TURKEY NEWSLETTER

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



Issue 27

October 1982



LP C nf rence

Meeting

see back for details

Fascists' M netarism Failing

Before the 12 September 1980 fascist coup in Turkey, prominent financial periodicals were asking questions about Turkey like, "Will Turkey return from the threshold?", "Is Turkey breaking with the West?". After the coup the position of Turkey became more stable and trustworthy for the West. The BBC advised Western powers on the eve of the coup. "There is no need to shed crocodile tears over the coup. Instead, sleep soundly and feel relieved." — relieved that Turkey might "return from the threshold".

When the IMF approved the January 1980 economic stringency policy there was quietness and content in the West. This economic policy became applicable to the full under the open fascist dictatorship after 12 September 1980. But now the external imperialist powers are alarmed again — this time at the new economic policy which Turkey is to adopt. Once again there are doubts about whether Turkey will be able to remain with the West: Is this new policy the reflection of a reality that Turkey's economy cannot even 'pick up' under open dictatorship?

In order to get credit from the IMF, Turkish governments in the past have sent many 'letters of good intent' to the IMF, together with a great deal of information about economic policy. Now the Turkish junta is trying to satisfy the IMF's doubts about its new policy by stating that it will not change the January 1980 decisions in their main principles, but that it will bring in new "precautionary" measures." This year's letter of good intent aims to get a further \$120 million of credit

The change in economic policy is of very great significance. It shows that the junta is not coping with the economy. The resignation of Turgut Özal, economics supremo of the junta, is an important event as his name was equated with a particular economic policy. Turgut Özal consistently applied the formula of finance capital's "general interest": on the one hand to suppress the working class and the working people, and on the other hand to encourage the big to swallow the small.

Though Özal says "the run on the banks made my policy topsy turvy," in reality this was not the case. The run on the banks is of a piece with Özal's applied economic policy, including the bankruptcy of Banker Kastelli. Banker Kastelli's collapse was a direct consequence of this policy: nothing more or less. This policy incited competition within finance capital itself.

After the Banker Kastelli collapse, Özal refused to give state support for the debentures (securities). It was the most logical thing to do from the angle of the "general interest" he was representing. On the other hand Evren gave orders "to find a solution about the debentures." Evren did not do this because he did not know the "general interest" or was softhearted. He saw continuous bank bankruptcies behind the enormous Banker Kastelli collapse; and that worthless debentures would be left behind in the hands of hundreds of thousands of individuals, and this was going to be dangerous.

The economic policy which was going to pose finance capital's "general interest" in a very sharp way started to turn back. The economic base on which the fascist junta rests is far weaker than they pretend; it has little room for maneouvre. After the Banker Kastelli collapse, the Turkish Central Bank issued 52 billion Turkish Lira (TL). With a tight monetary policy, to take this money from the market will take months, even years. The results of the application of the former policy from 1980 onwards have disappeared within two weeks!

We must consider that the Özal resignation is a turning point in beginning important changes. For that reason the IMF and other imperialist organs were worried by Özal's resignation. Not out of any deep love towards him but in seeing that the policy which he personified was not applicable in Turkey.

From LABOUR'S PROGRAMME 1982

Turkey

Since General Evren seized power in September 1980, the country has been ruled by a military junta, which has outlawed political parties and trade unions and which shows every sign of remaining in power for some time to come.

While the labour movement in Britain and Europe has shown conside-

rable solidarity with the Turkish people, European governments have been noticeably reluctant to criticise Turkey's appalling human rights record. We deplore the present Tory government's support for Evren.

We will maintain and strengthen our links with our fraternal party, the Republican People's Party, and with representatives of the eight million strong persecuted Kurdish population in Turkey. A future Labour government will not grant economic or military assistance to the Evren dictatorship and will treat sympathetically requests from Turkish and other middle eastern nationals under threat of repression to remain in Britain.

The Kurds

Fifteen million Kurdish people are fighting for national self-determination against the governments of a variety of

countries whose territories they inhabit, including Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. They are deprived of the most elementary rights, suffer persecution and the suppression of their culture and language. We support the Kurdish people in their struggle to overcome the divisions imposed upon them and to achieve an authentic political expression of Kurdish identity...

Defence

...A future Labour government will press for suspension from NATO of any dictatorship...

... World peace and arms control could be helped by Britain limiting her arms sales abroad and banning the supply of arms to repressive regimes such as South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, Argentina and Turkey. All arms sales should be referred to the relevant minister for decision.

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Socialist Lawyers' Demands

The Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers, which is affiliated to CDDRT, passed the following resolution at its AGM this year.

The Haldane Society condemns the British government's continued support for the military junta in Turkey, which seeks the elimination of political parties and active trade unionism from the Turkish state by the imposition of death penalties and lengthy terms of imprisonment. We call on the U.K. government to join other European governments in referring Turkey to the European Commission on Human Rights for multiple violations of the European Convention.

The Turkish junta have compounded their victimisation of trade unionists by persecuting and imprisoning defence lawyers, including the President of the Istanbul Bar; defence lawyers were one of the few independent voices supporting human rights in Turkey, but they, like the press, have now been silenced.

LP CONDEMNS CONSTITUTION

Labour's International Committee passed the following resolution on 14 September 1982.

The Labour Party is deeply concerned by the draft constitution drawn up by the Turkish military regime. The constitution will entrench the power of the military by making them the ultimate decision makers, over and above the elected administration. Freedom of speech and expression are severely curtailed, trade union rights are denied to the majority of the workforce and all laws and decrees enacted by the military dictatorship would be codified and legitimised by the constitution.

A 'strong state' would be established with unchecked powers in many areas, rendering impossible a pluralistic democracy.

We call on the Government to put pressure on the Turkish authorities through the United Nations, Council of Europe, NATO and the EEC to allow the liberalisation of the political climate in Turkey to allow proper discussion of the constitution leading to a genuine referendum. This would require the lifting of the ban on all political parties, trade unions, and other public bodies not involved in violence, the release of all political prisoners and trade unionists not involved in violence and the reinstatement of the rights of association, freedom of speech and the ending of censorship — as banned by decree 52. On the failure to carry out democratisation as requested, the NEC urges that the UK Government demand Turkey's suspension from NATO.

C ngr ss President Attacks Junta

On 8 September CDDRT held its firstever TUC Congress fringe meeting. All present agreed that this wellattended meeting was most effective.

John Bowden chaired and introduced the proceedings thus: "The one thing that they are not doing in Turkey is holding a trade union Congress. That is because trade unions in Turkey cannot have any opportunity for acting as we expect trade unions to act here no opportunity at all. This, of course, is since the coup carried out by the generals on 12 September 1980 when they took over in order, as they said, 'to restore democracy and to end terrorism in Turkey'... they have not restored democracy, the terrorism continues and increases day by day...

"In CDDRT we decided that it was most appropriate that with the trade union movement in Turkey banned and unable to operate, that we should hold a meeting here at Brighton at the time of the Congress in order to strike the contrast between the two situations: the situation in Turkey and the situation in Britain..."

Both Albert Spanswick, General Secretary of COHSE, and Bill Deal, President of FBU, sent their apologies for being unable to attend the meeting.

After Doug Hoyle MP, Vice-President of ASTMS (whose speech appears on p.5), the meeting was addressed by the



President of Congress, Alan Sapper, who said:

"Turkey is an Associate Member of the Common Market, a full member of NATO, and allowed an unlawful occupation of Cyprus all these years without one finger being raised. But it has got to be understood that you cannot deal with Turkey without dealing with the major basic disease, that causes the corruption of Turkish politics by fascist oppression...

"Without outside support — not just of NATO in a military sense — but monetary and economic support from the IMF, and from the World Bank, the junta in Turkey would disappear...

"The TUC is committed to support the DISK leadership on trial. The TUC is committed to support the trade union movement in Turkey, particularly understanding the terrible, murderous torturing oppression it is undergoing at the moment. And indeed on record the TUC is committed to free Cyprus from Turkish domination.

"However, to apply these principal policy decisions of the TUC needs great pressure from the unions affiliated to the TUC.

"It us no longer just the Americans, it is an international military and political axis with Margaret Thatcher being an integral part of that axis, and her friends and allies...

"Turkish improverished workers have been exported, and rejected, through the major countries of Western Europe... now the actual manufacturing licences are being almost given to the Turkish junta to manufacture some of the items that have been evacuated from our closed-down factories in Britain.

"So there is a very real economic concern, even if you do not think in political and international terms but you think in job terms. ... Andthat is the concern of TUC-affiliated unions, as well as the basic political and economic factors I have referred too.

Congress President Attacks Junta

"Finally, can I wish our Turkish friends every solidarity and friendship. We will continue to work on your behalf because it is on our behalf as well. We are part of the same economic and political package as Turkish workers are in, and we understand that. I welcome this opportunity of addressing you."

Faik Sinkil, of the DİSK Solidarity Committee in Britain, then spoke.

"In 1977 during the Turkish metal-workers' strike, nobody can forget the solidarity shown by the British working class and trade union movement. The internationalist values that the British trade union movement has produced... are exactly the very things the fascist junta is attacking in Turkey today. It is not simply an attack, it is an arrest of our working class' development...

"For a working class family to live normally it would have to have a monthly income of at least 50,000 Turkish Lira (TL) (£200). The fascist junta forces workers to accept a monthly wage of 7,200 TL (£29). It gives no pensions or retirement schemes. It has abolished collective bargaining altogether.

"Apart from all this, at least 2000 leaders of the working class are now imprisoned. 52 of these are being tried and the death sentence demanded. The TUC must continue to fight for the release of the 52 DISK leaders. It should demand the return of democratic and economic rights of the working class that have been suspended.

"The second concrete point on which solidarity should be shown with the

Turkish working class is on the issue of the Constitution. (You can find a detailed analysis and description of the new proposed Constitution in the September Turkey Newsletter of the CDDRT.) It is the introduction of constitutional fascism... Now there is only one remaining alternative for the working class in Turkey; and that is the true democracy of the working class itself. The Constitition which is now being proposed is exactly to prevent this.

"The TUC should strongly protest against this proposed Constitution, just as the working class of Turkey will not remain silent on the issue of the Constitution. The solidarity which we show with the working class today will mean much more in the days to come. It is going to have an enormous, monumental effect on the struggle of the working class."

TUC Protests DISK Trial

From the TUC Annual Report accepted by the 1982 Congress

... With other national centres in the ICFTU and ETUC the TUC has protested about the trial of fifty-two leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK) on charges — carrying the death sentence — that they sought to overthrow the existing order in Turkey. The ILO Governing Body concluded that the charges were based entirely on the exercise of normal trade union responsibilities, expressed the hope that death sentences would not be passed, and called for the immediate lifting of restrictions on collective bargaining and the right to strike.

The General Council asked the British Government in December to make representations to the military regime on behalf of the DİSK leaders and 2,000 other trade unionists in prison, and to act with other governments in suspending relations with the regime and to associate Britain with a complaint to the European Commission for Human Rights which some other Western European govenments were contemplating. The General Council also drew the attention of the Government to the withholding of European Community aid from Turkey because of its infringements of human rights and asked that the restoration of aid should be linked with a return to trade union freedoms. The General Council also asked that the British Embassy in Turkey should have an observer at the trials.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary replied that the Government shared the concern of the General Council at the situation in Turkey and was watching the situation closely but would not intervene while the DİSK trials were in progress. He expressed the view that the Turkish authorities would honour their commitment to restore democratic institutions. The General Council wrote again in January informing the Government of reports from trade union lawyers, who were attending the trials by arrangement with the ICFTU and ETUC, that the rights of the defendants to legal representation were being flagrantly abused. Lord Carrington expressed the view that isolation of the Turkish regime would not be as effective in promoting respect for

human and trade union rights as continuing contact and persuasion but he did agree that a British consular official should attend parts of the trials.

In July it was reported that the Dutch Government had made a complaint to the European Commission for Human Rights against Turkey, alleging repression and torture, and that four other Western European governments would support the complaint. The TUC again asked the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to associate the British Government with the complaint drawing his attention to further reports that DİSK defendants had been tortured and to the deep scepticism of the General Council and of the ICFTU Executive Board as a whole about the value of the promise of the regime to restore democratic rights.

Tiirk_İe

It was reported to Congress in 1981 that the ICFTU Executive Board had suspended its Turkish affiliate, Türkiş, from August 15 because its General Secretary has not given up his post or resigned as Minister for Social Security in the military government. The ICFTU Executive Bord asked Türk-İş to bring its policies into line with those of the ICFTU. At the Türk-İş Congress in May the Minister for Social Security was re-elected General Secretary.

Relief

The ICFTU and the ETUC have jointly provided legal and humanitarian aid to trade unionists detained and families of trade union detainees and it was reported in May that the aid was reaching people in need. In May the ICFTU Executive Board allocated a further Bfrs 2m for relief in Turkey and appealed to affiliates for further funds to maintain relief. In response the General Council decided to make a contribution to both the ICFTU and the ETUC, and invited trade unions to send funds to the TUC for the same purpose.

MOBILISE THE LABO



by Doug Hoyle, MP,

Vice-President of ASTMS

I think it is awfully important that we publicise in every way we can what is happening to the people of Turkey, particularly the working people, and what is happening to trade unions in Turkey. Because it is a fact that ever since the fascist junta took over there is no such thing as free trade unions in Turkey; trade unions have been closed; there is a yellow trade union movement...

What is happening is that the Turkish people, having no free trade unions, have a minimum wage which is a starvation wage, they are enjoying very bad conditions: poor housing, poor social conditions. They are being forced to work for a country that is rapidly going bankrupt...

52 trade union leaders are facing the death sentence. We have a new constitution coming in to being that will ban trade unions — ban any free trade unions, and ban strikes in Turkey... If there is a dispute and it cannot be resolved after 60 days a government committee of the fascist junta will resolve the situation... What are we saving about this as a trade union movement?...

We have got to fight for the working people in Turkey. We have to fight for a free trade union movement in Turkey, against the silence from the media in this country, because they do not want to know... about the plight of the working people of Turkey. They do not want to know about what is happening to trade unions in Turkey, because, of course, it does not suit their book...

We certainly ought to be demanding of the Tory government what they are going to do about it... all of us who have

that we are not getting any response at all from them. So we have got to keep up the pressure, we have got to keep up the publicity, we have got to keep demanding their rights for the ordinary people of Turkey.

The real facts are, that despite the coming to power of the fascist junta in Turkey, when there was a very grave epilogue of crisis in Turkey, conditions are not getting better, conditions are getting worse in Turkey. And we do know who is paying the price of those conditions and that is the ordinary working people. They are having their rights taken away, they are being put on a starvation wage. They have no rights whatsoever to exercise what we take ... as the normal freedom to operate as trade unions in this country. They cannot not only have a trade union congress, they cannot have trade unions that will fight for the rights of working people...

We have got to continue to make our voice heard. I hope you will go away from here — and many trade unions are joining in the campaign — go back and intensify the campaign. We have to build up the campaign within the British trade union movement. We have to make sure that each and all of us whatever union we belong to - speaks up for the trade unionists in Turkey...

Keep on the pressure in the Trade Union Congress... trades councils... Members of Parliament... I do not think there is any difficulty with Labour Members, but if you live in a constituency where you have a Tory Member of Parliament... go and see him where he is most vulnerable — at the surgery — and

been writing to the government know ask what this government are doing... about the rights of the ordinary people of Turkey and why they are not condemning the fascist junta that is there, and why they are not condemning the fascist junta for what they are doing to trades unionists in Turkey. This is the way we have got to keep up the pressure, this is the way we have got to keep up the campaign.

It is not only here in this country... we have got to mobilize the labour movement in Europe. I want to see the campaign capturing the attention of ordinary people, trade unionists in this country, in the way that Solidarity has captured the appeal of working people in this country to fight for the rights of trade unions in Poland. If it is right in Poland, it is equally right we should condemn what is happening in Turkey, and even more so I say that because Turkey is a member of NATO.

We should continue to go on record until we do get the overthrow of the junta and get free trade unions again and we rescue our 52 comrades who are facing the death sentence in Turkey. That must be our campaign. Let us carry it on from now. Let us also carry it on at the Labour Party Conference until everybody listens, and everybody ordinary people in this country - are fighting for that end.

This article incorporates extensive extracts from a speech made at CDDRT's meeting at the TUC Congress in Brighton on 8 September (see pp.3-4 for other speeches).

In the continuing trial of 30 leaders of Turkey's sole peace body — the Turkish Peace Council — its President, Mahmut Dikerdem, is to be questioned in his hospital bed! Two other peace leaders are also to be interrogated in hospital with Mr Dikerdem, who is suffering from cancer.

Defendants face up to 30 years in prison under Turkey's 'Mussolini Laws' (Articles 141 & 142). There have been only a handful of hearings since the case started on 24 June, in an attempt to lessen protests with time. We must ensure the opposite: that protests against the junta's attack on peace campaigners continue and intensify. Send protests to: The Ambassador, Turkish Embassy, 43 Belgrave Sq. London SW1.



Mahmut Dikerdem in court.

CDDRT has now set up the Turkish Peace Council Welfare Fund for relief to dependants: you can send cheques (payable to TPCWF) to CDDRT, 29 Parkfield St. London NI. Contact CDDRT at this address for further information, speakers, etc.

Second Anniv rsary of Fascist C up



Picket at Turkish Embassy

The second anniversary of the fascist coup in Turkey was marked by CDDRT by a picket of the Turkish Embassy and a Rally in London. Over 120 attended the picket on Sunday 12 September, including contingents from Leicester and Manchester; ASTMS Divisional Council 8 and London District CPGB were represented with their banners Over one and a half hours of singing and chanting showed the demonstrators' abhorrence of Turkey's fascist junta.

A general London ban on marches (imposed because of a proposed fascist march the same day) prevented the



Norman Atkinson MP addressing the Rally

CDDRT march.

The CDDRT Rally was held at the Polytechnic of Central London, chaired by Bob Wright, Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW. Norman Atkinson MP spoke about the Tory government's intransigence over Yılmaz Güney (see below), "I hope we can build support for his visit here... in solidarity with radicals of his kind." Discussing NATO countries, Norman Atkinson said, "Turkey — ideologically, economically and politically is possibly the most important." The big problem now is the "internal problem of getting rid of the fascist junta." "Our

comrades inside Turkey have to be supported... give strength to them. I hope no-one has any illusion (about) the constitution... only sycophants are paying lip-service to it." He said it would ensure the "permanency of a dictatorial state," with the "structure of a paramilitary state... Evren would be... strengthened from then on." He concluded his remarks by calling for the removal of Turkish troops from Cyprus, declaring that now Turkey was "at the centre, in the cockpit of world politics."

Messages of solidarity were given by representatives from CARDRI and the Chilean Anti-fascist Committee.

Yılmaz Güney Campaign



A scene from Yılmaz Güney's The Enemy (Düşman) which the Yılmaz Güney Campaign is showing on 7 November.

We must make the strongest possible demand that Yılmaz Güney be allowed to attend the British première of his film The Way (Yol) when it is shown at the London Film Festival. The cynical way in which the Tory government banned him from entry after the Cannes Film Festival, where Yol won joint first prize with Missing, is untenable. As he was given permission to come in the early spring the government should have honoured that commitment. They did not.

The Yılmaz Güney Campaign is gaining more and more support from the artistic field: the next (November) issue of *Turkey Newsletter* will carry a full article about this.

In the weeks remaining until the London Film Festival starts in November, the Yılmaz Güney Campaign of CDDRT asks that everyone tries to fill as many petition forms as they can. Piles of leaflets, petitions and posters await your request for them! Petitions must be returned by Saturday 6 November. Whatever your organisation or you as an individual can do to publicise our attempt to bring him to Britain must be done. We have speakers who have already addressed several meetings and a showing of his previous film *The Herd*.



Copies of this
A2 size poster can
be obtained at 35p
post free from the
Yılmaz Güney
Campaign,
c/o CDDRT
at the address
opposite

Constitution of CDDRT

- The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (CDDRT).
- 2. The aims of CDDRT are as follows: End military rule, martial law, torture and executions. Release of political prisoners.

Freedom for all democratic organisations.

End national oppression of the Kurds and national minorities. Stop expansionism: end the occupation of Cyprus. Withdraw Turkey from NATO and close all NATO bases. No military, political or economic support for the fascist junta. Totally oppose junta harrassment of overseas opponents.

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

- 3. Organisations and individuals accepting the aims of CDDRT can apply to affiliate. Such applications are subject to the approval of the General Council. Affiliation fees shall be set by the General Council and become payable from 1 January each year.
- 4. Congress is the highest body of CDDRT and shall meet every two years. It shall consist of delegates from Branches and affiliated organisations, and individual affiliates. Congress shall elect the

General Council and consider reports and motions. The conduct of business shall be on the basis of Standing Orders approved by Congress. Pre-Congress arrangements are the responsibility of the retiring General Council. Each Congress shall decide the size of the General Council.

- 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 weekly and be responsible for the day to day work of CDDRT.
- Local Branches of CDDRT are formed with the approval of the General Council.
- 8. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority at a Congress.
- 9. The General Council may call, or upon request by two-thirds of affiliated national organisations shall call, a Special Congress.

GENERAL COUNCIL OF CDDRT

Richard Balfe MEP, John Bowden, Alf Lomas MEP, Stan Newens MP (President), Gerry Pocock, Reg Race MP (Treasurer), Ernie Roberts MP (Chairperson), Alan Sapper, Marion Sarafi, Bob Wright, Jim Moody (General Secretary), and one representative each from the Turkish Students' Federation of the UK, Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain and the Union of Turkish Workers.

LOCAL BRANCHES:

East London CDDRT c/o 236 Morning Lane, London E9 6RQ.

Leicester CDDRT c/o 15 Bulwer Rd, Leicester.

Manchester CDDRT c/o Eric Hughes, 137 Dickenson Rd, M14 5HZ.

For branches in all other localities, please contact CDDRT, 29 Parkfield St, London N1 OPS.

Sponsors include

Frank Allaun, MP Joe Ashton, MP Norman Atkinson, MP Guy Barnett, MP Tony Benn, MP Andrew Bennett, MP Sid Bidwell, MP Ron Brown, MP Dennis Canavan MI Tom Cox, MP
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Arthur Davidson, QC, MP
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Waltham Forest Trades Council
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Union of Turkish Workers
Ardwick CLP
Bermondsey CLP
Bermondsey CLP
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Association of Cypriot Women in Britain
Iraqi Students' Society UK (Branch of GUSIR)
KNE — Communist Youth of Greece (org. in Britain)
Kurdish Students Society in Europe (PK)
Portuguese Communist Party (org. in Britain)
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain
Totalis Students (Carents of PK) Union of Turkish reogressives in Britain
Turkish Students Federation of UK
City of London Polytechnic Students' Union
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Leeds University Union
TMIST — Students' Union 1 MIST — Students Union Manchester Poly Students Union Manchester University Students Union Lesside Polytechnic Students Union Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Demokrat Norway Haldane Society of Socialist Lawers London CRS Political Committee Lord Fenner Brockway Lord Fenner Brockway Alam Bush Lord Jenkins of Puncy Lord Jenkins of P Mgr. Bruce Kent Arthur Eatham Robert J.Longuet William Pomeroy Andrew Rothstein Marion Sarafi Gordon Schaffer

Affiliate to CDDRT

All organisations and individuals accepting the aims of CDDRT (see Constitution above) are eligible for affiliation. From 1 January 1982 the cost of affiliation for the year is: National organisation £25.00, local organisation £10.00, individual £5.00.

I/we	I/we apply for affiliation to CDDRT and enclose a cheque/PO for £																												
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LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE FRINGE MEETING

TURKEY -

SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

Tuesday 28 September
5.15pm
Baronial Hall, Winter Gardens

Chair:

Stan Newens MP

Speakers: Tony Benn MP

Alf Lomas MEP

Jim Moody, General Secretary

of CDDRT