struggle for democracy.

DAY OF DECISION

In December Turk-Is will hold a general congress which will be of crucial importance for the future of the trade union movement in Turkey.

Not only will policy for Turkey's organised workers be decided but elections will be held for the key post of Turk-Is President. There are three candidates in the field: Sevket Yilmaz the incumbent and, verbally at least, increasingly militant president, Cevdet Selvi, social democratic president of the vigorous Petrol-Is trade union (Petro-chemical workers) and the rabid right wing president of Turk-Metal (metal workers union).

Turk-Is under pressure from the great mass of workers in Turkey is increasingly taking a stand against the anti-democratic regime. Now workers are demanding that verbal opposition to the economic and political attack on the working class by the regime be converted into concrete action.

The Turk-Is congress will also provide a chance for the confederation to consolidate itself as the single trade union centre for most of the Turkish trade union movement and lay the basis for a united workers' struggle for their basic rights.

RIGHT TO ORGANISE DENIED

The use of Turkey's labour laws to try and prevent the emergence of strong unions was demonstrated recently at the Ereğli Iron and Steel Works near Zonguldak. The 8,000 workers at the plant do not yet know which union is to represent them in the annual pay round.

The active Otomobil-Is trade union represents the majority of the workers (51%) at the plant but their right to participate in negotiations is being challenged by the Labour Ministry.

So, while the matter drags through the regime's labour courts the 8,000 workers and their 40,000 dependents are denied a voice.

During the September by-elections, Turk-Is (the Turkish Trade Union Confederation) planned to stage massive demonstrations in at least four of the contested constituencies to highlight the struggle for "bread, peace and freedom". However, the local authorities in all constituencies banned any outdoor trade union demonstrations and would not hire any large building (such as a stadium) to the trade unions.

BLOOD MONEY

In recent collective bargaining agreements between employers and some of Turkey's major trade unions new rates of possible compensation for industrial injuries have been agreed.

In a country with one of the highest industrial accident levels in the world the agreements list 65 different work accidents for which compensation can be claimed but not necessarily granted.

The agreements which fully reflect the brutality of Turkey's bosses read as follows:

For losing
1 toe: 32p
4 toes: £1.38p
1 eye: £18
2 eyes: £30. (There is a discount for the loss of two of anything!)

A worker suffering full facial paralysis as a result of an accident can receive £7.42p as compensation! The loss of one arm or two ears is compensated for by about £2. For the loss of two legs a worker can receive the princely sum of £90 — about the equivalent of 2 months' earnings.

(All prices are shown in sterling to demonstrate just how low the compensation rates really are.)

SAME OLD STORY

Because of the still high rate of inflation plus severe restrictions on workers' bargaining rights the workers real wage continues to decline. According to Turk-Is the real minimum wage is now below what it was in 1963. On paper the average worker's wage rose from 24,302 TL per month in 1983 to 56,542 TL in 1986. But because of the rise in the cost of living and inflation the real wage has in fact fallen to 18,947 TL.

The cost of basic food was illustrated in *Hurriyet* at the end of September:

1 loaf of bread:	63 TL — 158 TL (148% increase)
1 kilo of meat:	833 TL — 1892 TL (135%)
1 kilo of fresh vegetables:	75 TL — 229 TL (206%)
olive oil:	320 TL — 1000 TL (212%)
lentils:	111 TL — 540 TL (383%)
salt:	66 TL — 202 TL (203%)
dry beans:	248 TL — 916 TL (269%)

Ozal's answer to a situation where average wages are so low that a worker cannot afford to eat and pay rent is: "If we raise average earnings people won't get jobs because there will be no money to open workplaces... Why raise wages when there is no demand for it".

SOUTH AFRICAN COAL

One criminal regime helps another. The Economic Policy Unit of Ankara City Council have decided to purchase 440 tonnes of South African coal this winter for use in domestic heating systems. The lame excuse by the authorities is that unlike Turkish coal, South African coal will "positively effect" Ankara's pollution problem.

One shipment of the coal has already arrived at the port of Iskenderun.

GEARING UP FOR WAR

The Turkish Defence Industry Project is designed to help speed-up the modernisation of the regime's 630,000-strong armed forces. It has a basic budget of 1 billion Turkish Liras. Out of 146 competing foreign firms, the project has chosen 4 to undertake preliminary studies for orders. These are:

Kraus Maffei (West Germany)
FMC (USA)
GKN (Britain)
Royal Ordnance (Britain)

AZIZ NESIN IN LONDON

Aziz Nesin, famous humorist writer in Turkey, President of the banned Turkish Writers' Union and defendant in post-1980 show trials visited London and spoke at a public meeting on 23rd September.

A large audience representing a wide cross-section of Turkish people in Britain heard Aziz Nesin outline his views on the present position of Turkey and democratic rights in that country.

This is his first visit abroad since the regime reluctantly returned his passport.



ACTIONS

Actions by banned left-wing organisations inside Turkey are increasing. Last month saw reports in the press of a banner being hung from a bridge in Istanbul commemorating the 66th anniversary of the banned Communist Party of Turkey. At the same time, Tercuman daily paper reported that an underground newspaper İscinin Sesi (Workers' Voice) was circulating with the headline "The giant workers' alternative is approaching."

MASSACRE

21 members of Turkey's Jewish community were killed in a terrorist attack on Istanbul's Neve Shalom Synagogue on 6th September.

The regime has cynically tried to use this tragedy and the widespread outrage felt about it against its own enemies. The Ankara regime has tried to link this attack with both the Kurdish guerrilla resistance to the Turkish army and the underground left. Most commentators however know that the massacre has more to do with Turkey's deteriorating relations with some of its Middle East neighbours notably Iran.

FASCISTS AGAINST WALLRAFF

Turkes, leader of the notorious Grey Wolves (the banned fascist Nationalist Action Party), is attempting to sue Gunter Wallraff, author of the best selling Ganz Unten (Right down at the bottom).

Wallraff's book which is a unique and powerful expose of the lives of Turkish workers in Germany also exposes the links between right-wing elements in Germany and Turkish fascists.

Turkes began his campaign against Wallraff in June by announcing at a meeting in Turkey that Wallraff's book was a tool for communists. He has also announced that he is going to try and sue Wallraff in the West German courts.

Wallraff replied to this attack, saying: "It seems that the Turkish edition of my book has caused panic among Turkes and his companions. I believe that they were incited by Strauss and his partisans (Christian Social Union), who have not succeeded in having me condemned in a case that they started."

"SEPARATISM"

Officials of the National Statistics Institute are being tried before the State Security Court on the charge of "separatism." They are held responsible for having introduced the Kurdish language among languages under the heading of "What languages do you speak?" on the forms which had been used during the 1980 and 1985 censuses. The state prosecutor accused them of listing "a dialect of the Turkish language" as a distinct language of itself. In Turkey, the authorities deny the existence of a Kurdish people or language.



PROTEST

Kurdish militants briefly occupied the offices of Iraqi airways in Paris in protest against Iraqi and Turkish attacks on Kurdistan. Many civilians died on the Iraqi border during Turkish air raids in the last month.

DEPRIVED OF TURKISH NATIONALITY

According to a study carried out by the ANKA press agency on government decrees published in the Official Journal, 11,698 Turkish nationals have been stripped of Turkish nationality since the 1980 coup.

Among them, 3,106 people have themselves asked for government permission to give-up their Turkish nationality so as to be naturalised in a foreign country.

As for the 8,592 others, they have been stripped of Turkish nationality on decision of the government after being charged by the military or judiciary authorities.

861 DOUBTFUL DEATHS IN 5 YEARS

The populist deputy Ibrahim Tasdemir (SHP) revealed that during the course of the five year period since the 1980 coup, the number of detainees' deaths in prison had risen to 861.

In response to this statement, the Ministry of Justice affirmed that 813 of them had died from natural causes, 13 from fighting among themselves, 33 from suicide and only two from ill-treatment in prison.

Taking account of the youth of most of the detainees, the affirmation of death through "natural causes" is evidently very far from justifying the large number of victims.

Furthermore, the weekly *Yeni Gundem*, in an issue devoted to prison conditions in Turkey, revealed the names of 14 detainees who died in prison under doubtful conditions. Among them, four died during a collective hunger strike by prisoners and the others died because of torture, ill-treatment or lack of medical care.

WOMEN LEAD GECEKONDU RESISTANCE

Attempts to demolish gecekondu (shanty town districts) from around several Turkish cities have led to fierce resistance in recent months.

Soaring rents and housing shortages in big urban centres mean that the majority of workers and unemployed migrants from the countryside live in the gecekondu areas. Many of the dwellings built by the inhabitants of these areas can not really be called shanties; most are of breeze block construction and can be two to three stories tall. Instead of trying to improve conditions in most gecekondu areas or providing cheap rent reasonable quality alternative housing, the authorities have begun a campaign of wholesale demolition. The reasons for this policy are primarily to release valuable land for profitable development by the speculator-friends of the regime. And to force the inhabitants into high rent slums or back into the countryside. Some local authorities are also demolishing gecekondu districts which may offend the eyes of tourists. In the western media articles praising the clean-up campaigns going on in some Turkish city centres concentrate on the one or two model housing schemes. The other side of the story — arbitrary bulldozing of peoples' homes, people being evicted by police and armed gendarmes — receives scant attention.

DEFIANCE

However many of the authorities' demolition campaigns have run into unexpectedly fierce resistance and in some cases have had to be reversed. The leading role in this resistance has been taken by women defending their and their children's homes. Barricades have sprung up in many areas, police and officials stoned and roads blocked by angry crowds.

BEATEN

On the 18.7, in Ankara, correspondents of the daily *Milliyet* and the UBA Press Agency were beaten by policemen when they photographed the case against six torturers in a tribunal.

FILM

On the 21.8., the Administration of Turkish Radio-Television forbade the showing of the film "Mission to Moscow" on television although it was announced in the programme. The motive: The exaggerated appreciation of the Soviet Union in the film. The spokesman of the administration declared that the projection of such a film would be against the foreign policy of the State.

VICTIMS

Although martial law has been lifted in several provinces in Turkey, thousands of people dismissed from the public services by order of the martial law authorities have still not been able to return to their posts.

Certain of them have succeeded in

SYMBOLS OF THE STATE

The gecekondu dwellers have shown great ingenuity in conducting their struggle. This has been shown by their use of the sacred symbols of the Turkish State as a form of protection. In the late 1960s demonstrating students and workers used to sing the national anthem or wave the state flag when about to be attacked by riot police or troops. As state servants officials are supposed to stand to attention when the national anthem is played or show respect for the flag, this used to give protesters a chance to escape! Now in the gecekondu the practice has been revived. This time women carry Turkish flags and portraits of Atatürk and "president" Evren into confrontations with the security forces thus causing confusion and hesitation amongst the authorities.



People are no longer prepared to watch their homes arbitrarily demolished for the benefit of speculators.

returning, but their loss of salary in the past has not been indemnized. Recently, the Supreme Court of Military Administration, after having studied a complaint lodged by a functionary who had been dismissed and returned to his post after the lifting of martial law, decided that he had no right to request an indemnity for the years during which he was not working.

According to the daily *Milliyet* of July 30, the number of teachers or university employees who were dismissed on order of martial law has risen to some three thousand.

According to the electoral law, these victims of martial law have also been refused the right to participate in elections.

PROTEST

In Sweden, 15 MPs from different political parties addressed a joint letter to Prime Minister Turgut Ozal and, protesting against the violation of human rights in Turkey, made the following requests to:

— Restore Turkish citizenship to

Turkish nationals who have been stripped of it,

- End capital punishment,
- End martial law and the state of emergency,
- Stop all political trials,
- Proclaim a general amnesty,
- Stop torture,
- Annul the anti-democratic articles of the Turkish Penal Code,
- Lift all restrictions on political and trade union rights.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: TORTURE CONTINUING

The Secretary General of Amnesty International, Thomas Hammarberg, indicated in an interview to the Turkish agency UBA that his organisation was not of the opinion that torture had ceased in Turkey. "Several revelations to tribunals show that torture is still continuing in Turkey. Perhaps certain allegations are not fair. But what is important is not the number of torture cases, but the existence of torture practices."



Gecekondu dwellers celebrate the capture of a bulldozer



People's anger grows



Women stone police



In the Faith district women use national flags and stones against the authorities.

RECENT RESISTANCE

Recent weeks have seen fierce struggles in the gecekondu areas of the Beylikbagi district of Gebze.

On the orders of the SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party) Mayor, bulldozers backed by police and gendarmes attempted to demolish the 1,300 dwellings in the district for some of which people have legal leases or freehold documents.

After 100 homes had been demolished large crowds blocked the streets. Women flung themselves in front of the bulldozers shouting "kill us too if you are going to pull down our homes". Large rocks were thrown at the police and the *Hurriyet* reporter described the scene as a "battlefield" with the authorities facing a human wall. During the confrontation a woman collapsed and while an ambulance was being brought in, a bulldozer broke through into the district via a back street. As the bulldozer began to demolish the two storey house of a worker who had returned from Germany crowds rushed to the scene and police and gendarmes withdrew under a hail of stones from adults in the streets and children on the roofs. The bulldozer was seized and the driver captured. 6 people were arrested by the police and many gendarmes were injured. After days of running battles the demolition attempt ground to a halt. Before disappearing to an unknown destination the mayor promised to continue the demolitions at a later date!

In Istanbul, gecekondu dwellers who had even erected a bust of Ataturk in front of houses threatened with demolition fought a fierce battle with police in mid September. According to reports the inhabitants of the district held a meeting and decided to stone the police. In a clash lasting two hours some police officers were wounded and five women arrested. The demolition attempt was called-off.



BRINGING THE VOTE IN -



The ruling Motherland Party has powerful means of persuasion!

BY-ELECTION SURPRISE

On 28th September nearly three million electors went to the polls in all constituencies in Turkey and produced a surprise result both for the regime and many commentators.

These by-elections were the first parliamentary elections to be held in Turkey under non-martial law conditions since the 1980 coup. Therefore, they were seen as the first real test of the relative electoral support of the ruling Motherland Party (ANAP) and the opposition parties. The Motherland Party came to power in 1983 in a general election in which only three, military sponsored parties were allowed to take part.

In the run-up to the by-elections ANAP was fairly confident of winning nine of the eleven seats and the Social Democratic Populist Party was also expected to do well. In the event however, the intervention of the supposedly banned pre-coup politicians proved decisive. The main results were: ANAP: 6 seats (32% of the vote), DYP (the Correct Way Party — backed by former Prime Minister Demirel): 4 seats (21% of the vote), SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party): 1 seat (22% of the vote), DSP (Democratic Left Party — backed by former Prime Minister Ecevit): 0 seats (8.4% of the vote), the other 8 parties 0 seats (14%).

THE PAST

We have pointed out in previous *Turkey Newsletters* that, despite the efforts first of the fascist junta then of the present regime, the pre-coup political alignments and the pre-coup politicians are re-emerging with new names in some cases but old policies. The reality of political struggle in Turkey is breaking down the bans and restrictions on political life imposed by the regime. Officially, Demirel, the former conservative Prime Minister and his Justice party are banned and he is not allowed to hold political office. The same applies to former Prime Minister Ecevit and his centre-left Republican Peoples Party. However, both were on the campaign trail in the recent by-elections campaigning openly for their proxies and the "new" parties that front for them. An

attempt to stop Ecevit backing a political party was even overturned in the courts.

Of the two, the wily and astute Demirel proved to be the cleverer and indeed emerged as the real winner of the by-elections. He was quick to recognise the weakening of the regime and rush forward as the real right wing alternative to ANAP at the same time calling for more democracy and less military interference in political life. Almost forgotten seems his role in the 1970s when he presided over governments which slaughtered workers and collaborated with Islamic fundamentalists and fascist terrorists. Now, the party which fronts for him — The Correct Way Party (DYP)—calls for an end to the unbridled free-market, monetarist policies of the present regime and poses as a champion of the small farmers and urban lower middle class who are being ruined by the present regime's policies. Demirel also strongly denounced west European political parties; including the British Conservative Party for associating with ANAP—"an artificial creation with a one-party state mentality".

While Demirel denounced the regime, Ecevit concentrated on attacking the main Social Democratic opposition party — the SHP. Ecevit has spent most of this year trying to build up his wife's small Democratic Left Party and exposing himself to indictments by the courts in order to make-up for his chronic lack of political courage after the 1980 coup. Not fully understanding the new situation in Turkey, Ecevit toured the country accusing the Social Democratic Populist Party of being "communist infiltrated" and at one point lectured the bewildered inhabitants of a small provincial town on why Marx was not relevant to modern Turkey. Explaining his party's attitude to big business Ecevit said the DSP "was not interested in beating-up the gardener, only in eating the grapes and dividing-up everything equally and lawfully"(!) Ecevit's unique view of democracy was revealed when replying to the question "do you think there is or is not democracy in Turkey?", he said: "...Yes there is democracy and no there is not democracy. If you see the way I am speaking then yes there is democracy. If you see the way my speeches are reported then no there is not".

Seen by the electorate as vote-splitters and even openly encouraged in some areas by the regime's officials, it is not surprising that Ecevit's DSP did so poorly in the elections.

INTIMIDATION

The by-elections were marked by shameless bribery and intimidation by the ruling Motherland Party. In all constituencies attempts by Turk-Is (Trade Union Confederation) to hold protest rallies protesting at the lack of democracy and the lack of bread were prevented.

In the village of Bingol, after waiting 20 years, the local authorities sent contractors in to repair a bridge.

BY-ELECTIONS

The following is a list of parties in the September by-elections. The smaller right-wing parties are "artificial" parties set up by the ruling parties to split each other.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC

SHP (Social Democratic Party) — led by Ercan Toprakçı and Erdal İnönü.
 DSP (Democratic Left Party) — led by former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's wife.

RIGHT WING:

ANAP (Motherland Party) — led by Prime Minister Turgut Özal.
 DYP (Correct Way Party) — led by Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan.
 RP (Welfare Party) — led by Necmettin Erbakan's Islamic fundamentalist party.
 MCP (Nationalist Labour Party) — led by banned fascist leader İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (the Grey Wolf).
 HDP (Free Democratic Party) — led by businessmen group, the Chambers of Trade.
 VAP (Citizens Party) — led by Yazar.
 IDP (Reformist Democratic Party) — led by a grouping.
 BVP (Party of the Great Motherland) — led by a right wing group.
 BAP (Party of Great Motherland) — led by a group.
 BP (Flag Party) — led by a group.

When the villagers told them to come here for votes do not have the intention of voting for them. The repairs were immediately started.
 467 miners have sent a letter to the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources that they had been transferred to other constituencies because they had voted against the ruling party.



BY-ELECTIONS IN TURKEY

ON LINE-UP

of the parties which took part in the by-elections. Several of the parties were little more than fronts for the main right wing party's vote.

KEY FIGURES:

Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) led by Turgut Ozal (Prime Minister), supported by former Prime Minister Ecevit, led by his

Demirel Party (the ruling party, led by Turgut Ozal).

Democratic Left Party (DSP) supported by former Prime Minister Demirel.

Workers' Party (ISHP) based on the banned Communist National Salvation

Labour Party (ISHP) based on the Communist National Action Party (ISHP).

Democratic Party (ISHP) supported by the Workers' Party, led by former Trade and Industry Minister

Democratic Party (ISHP) a breakaway from ANAP, led by former Democracy Party) an Islamic

Great Fatherland Party (ISHP) tiny right wing

Party (ISHP) Anatolia) tiny right wing

Party (ISHP) tiny right wing group.

contractors "if you have a problem don't bother" they had no problem with the Motherland Party, the party was stopped.

a letter of protest to the Ministry of Natural Resources saying that they were known to have been barred from mines in one of the regions they were known to have been barred from in the council

elections. They had been sent to the remote district of Soma and they added "political oppression is still continuing in Soma".

Economic aid has been openly used by the regime to get votes. Those areas where ANAP were expected to do well have been turned into construction sites with road, hospital and other projects. On the other hand areas with strong opposition support have been starved of all aid.

In the tiny rural town of Yerice, Ozal told a rally "I am going to make Yerice into a city... my word is my word. Start building your city hall". He was not quite so generous in Karabuk where he was confronted by angry crowds of workers waving banners and shouting that they were hungry and had no wages.

DISAPPOINTMENT

The by-elections have been a great disappointment for the Social Democratic Populist Party. They only achieved one seat (Izmir). Their percentage of the vote was down compared to last year's local council elections. The reason was not just the splitting activities of Ecevit's DSP (which cost SHP the mining constituency of Zonguldak) but popular dissatisfaction with their generally weak opposition to the regime, especially SHP Inonu's wimpish politics. The SHP has also failed to build an effective electoral machine and did not conduct a vigorous campaign. The majority of the people of Turkey — especially the working people — are far from naive and are well aware of the limited nature of the 'democracy' permitted by the regime in Turkey.

There is no real correlation between elections which take place in the context of harsh laws which forbid "separatist" or "class politics" in many cases on pain of death and the views of the working people.

RESULT

The main result of these by-elections has been to illustrate the failure of the regime to maintain support in society and the fact that even in relatively conservative areas some 68% of the voters demand more democracy.

Calls are already growing for an early general election. In the coming months the level both of 'legal' and underground political activity is bound



Prime Minister Ozal and opposition Social Democratic leader Inonu. Behind them the watchful eyes of the military.

to increase. The post-1980 attempt to build a structure in Turkey, whereby the curtailment of the rights of the working people would go hand in hand with a 'limited democracy' which to the outside world at least would appear stable, is crumbling.

Some have called these elections a defeat for the left, but the left was not on the ballot papers. Any party advocating "class politics", seriously criticising the foreign policy of the state, advocating rights for nationalities other than Turkish, or advocating fundamental changes in the social structure is illegal. We had the spectacle of former Prime Minister Ecevit and his DSP who like to consider themselves "left" indulging in "red baiting" and advocating the "rights" of Islamic fundamentalists — such as the "right" of women to wear the veil. The main Social Democratic Populist Party did not challenge the basic "values" of successive regimes in Turkey. The SHP did *not* advocate the right to self-determination for the 10 million Kurds in Turkey, they did *not* call for the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus, or for real changes in Turkey's anti-working class penal and labour codes. All parties maintained the traditional sycophantic attitude towards the army.

Voters knew that these elections could not bring down the Ozal government no matter what the result. There were massive abstentions in the elections even though it is illegal in Turkey not to vote. Fines for failing to vote come to some 3.5 billion TL. In Istanbul in particular people stayed away from the polls in droves.

'Banned' politicians Ecevit and Demirel draw big crowds. Today they pose as real democrats; yesterday they paved the way for the 1980 military coup.



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The prominent West German and international social democrat, Willi Brandt is to visit Turkey on a mission from the Socialist International.

The aim of the mission seems to be to try and bring the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) and the Democratic Left Party (DSP) together, with the aim of bringing about the affiliation of all Turkey's social democrats to the Socialist International.

FROM THE PRESS

"PROBLEMS"

There is still no solution as yet to the problems in Turkey-US relations caused by the Ozal regime's demand for an even higher level of aid than it gets at the moment from the United States.

The Turkish regime has its own expansionist ambitions in the region which do not always coincide with the interests of the US. In addition, though the Reagan administration has given the anti-democratic regime total support, the regime expects bigger rewards for acting as a US gendarme in the region.

The article below by Loren Jenkins which appeared in the Herald Tribune on 7th October also reveals Turkey's role in US nuclear strategy.

ANKARA: Prime Minister Turgut Ozal has expressed unhappiness at what he called the lack of serious aid offers for renewing the accord on American use of major nuclear-staging and intelligence-gathering facilities in his nation.

"I think it is very clear that promises given by the U.S. administration are just promises, not commitments," Mr Ozal said in an interview Friday. "Maybe we don't show our unhappiness like others show it, but it is there."

Mr Ozal spoke as his foreign minister, Vahit Halefoglou, held an apparently unfruitful 35-minute meeting with Secretary of State George P. Shultz in New York about the deadlock over the renewal of the five-

year U.S.-Turkish Defense and Economic Agreement.

The agreement technically expired in December, but automatically renews itself for a year at a time unless one side gives notice that it will cancel. Turkey has not threatened to cancel, as neighbouring Greece has with its agreement with the United States, but has asked for terms to be renegotiated.

The agreement, signed in 1980, provides for U.S. use of Turkish military facilities in exchange for U.S. military and economic aid. Turkey, a nation of 51 million people anchors the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's vulnerable eastern flank.

The accord allows the United States to maintain a strike force of several squadrons of air force F-16 fighter-bombers on the northern rim of the Middle East as well as to operate intelligence facilities that monitor communications, missile launches and nuclear tests in the Soviet Union.

While U.S. officials declined to speak about the subject, high-level Turkish officials maintained that the agreement also provides for the maintenance of U.S. nuclear-arms stockpiles, which they said include "actual planes with bombs waiting to fly in case of war."

Mr. Ozal and other Turkish officials indicated they believed they were providing the United States with much more than Washington was paying for.

Turkish officials said they want a commitment of much greater U.S. aid to help modernize the 630,000-member

Turkish armed forces, NATO's second-largest standing army.

With the Turkish Army still using World War II M-48 tanks and the air force flying many Korean War-era jets, even U.S. officials agree in principle that the Turkish armed forces need about \$1.25 billion over the next 10 years to modernize.

Mr Ozal said that the United States has not tried to meet these basic military needs and has decreased aid to Turkey in the last three years. Nor is he appeased by a Reagan administration appropriation for \$974 million for fiscal 1987 because, he said, the administration has shown no inclination to fight in Congress for the outlay.

The White House, he said, has failed to request the amount of money that Turkey wants, and those requests have been slashed each year by Congress, acting under pressure of the Greek lobby.

While U.S. officials at the embassy in Ankara will not speak about the issue on the record, they have indicated in the past that the Turks have an unrealistic view of what the administration can do in seeking to provide aid.

"I know the problem of American politics" Mr Ozal said when confronted with that explanation. "But I know another thing, too: that an administration like President Reagan's is a strong one and that it can get what it wants most times if it wants to work for it."

TENSION IN TURKISH-IRAN RELATIONS

Following Turkish air and ground attacks against Kurdish areas of Iraq relations with the Iranian regime have become strained.

Up until now Turkey has profited from the Gulf war. Both countries have to use Turkey as a major middleman in their trade. Iran and Iraq use Turkey to export their oil. However the Ozal regime's desire to crush the struggle of the Kurdish people for freedom, and to safeguard north Iraq as its sphere of influence has put it on the road of confrontation with any attempt by Iran to advance into the Kirkuk-Mosul oil producing area in Iraq.

The regime in a note informed Iran that Turkish military operations in Iraq "did not concern any third country". This was followed by the Iranian decision to forbid any foreign trucks to move goods in Iran. The result of this decision was to hold up 2,000 Turkish trucks on the Iranian border on 2nd October, while their loads were transferred to Iranian vehicles. If this measure is continued it will damage Turkey's

powerful road transport industry. More than 200,000 Turkish trucks deliver goods to Iran each year.

MILITARY MANOEUVRES

The Thrace and Black Sea regions of Turkey witnessed massive NATO and Turkish army manoeuvres in September and October.

12,000 soldiers from Italy, the USA and Turkey took part in the "Determination-86" exercise with the emphasis on amphibious landings.

At the same time — and near the Greek and Bulgarian borders — the Turkish Army carried out the "Mehmetcik-86" manoeuvres.





Is "Turkish-style democracy" suitable in the EEC?

REGIME FAILS TO GET ITS WAY WITH THE EEC

Greece managed successfully to block attempts to restore full EEC relations with Turkey.

In the first formal meeting between Foreign Ministers from the Community and Turkey since the 1980 coup Athens maintained its veto on any in-depth talks on particular issues such as trade, access of migrant workers and Turkey's intention to apply for EEC membership.

The Turkish regime's Foreign Minister Halefoglu still welcomed the talks as marking the "beginning of closer co-operation which is going to lead us to full integration". British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe also claimed the meeting had given "the green light" to normalisation. Howe is chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers but because of Greek objections he had to speak to the Ankara regime representative only in his capacity rather than on behalf of the 12 member states.

The Greek representatives rightly pointed out that the Turkish regime has still failed to make sufficient progress in implementing democracy and human rights. He also rejected Halefoglu's incredible claims that there was no torture or political prisoners in Turkey. In these conditions the EEC has no mandate to give Turkey the promised 600 million ECU (£414m) in financial aid.

The Turkish regime's keenness to press ahead with becoming a full member of the EEC is not shared by all the countries in the Community. Despite public reassuring statements, many countries know that Turkey is not yet economically or politically stable enough to risk integrating it fully in Europe.

However it is now clear that apart from one or two exceptions most European governments are prepared to ignore the Ankara regime's appalling record on democracy and human rights and press ahead with 'normalisation'. The interests of gaining a greater share of the Turkish market mean many governments are not demanding the required price in terms of human rights improvements from the Ozal regime in return for normalising Turkish-EEC relations.

CALLOUS BETRAYAL

On the 23rd September leader of the British Labour Party group in the European Parliament Alf Lomas challenged a Tory MEP over his links with the repressive regime in Turkey.

Mr Lomas stepped in after Bristol Tory Richard Cottrell told a Turkish newspaper that Greece was undermining Turkey's hopes of joining the Common Market.

The newspaper — *Newspot* published by the regime in Ankara — reported Mr Cottrell as saying that Greece was making

unfounded allegations that the Turkish regime was brutal.

Alf Lomas said: "Mr Cottrell's whitewash of Turkey's harsh government is a callous betrayal of all those who have suffered in the struggle to bring full democracy to that beleaguered country.

I hope he would not have the political gall to repeat such a statement to any newspaper outside Turkey.

I have today written to Mr Cottrell — who I have noticed has for some time taken a pro-Turkey stance and this year had a holiday in the country — challenging him to justify his outrageous statement and to publish full details of his links with the Turkish authorities.

I have also referred him to Amnesty International's report detailing the extent of torture and repression in Turkey."

TENSION IN CYPRUS

Greece has accused the Ozal regime of increasing the number of Turkish troops occupying North Cyprus by 9,000 men, bringing the total up to 35,000 troops. The regime has denied this. But it is consistent with recent aggressive statements by Ozal and his military commanders about an alleged "threat" from the rest of Cyprus.

Economic changes in North Cyprus which are being implemented on the orders of the regime in Ankara are aimed at making the North more attractive to foreign investment.

Already the coalition administration in North Cyprus has broken-up over implementing this plan. According to North Cypriot 'Prime Minister' Eroglu, the objective is an economic model which will be attractive to would-be investors and will promote the development of tourism, offshore banking, and general business activity.

Among the measures now envisaged are new exchange laws, which will facilitate the free circulation of US dollars, sterling and West Germany marks.

To make North Cyprus more attractive to foreign capital, Turkey is funding the building of a new international port there and two airports.

RECOGNITION

Despite a propaganda offensive by the Turkish regime, no government in the world — except Turkey — has recognised the 'independent' government of North Cyprus. However, one disturbing development has come to light thanks to persistent questioning of British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe by Labour Euro MPs Alf Lomas and Stan Newens. That is, the establishment of a UK government 'information office' in North Cyprus. While Sir Geoffrey Howe went to great lengths to emphasise that such an office did not constitute recognition of the northern administration by the UK, it is seen by many as the beginning of 'backdoor recognition'.



BRITAIN:

LABOUR PARTY FRINGE

The CDDRT held a fringe meeting at the annual Labour Party Conference in Blackpool on October 1st. The meeting was chaired by Ernie Roberts MP and included a showing of a video of Turk-Is (trade union confederation) demonstrations in Turkey.

The audience heard Richard Balfe MEP outline the need to continue the struggle for a full democracy in Turkey. He pointed out that the recent by-elections do not constitute a return to democracy: "Many violations of human rights are still practised today and in particular the lack of rights of trade unionists to organise and the extremely oppressive Labour laws which are enforced."

Richard Balfe went on to inform the audience that: "I am told on quite good authority that Turkey on the 1st December will lodge its application to join the EEC... The beginning of a long process of negotiation..." That while there have been some changes in Turkey "we must make clear that there can be no accession to the EEC until the fundamental democratic principles which all other EEC countries are required to follow are accepted in Turkey." These are basically "Firstly, free trade unions, secondly, legalisation of all political parties, thirdly, withdrawal of the Turkish army presence from North Cyprus as a precondition... There must be an acceptance by the Turkish authorities that torture and other abuses of human rights have got to stop."

Richard Balfe emphasised that himself and his colleagues in Europe were not enemies of the Turkish people but rather working to defend the basic rights of the people of Turkey.

Adnan Bucak, Chair of Islington Labour Party Turkish Section outlined the CDDRT's position on recent developments in Turkey, particularly the rising trade union struggle which was a result of massive pressure by rank and file trade unionists on the Turk-Is leadership. He emphasised that despite changes in the situation in Turkey only the struggle of the working people can end the current anti-democratic and reactionary regime and bring a full democracy.

Carole Tongue MEP called for the issue of Turkey to be kept on the agenda and brought fraternal greetings from the Socialist Group and others in the European Parliament. She outlined the vigorous struggle that has been conducted in the European Parliament to expose the situation in Turkey and prevent aid to the regime until there is a full restoration of human and democratic rights.

Carole Tongue said "inconceivable is the only word to describe any agreement or discussion even of Turkey's membership of the EEC as long as violations of human rights continue and legitimate political forces — particularly those on the left — are totally excluded from the political process."

"All we can pledge is that we will continue to do all we can to expose governments in Europe — particularly in the EEC who continue to make overtures to the present Turkish regime... which so brutally suppresses the majority of the Turkish people."

Carole Tongue also spoke about the dangers to political refugees in Europe and how heartened she was to see so many women participating in demonstrations in Turkey and the need to highlight the oppression of women in that country.

The final speaker was Jeremy Corbyn MP who spoke of the wall of silence by the British media in relation to Turkey and praised the work of the CDDRT in publicising the real situation. He spoke of the fact that there are now more political prisoners in Turkey than in any other European country. He explained that the reason why European governments acquiesced in the situation in Turkey was that country's role as a NATO member with bases capable of housing nuclear weapons. He summed up the attitude of these governments as: "They (the Turkish regime) can do what the damn they like in Turkey provided the bases exist there".

Jeremy Corbyn condemned the regime's colonial aggression against the people of Kurdistan and the fact that the weapons being used against the Kurdish people were supplied by Britain, the USA and other countries. He also pointed out that "the presence of the Turkish army in Cyprus has nothing to do with protecting the rights of the Turkish Cypriot people. But it has a lot to do with the maintenance of US bases in Cyprus for use against the Middle East." ... We must "call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus."

He spoke of the plight of Turkish migrant workers particularly in Britain under constant threat of deportation.

Jeremy Corbyn rounded off by calling for a campaign for a foreign policy in the interests of the working people of Britain, Turkey and elsewhere.

FRANCE:

FESTIVAL

"Even better than last year" is the verdict on the participation of the Comité de Défense des Droits Démocratiques en Turquie (CDDDT) in the September *Humanite* festival in Paris. The CDDDT had a big stand where for two days large numbers of people stopped to buy publications, cassettes of Turkish music and Turkish food. Over 1,000 signatures were collected for a petition calling for an immediate end to



CDDDT stand attracted great attention at the Fete Humanite

torture, the death penalty, for the liberation of all political prisoners, an end to laws restricting trade union and political freedom and punishment for tortures and doctors who have assisted in torture. An interestingly feature was that almost 50% of the people buying the magazine of the CDDDT had been to Turkey on holiday in the last two years.

During the two-day festival, the CDDDT made many new members and also many people took out subscriptions to their magazine.

USA:

STUDY GROUPS

The Chicago CDDRT have begun their activities for the fall and winter. The emphasis this year is on both increasing membership of the CDDRT and awareness of the real situation in Turkey. To this end the CDDRT are holding a series of Study Groups on various aspects of the situation in Turkey.

The programme is as follows:

- November 2nd: The Kurds and the National Question
- November 16th: Women in Turkish Society
- November 30th: The Problem of Cyprus
- December 14th: Conclusion — update on the current situation

All meetings will take place on Sundays at 1pm at the NEW WORLD RESOURCE CENTER, 1476 W. Irving Park, Chicago. For further information call Chicago 327-8941 or 784 5790.

WEST GERMANY:

MEETING

In Frankfurt on the 18th October the IVDRT (CDDRT) in Germany held their first public meeting entitled 'Which way for Turkey?'

The audience watched a video of the Turk-Is demonstrations in Turkey and participated in a lively round-table discussion. There was also an exhibition of photographs showing the rising struggle for democracy in Turkey.

Apart from local Turkish community speakers representatives from the British, French and Swiss CDDRT's took part.

The IVDRT has resolved to expand its work. The first result of this is to be the more regular production of the committee's newsletter *Blickpunkt Turkei*.

CDDRT Briefing Papers:

No. 1 Trade Union Rights in Turkey

No. 2 Women in Turkey

No. 3 Turkey and the European Community

All available 20p each p+p

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 of 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 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-option.

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 Addresses

- BRITAIN 129 Newington Green Rd. London N1 4RD
- FRANCE 7 Rue Leclerc, 75014 Paris
- IRELAND: 9 Cavendish Row, Dublin 1
Box 90, 924 W
- USA: Belmont Ave., Chicago, ILL 60657
c/o Internationaler
- WEST JUGENDVEREIN, Germaniastr. 89
GERMANY 6000 Frankfurt am Main 60

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 £

Name

Address

Date of Affiliation

*Delete as applicable. Includes subscription to **TURKEY NEWSLETTER**

Return to the appropriate CDDRT addresses.

Subscribe to TURKEY NEWSLETTER

Subscription rates are: Britain & Ireland £3.00pa
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Rest of World £7.00pa

Bulk rates per issue: 50 — £5.00, 100 — £8.50
200 — £15.50, 400 — £28.
All inclusive of postage.

I wish to subscribe to *Turkey Newsletter* for one year and enclose a cheque/PO for £

Name

Address

Subscription to commence on

Return to the CDDRT, 129 Newington Green Road, London N1. Tel: 01-226 2668.

CDDRT NEWS



CDDRT took part in a picket of the Iranian Embassy in London organised by the Supporters of the Organisation of Iranian People's Fedaiian. The picket was in protest at the criminal policies of the Khomeini regime.

RALLY FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY

- * Yılmaz Güney's film THE HERD
- * Speakers and discussion
- * Turkish music and dance
- * Videos of workers' actions in Turkey
- * Literature and food stalls
- * Photo exhibition

**Beginning 2pm, SUNDAY,
16th NOVEMBER**

**RIO CINEMA
107 Kingsland High St
London E8**

Tickets: £3 waged, £1.50 unwaged. Available from CDDRT or on the door.

BOOK REVIEWS

ZEYNEP – THAT REALLY HAPPENED TO ME

by Elizabeth Davies

Written by her teacher Brian Simons and herself, *Zeynep – 'That Really Happened To Me'* recounts the events and feelings Zeynep Hasbudak experiences when her family are to be deported by the Home Office.

Mr and Mrs Hasbudak had lived and worked in Britain for ten years. Both Zeynep and her brother were born in London. Zeynep attended the William Patten School in Hackney.

The book is an illustrated journal with photographs and pictures of the development of an immense campaign against the deportation. It shows the solidarity of the local community around the Hasbudaks; and the dedication of teachers and friends and hundreds of groups and individuals in their commitment to stand for humanitarianism in the face of the Home Office's total disregard for the human rights of workers and their children.

At the same time *Zeynep – 'That Really Happened To Me'* — is a moving account of this small girl's understanding of her situation. Through Zeynep's eyes we are shown the fear and insecurity created when threatened with losing home and friends.

Zeynep's feelings speak for themselves when she says "Deportation means you have to go away from this country and you can't come back. But why did they do it to us, and we never did anything wrong."

The book brings to life Zeynep's feelings and captures the spirit of a campaign that fought a tremendous fight against a monstrous injustice.

Zeynep – 'That Really Happened To Me'
**available from ALTARF, Panther House, Room 216,
38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AP. Price £2.50**

**TURKEY
NEWSLETTER**



129 Newington Green Road,
London N1, England