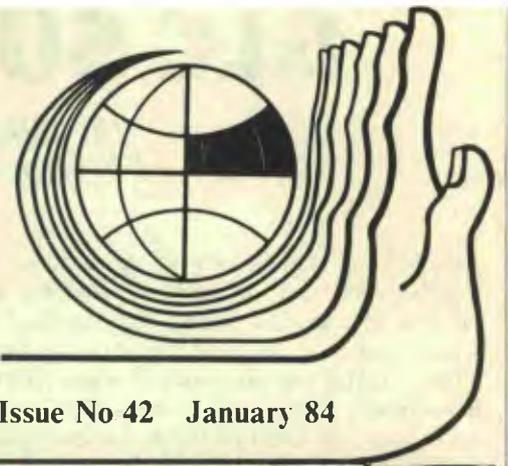


TURKEY NEWSLETTER



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

Issue No 42 January 84



PEACE IN THE REGION

GLC SUPPORTS FATSA

*The following is the resolution on Fatsa,
moved by Ken Livingstone and accepted unanimously
on 8th November 1983*

Resolved — That in view of the concern expressed by the Turkish community in London about the mass-trial of 759 citizens of Fatsa, including the Mayor, Fikri Sonmez, the Council expresses its great concern and astonishment that such a trial is taking place in a country whose government declares it is ensuring a return to democracy. The Council is particularly outraged by the fact that the death penalty has been demanded by the military authorities against 263 of the accused.

The Council therefore declares herewith its full support for the European Delegation of Observers, constituted of

colleagues from town and city councils from various European countries, which has been commissioned with the task of investigating the conditions under which this trial is being conducted, the foundation of the accusations made against the prisoners, the state of health of the accused and the prison conditions which they have endured since their arrest.

The Council intends on the return of the delegation, to do all in its power to ensure that the delegation's report is widely distributed and made known throughout Europe.

TRIALS

YALÇIN KÜÇÜK WINS HIS APPEAL

Dr. Yalçın Küçük was sentenced to 7,5 years imprisonment for allegedly making communist propaganda in his book "For a New Republic" published in 1980. He was released after his successful appeal against sentence in the Military Appeal Court. (*Milliyet*, 25 November 1983).

The decision of the Istanbul Martial Law Commander in Military Court No.1 was explained in the following terms: "He called his book "For a New Republic" because he aspires for a Republic which represents proletarian dictatorship and is ruled by communism as the USSR."

The court also described Dr. Küçük as being so clever that he can even deceive evil. "With his style and ability, he can easily inject his thoughts, or at least lead others to think along the lines his views".

Dr. Küçük's defence lawyer, Gülçin Çaylıgil in the appeal, gave another angle to the facts, to clear up the misunderstanding. On Dr. Küçük's behalf, she argued that Yalçın Küçük called his book, "For a New Republic" because it contained a collection of his articles written from 1973-76 for the newspaper "Cumhuriyet" ("The Republic"). The article entitled "How It Started" first relates how Dr. Küçük come to work for the newspaper and then gives the reason for his resignation. It states that he resigned because "Cumhuriyet" had been sucked into the orbit of the People's Republican Party (The RPP). And the article by him ends with the line "for a new Republic".

Yet in the Military Court's decision the following question was raised "... What sort of Republic should it be? It will not be a democratic Republic in any case, since there was no reason for the overthrow or disappearance of the old Republic..." (*Cumhuriyet*, 19 October 1983)

Just imagine, had the appeal against sentence been unsuccessful such a nonsensical accusation and evaluation by the Military Court would have cost a man 8 years of his life!

Having won his appeal against 7,5 years imprisonment, the military Prosecution called him in for questioning about another article written by him. As a result he was arrested again. In the first week of January he has been released.

Yalçın Küçük had been seriously ill and taken to hospital for treatment during the massive hunger strike by the political prisoners in the jails last summer.



Established 1918

The Fire Brigades Union

NEW YEAR GREETINGS
FROM

THE FIRE BRIGADES UNION

BILL DEAL, PRESIDENT

K. CAMERON, GENERAL SECRETARY

Communist Party of Turkey — The trial of 88 alleged members of TKP who worked in Eastern and South-East Turkey has started. The military prosecutor has asked for a sentence 8 to 20 years imprisonment for 66 defendants, a sentence of 5 to 12 years for 22 defendants. (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 October 1983)

THKP/C — 4 members of the *People's Liberation Party of Turkey/Front* (THKP/C) have been given death sentences. The decision of Gölcük Military Court said; "It is not possible to make use of their ideas and there is no difference whether they are alive or dead with respect to the interests of the country." (*Cumhuriyet*, 25 October 1983)

Diyarbakır mayor sentenced 24 years

The former mayor of Diyarbakır, Mehdi Zana has been sentenced to 24 years imprisonment. At the *Özgürlük Yolu* ("Liberation Way") trial of 207 defendants, 1 defendant was sentenced to 19 years in prison, 4 to 15 years, 2 to 14 years and 9 to 12 years. The Court also decided to close down branches of the Revolutionary People's Cultural Association. (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 October 1983)



Diyarbakır mayor Mehdi Zana

SEVERE SENTENCES FOR PEACE LEADERS



Left to right: Uğur Kökten, Kemal Anadol, Orhan Apaydın, Reha İsvan, Mahmut Şerafettin Dikerdem (Chairman of the Peace Association). (Hürriyet, 15 November)

On 14th November a tribunal in Istanbul sentenced 23 leading members of the now banned Turkish Peace Association to imprisonment for periods ranging between five and eight years.

The Peace Trial started on 24th June 1982 and lasted 16 months 22 days. During the trial, defendants were faced with measures, designed to intimidate them.

As the defendants read out their defence, the Court decided to initiate *War Conditions*, restricting the time allowed for the presentation of such defences to one and a half hours.

Another example of the Courts' policy of intimidation was highlighted when three lawyers — Defence Counsel — were asked to leave in contempt of Court because they had entered after the Trial had commenced.

In the course of presenting his defence, Mahmut Dikerdem told the Court that he felt compelled to explain why they came up against imperialism,

militarism and chauvinism. In particular, he expressed great sadness at having to explain their objections against imperialism before a Court of law.

Eighteen defendants including Mahmut Dikerdem, President of the Peace Association and a former ambassador to India; Mr. Orhan Taylan, a well-known artist; Ataol Behramoğlu, writer; Ali Sirmen, journalist; and Dr. Erdal Atabek, former President of the Association of Turkish Medical Doctors, were sentenced to eight years imprisonment, and on top of this, to two years and eight months constant surveillance. Among the five defendants who were sentenced to terms of five years imprisonment, and one year and eight months constant surveillance, is Mr. Orhan Apaydın, President of the Istanbul Bar Association.

The Court decided to arrest the defendants immediately after the trial had ended to eliminate the slightest possibility of their escaping.

Consequently, sixteen of the defendants who were present at the hearing were sent to prison immediately.

On 22nd November, the lawyers acting on behalf of the defendants objected to this decision of immediate arrest, stating that in particular, the decision would mean a "death sentence" for the President of the Association, Mahmut Dikerdem, who is at present severely ill.

The appeal letter pointed out that Article number 353, Section 246/2 in the Penal Code that states that if the patient/defendant's life is endangered by the state of his health, he can then serve his term after he recuperates. The letter also stated that "suspicion about his escape is out of the question" and that such a decision is against the law. "The decision to imprison defendants immediately is unjustified because there is no question of their escaping".

(Continues on page 4)

Teachers' Protest

Sir, Over the last two years more than 600 academics have been sacked from Turkish universities; the establishment of a Higher Education Council has enabled President Evren to appoint university rectors and dispense with university autonomy and laws.

Now (*The Times*, November 15), after an 18-month trial, savage sentences have been passed on a number of academics and intellectuals prominent in Turkey's peace movement.

It is extraordinary that in a member state of Nato and the Council of Europe distinguished professors such as Melih Tumer, Dean of the Political Science Faculty of Istanbul University, should be sentenced to eight years' hard labour and 32 months' exile, and Metin Ozek, of the university's Medical Faculty, to five years' hard labour and 20 months' exile, for expressing views similar to those voiced by CND in this country.

We are equally concerned about the plight of Dr Gencay Shaylan, Senior Lecturer in Public Administration; Dr Haluk Tosun, Head of the Department of Electrical Engineering at the Middle East Technical University; and Dr Erdal Atabek, President of the Turkish Medical Association.

Mr Ali Sirmen, foreign affairs columnist of the prestigious daily newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* and author of several books on Turkish foreign policy, has also been sentenced to eight years'

hard labour. The prisoners are being kept 18 to a cell, in cells measuring 20 square metres, without heating or ventilation.

We find it utterly repugnant that these distinguished and elderly people should be sentenced for "crimes of thought" under articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, which were borrowed from Mussolini's Italy.

Whatever one's views on the means of achieving world peace, these activities surely cannot be construed as "against the national interest" and tantamount to treason.

The North Atlantic Treaty, to which Turkey is a signatory, commits its members to "safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law". The verdicts passed by the military tribunal in Istanbul cast doubt over the validity of the claim that Turkey has returned to democracy.

Yours,

PETER WORSLEY (University of Manchester),
DAVID BEETHAM (University of Leeds),
T.B. BOTTOMORE (University of Sussex),
BERNARD CRICK (University of London),
GERAINT PARRY (University of Manchester),
RAYMOND WILLIAMS (University of Cambridge),
ALAN WILSON (University of Leeds).

The Times 14 December 1983

(Continues from p.3)

(*Milliyet*, 23 November 1983)

However, the appeal was dismissed. Moreover, the military authorities, not satisfied with the penalties, decided to prepare files against *Orhan Apaydin* and Dr. *Erdal Atabek*. Both of them are to be tried in the DISK Trial, before the Istanbul Martial Law Commander in Military Court Number 2, for having made speeches in the Seventh General Council Meeting (Congress) of DISK.

Another charge has been brought against *Orhan Taylan* who has already been given eight years and a further five to twelve years sentence of imprisonment being demanded for his alleged membership of the Communist Party of Turkey.

The *Guardian* correspondent, David Barchard wrote: "The severity of the sentences has come as a considerable shock and most have been approved at the highest levels in Turkey.

"By gaoling the Peace Association members — who were never accused of violence ... the Turkish military seem to be giving a strong signal to public opinion and to the outside world.

"The military regime is telling its own public not to expect any easing up towards dissident political opinion after the hand-over to a civilian government later this month.

"The signal to Western Europe is one of defiance...

"Turkey's military — who earlier this year handed nearly 20 prisoners during the weeks leading up to a Council of Europe debate on Turkey — regard any foreign discussion of the country's human rights record as an infringement of their sovereignty." (15 November 1983)

The *Times* reported that "... General Evren, who last year was able to procure himself a seven year presidential mandate by an overwhelming plebiscite and, even if he did not get his first choice elected as prime minister, has been able to ensure that the new government is headed by a man who defends the human rights record of the military regime, and even that civilian government will coexist, for another three months at least, with continued martial law." (*The Times*, 14 December 1983)

Indeed a new wave of increased repression which accompanied the election 'campaign' had started, of which the severe sentences for the leaders of TPA are part. The fascist regime of Turkey striving to strangle the peace movement inside the country, now poses a greater danger to the peace in the region.

JUNTA PROVIDES AIR BASE FOR USA TROOPS IN LEBANON

Having sentenced to severe gaol terms the leaders of Turkey's Peace Association, the fascist Junta took two important steps concerning peace in the region. Because of the strategic position of Turkey these could change the face of the Middle East considerably.

One of the steps was Turkey's decision to open a transit air terminal for US troops of the Multinational "Peace" Force in Lebanon. The second step was the completion of an agreement with the USA on the sale of 160 F-16 fighters which will cost 4 billion US Dollars and will be the first step in "modernising the Turkish Army."

Both of these decisions were taken by the Junta after their 'resignation' from the government, but before Özal formed his government. And both decisions were taken just by way of an exchange of letters of the two governments.

Granting the use of *Incirlik Air Base* to America who have entered into an open war under the disguise of defending peace in the Lebanon made a large impact inside the country.

THE AGREEMENT

Reha Muhtar wrote in *Milliyet* some of the points the agreement contains, as follows:

It was felt there was an obligation to reach such an agreement, since some limited facilities were required of Turkey in return for the aid that the allied country was providing to Turkey.

The facilities that Turkey will provide for the USA forces are as follows:

(a) All postal services for the personnel of US forces will be made through the *Incirlik Air Base*.

(b) The personnel of these forces will be transferred to Lebanon via *Incirlik*.

This personnel will be in civilian clothes and will not carry arms.

(c) No arms of any sort will be sent to the Peace Force in Lebanon via Turkey.

(d) The number of personnel

going to the military force via Turkey is also limited. According to the information received, it will not exceed 500 people in a month. (*Milliyet*, 11.12.1983)

M. Ali Birand commenting on what *Reha Muhtar* had said also writes about the contents of the agreement;

"How *Incirlik* is to be made use of"

"Of the Multinational Peace Forces in Lebanon (Italian, English, French, American) only US forces will make use of the base. Others will not be able to use it.

"Soldiers or civilians who need to be transferred because of wounds, sickness or for another reason, who come to *Incirlik* base will either continue on their way in the same plane, having only paused for refuelling, or will transfer to another plane and leave immediately.

"*Reha Muhtar* says the number of people to make use of the base in this way will not go over 500 in a month. What we have found out is that the number of people has also been stated in the agreement.

"The number of planes to land on *Incirlik* each month has also been expounded.

"The duration of the agreement is however not as clear as these. Although Turkey has the right to cancel the agreement, between the two sides there is an agreement in principal that it is to continue as long as it is necessary' ". (*Milliyet*, 14.12.1983)

CRITICISMS

Some liberals criticised the agreement. *M. Ali Birand* wrote in *Milliyet*:

"Inside the country a lot of people have rightly reacted against this development and have drawn attention to its short term and long term inconveniences. As *Örsan Öymen* said, 'involvement in a war in the Middle East starts like this'.

"First small steps are taken, then one day you find yourself right in the middle of events."



Turkey agreed with the USA on the sale of 160 F-16 fighters which will cost 4 billion US Dollars

“If we leave aside what others think, Turkish public opinion from now on will have to increase its sensitivity a bit more and observe even the slightest development. Since the way has already opened.

(...)

“At this stage there is no other alternative than to believe in the words of the authorities, act on the assumption that there is nothing else secret, and continue enquiries” (*Milliyet*, 14.12.83)

Those who directly or indirectly are in favour of the agreement stress in particular the “limited nature” of the facilities. And that Turkey can end the agreement any time she feels necessary.

Answering the questions of the journalists at the press conference, Turkey’s Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Nazmi Akıman, said; “arrangements to provide aid are not indefinite. Both governments accept that the military and political needs that made these arrangements both necessary and possible may vary. The Turkish Government can end these services at any time” (*Miliyet*, 9.12.83)

Foreign Minister İter Türkmen however puts his finger on the heart of the matter. “...In his statement to ANKA Press Agency, pointing out that facilities provided by Turkey for the American troops in Lebanon will be ‘very limited’, he stressed that ‘Despite its limitedness, providing facilities, has a substantial military importance’”. (*Milliyet*, 9.12.83)

For some liberals even a “limited agreement” poses a grave danger. *M. Ali Birand* writes in *Milliyet*: “How *İncirlik* will not be used;

“Consignments of soldiers will not be made from the base.

“Consignments of ammunition, arms or re-fuelling of planes that are involved in operations will not be made.

“Turkey will be kept informed of the contents of every plane.

“No plane will land on the base that is not open to inspection by

Turkey.

“If the agreement is in fact this limited, one can say ‘there is nothing in this’.

“However what is missed out here is that, Turkey has started appearing on the side of America in a Middle East crisis. Appearances become reality slowly by agreements like these that seem ‘unimportant’. The greatest mistake on Turkey’s side, is to be a ‘side’ in the Middle East, even just to give such an appearance.

“Now everyone will observe where a ‘limited, passive, temporary transit facility’ may take us”. (*Milliyet*, 14.12.83)

Örsan Öymen described the decision as “important deviation in our attitude”.

Turgut Özal who was in the process of forming the new government said “Don’t ask me any more questions. I don’t know the details yet. (*Milliyet*, 11.12.83)

Cezmi Kartay, the President of the Social Democratic Party (SODEP) criticised the way this decision was taken. He said “We believe that the government which had resigned and completed its time in office should have submitted such an important issue to the National Assembly, instead of taking a decision”. (*Milliyet*, 11.12.83)

The agreement on the sale of 160 F-16 fighters was also made by an exchange of letters, and signed by former Defence Minister, *Haluk Bayulken* on 9th December before the formation of *Özal*’s government.

Asked about this agreement by journalists, *Özal* said “I have no idea. If it has been signed, it has been signed”. (*Milliyet*, 16.12.83)

Liberals at first sight may seem to be right in their criticisms of the recent moves of Turkey about the Middle East.

However, what they miss out is that Turkey’s attitude is only a part of a plan that has been realised in the recent months.

In September, when the USA Government first asked for facilities for

transferring 1500 troops to join the “Multinational Peace Force”, Ankara refused this request. And *İter Türkmen* then said “At the moment bloodshed is taking place. The sending of the Peace Force has become a controversy. How can we give permission in such a situation?” And he added that “We can provide some facilities, when this issue is not controversial”.

In spite of the fact that the issue became more controversial and the role of the “Peace Force” has been more exposed, Turkey did agree to provide facilities.

Then what are the real facts that have caused Turkey to change its tactics? The authorities’ own words provide the answer; “A high level source in the Foreign Ministry particularly stressed that ‘the USA has wanted Turkey to provide some help for the Peace Force for the last few months, the technical talks concerning the agreement were concluded before *İter Turkmen* went to New York and the official declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’”. (*Milliyet*, 11.12.1983)

This is what happened. First the US Government declared that they had agreed to give 715 million Dollars worth of military aid to Turkey, 200 million of which is to be used for the purchase of F-16 fighters. Then came the “official” declaration of the “independence” of Northern Cyprus.

In order to obtain the “go ahead” on the Cyprus issue, and the military aid, Turkey agreed to provide the facilities that are required by the USA to realise its plans in the Middle East. And the Junta completed all these just before *Özal* formed his government in order to secure its realisation. Later on *Özal* approved the decisions.

All of these are nothing but parts of one single plan designed by the US administration and the fascist Junta of Turkey.

The liberals helped them to put their plan into practice by applauding the two parts of the plan concerning military aid for modernising the Turkish Army and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Northern Cyprus.

They find on the other hand the third part of the plan that is signing the contract for the purchase of F-16 fighters too premature. The fourth part of the plan is what scares them most.

If the fascist Junta is ever to be defeated it can only be as a result of a consistent struggle. By exposing the fascist Junta in every sphere of life. And the expansionist policy of the Junta is one that most requires to be exposed since it poses a threat not only to the people of Turkey but for all the peoples in the region.

THE MOCKERY OF THE "INDEPENDENCE"

When Turkey invaded Northern Cyprus in 1974, Turkish Cypriots were under the influence of an abstract "motherland" propaganda. However, by 1980 they had already experienced the colonialist aims of the "motherland". They had realised the fact that the "Liberator" Turkish Army was an army of invasion. By September 1980, finance-capital of Turkey had already turned the northern part of island into colony of Turkey.

Some of the measures taken in colonising Northern Cyprus included a transfer of the population from Turkey to the occupied territory of Cyprus equal in number to its indigenous population, a takeover of the administration of air transport, sea cargo and the postal system, changing the official currency to Turkish Lira, declaring the Turkish Agricultural Bank the Central Bank of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.

Then came the fascist coup of 1980. Within days of coming to power, General Evren declared that Cyprus was an "integral part of Turkey" and that the Turkish military would continue to guarantee its "happiness and well-being" (*The Times*, 17 September 1980)

What the Turkish military did continue to guarantee, of course, was further colonisation of the Northern Cyprus by the finance-capital of Turkey through the occupying forces and non-military forces, of the fascist state of Turkey.

The economic penetration by Turkish finance-capital went further: the setting up of new enterprises and branches of Turkish banks, the whole or partial takeover of existing enterprises, the introduction of new import-export controls aimed at re-shaping the trade of Northern Cyprus to fit and serve the trade policy of Turkey. Efforts were also made to attract Cypriot businessmen to invest in Turkey. An example of such investment was in the electronics industry.

The Turkish Cypriot administration, posing as the government of a "federated state" was in fact operating as the government of a province of Turkey. As the *de-facto* annexation of Northern Cyprus by Turkey had been accomplished, Turkey's junta began striving to obtain international acceptance of this annexation. So the discussion about a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) began.

In July *Denktash* said "soon we will establish our Republic"... "If the Greeks still continue to consider us a community of a minority, in the very near future, they will witness the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Cyprus". *Denktash* also said that he had invited *Evren* to Cyprus (*Hürriyet*, 22 July 1983)

Denktash said in October, "We are not going to declare independence. We are going to change the name of our government as independent people so that the world will recognise it". (*Tercüman*, 11 October 1983)

As the 6th November 1983 elections in Turkey drew nearer *Denktash* pointed out the critical relationship between the elections of the junta and the timing of the UDI. He said; "Either we start inter-communal talks or we declare our independence before 6th November.

"Whenever we do anything, Turkey is blamed. If we are

independent, then the Turkish government can relax, we will not be a problem for the newly elected parliamentarians.

"Therefore it is our aim to declare independence before the elections." (*Milliyet*, 14 October 1983)

The sham elections in Turkey was an attempt by fascist junta, to dress itself up in civilian clothes, to play at a "return to democracy".

Nine days after the people of Turkey "elected" (!) their leaders, the Turkish Cypriots attained their "independence" in a territory that had been occupied by an army of the fascist state of Turkey. They attained the "right to self determination" while they were under the occupation of a state where one quarter of its population are under national oppression and denied even the right to speak their own language-that is the Kurdish people.

One of the facts that need to be underlined is that all those who call themselves "progressives" within the National Assembly changed their minds overnight and supported UDI by voting for it.

Turkey's reaction to UDI

The Wall Street Journal, on November 17, 1983 said; "Turkey has tried to prevent a declaration of independence, fearing it would damage its ties with the US and worsen tensions with Greece. The move came as a shock to Ankara, which is in the midst of a government changeover."

The paper also said that *Raouf Denktash* "... also claimed Turkey had no prior knowledge of his intentions. 'I caught them by surprise. Absolute secrecy was my secret' he said".

On the 'declaration of independence' by the Turkish Cypriot party

The European Parliament,

A. having regard to the extremely critical situation facing Cyprus,

B. whereas the United Nations Secretary-General has taken the initiative of proposing a solution to this grave problem on the basis of a dialogue between the two communities,

C. affirming its resolutions on the independence, integrity and unity of Cyprus as a member state of the United Nations Organization,

1. Condemns the action taken by the Turkish Cypriot party to declare an independent Turkish Cypriot State in Cyprus;

2. Calls on all the parties concerned to support the initiative of the UN Secretary-General;

3. Invites the Council of Ministers to take all necessary measures so that this action by the Turkish Cypriot party remains null and void;

4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Ten Member States of the Community, the Turkish Government and the UN Secretary-General.

DEPENDENCE" OF AN OCCUPIED ISLAND

Turkey's foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador *Nazmi Akıman* commenting on *Papandreu's* words warning that Greece would cut off her dialogue with Turkey, said that; "Was there a dialogue between Greece and us anyway? There can be no talk of a cut off of something that does not exist." (*Tercüman*, 18 November 1983)

These words of *Akıman* show just how invalid the argument of *The Wall Street Journal* was about Turkey's ruling junta fearing that the declaration of independence would worsen tensions with Greece.

The newspaper *Tercüman* of 18 November 1983 also makes clear how unjustified the comment of *The Wall Street Journal* was about Turkey's fear that the declaration would damage its ties with the US:

Meanwhile it is reported that it was unlikely that draft resolution prepared by members of the US Congress who are of Greek origin, demanding sanctions on Turkey, would be adopted.

"A high level representative of the US Ministry of Defence, when making a statement on the issue pointed out that the embargo of 1975 on Turkey was a great mistake. He said, 'The embargo caused the weakening of a very important member of the south-eastern flank of NATO. The USA will not repeat the same mistake again'."

So there is no point in Turkey fearing any damage to its ties with the US resulting from UDI and Turkey is well-aware of this fact.

Turkey had planned the timing of the declaration very carefully, so that the negative reaction she would get on Cyprus question internationally would be set-off by the points the generals scored with the elections. At the same time

they are pretending to have been caught by surprise as if they had nothing to do with it (!). *Nazmi Akıman* said that the reactions against the declaration of independence of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus were coming to the wrong address, it was not to Turkey that these should have been addressed. Representatives of the fascist regime even went further in their pretence so much so that it all became comical. *Akıman* said that the declaration of the Republic in Cyprus was not aimed at creating a partition, on the contrary, and as was stated in the Independence Statement, this action is the expression of a resolution to unite the island. (*Tercüman*, 18 November 1983)

However Prof. *Fahir Armaoğlu* in his commentary in *Tercüman* summarizes the feelings of the supporters of UDI in Turkey. He says; "If we make a general evaluation of the reactions against the declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, we can say that, apart from Greece and one or two Western states there has not been much dust stirred up. Certainly there will be some reactions, certainly an immediate recognition cannot be expected, nevertheless, these should be considered as the cost of the big step that has been taken. If we do not lose our cool, the situation cools down. The Cyprus question will then enter a new stage." (*Tercüman*, 18 November 1983)

The possible new stages that the Cyprus question may enter, however, varies;

On the one hand, threats are expressed by the fascist junta and their puppets. *Denktash* "warned that if the Greeks cut off electricity and water supplies to the Turkish Cypriots, his government would be forced into action. But he did not specify what that would be." (*The Wall Street Journal*, 17 November 1983)

The policy of occupying the rest of the island under the pretext of destroying so-called "Armenian Terrorist Camps", is continuously reflected in threats by the junta that very frequently appear in the daily press.

One inevitable aspect of the "new stage" the Cyprus question will enter into, no doubt, will be sharper confrontation of the people of Northern Cyprus with the finance-capital of Turkey. This will increase the existing conflicts.

There is one other stage that the Cyprus question has already entered into alongside colonisation and that is that the contradictions between the Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie and Turkey are becoming sharper. The Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie is increasingly challenging Turkey's bourgeoisie and raising their voice for "independence from Turkey". The real aim of the bourgeoisie of Northern Cyprus is to exploit their own people and not share the profits with the Turkish bourgeoisie. "Independence" from Turkey in this way will only result in the people of Northern Cyprus being exploited and oppressed by their "own" bourgeoisie.

As the discontent of the people of Turkey against military or civilian fascism grows so will the solidarity with Turkish Cypriots strengthen since they all face the common enemy; that is the finance-capital of Turkey. The unity of the people of Cyprus depends today more than ever on the overthrow of fascism in Turkey.



Resolution on UDI was carried unanimously at the National Assembly

CDDRT'S PROTEST PICKET



Greek and Turkish Cypriots joined hands at CDDRT's protest picket outside the Turkish Embassy



On 16th November 1983 CDDRT called a lightning picket outside the Turkish Embassy. CDDRT's affiliated Turkish organisations welcomed the picket and in solidarity with Greek and Turkish Cypriot progressives they staged their protest with banners, slogans and placards.

**THE UNION OF TURKISH WORKERS
WISHES THE CDDRT
A SUCCESSFUL YEAR IN
THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY
IN TURKEY
AND WARMLY GREETS ALL THOSE
HELPING TO FIGHT FASCISM
IN TURKEY**

***THE TURKISH STUDENTS'
FEDERATION IN THE UK
SEND WARM GREETINGS
ALL THOSE STRUGGLING
AGAINST FASCISM AND
FOR DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY***



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**THE UNION OF
TURKISH WOMEN
IN BRITAIN**

***SENDS NEW YEAR GREETINGS TO THE CDDRT,
TO THE WOMEN RESISTING
IN THE PRISONS OF TURKEY
IN THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST FASCISM AND
FOR DEMOCRACY, AND
TO ALL REVOLUTIONARIES***

**We convey to you our support for the re-
establishment of true democracy in Turkey
and particularly for the release of all our
comrades of DISK who are facing death
sentences at the moment.**

**G.JERROM, NATIONAL ORGANISER
JOE WADE, GENERAL SECRETARY**

PROTEST VIGIL OUTSIDE THE TURKISH EMBASSY



Top left: CDDRT at the March

Top right: All night vigil outside the Turkish Embassy

Left: Well attended March

THE UNION OF TURKISH PROGRESSIVES IN BRITAIN

**SENDS NEW YEAR GREETINGS
TO THE CDDRT
AND TO ALL COMRADES
RESISTING IN THE PRISONS
AND STRUGGLING UNDER
SEVERE CONDITIONS FOR
REVOLUTION**

On 18th November 1983, the National Co-ordinating Committee of Cypriots in Britain called for an all night demonstration outside the Turkish Embassy which ended with a protest March on 19th November.

The CDDRT joined hands with Greek and Turkish Cypriots in protest against UDI and participated in both events. The CDDRT with its affiliated Turkish organisations attracted much attention from their Cypriot comrades and the press by being the only ones from Turkey to fly their banner in protest.

A group of Turkish progressives arrested

A group of Turkish progressives were arrested on December 13, 1983 as a result of a tip-off. The group includes Mr Nebil Tosun who in Turkey had been arrested, tortured and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment on the grounds of his political convictions by the ruling military junta. He was forced to leave Turkey illegally. Some other members of the group are the leading members of Turkish community organisations in Britain. They were arrested on the grounds that their leave to remain in the UK has expired. Now they face the threat of deportation to Turkey.

This incident also appeared in the Turkish press in a distorted manner, claiming that illegal workers are to be deported. The translation and reproduction of the news is printed below. The CDDRT is doing its best to assist them and will continue to do so. Several unions, organisations and MPs have expressed their concern. The CDDRT supports their claim to stay in Britain.

"Hürriyet" 24 December 1983

ENGLAND DEPORTS 8 TURKISH ILLEGAL WORKERS

London (A.A.) (Anatolian Agency — TN) — The Home Office of England deports eight citizens of Turkey, including two false passport holders, due to their overstaying and illegal working.

The identities of the Turks to be deported are *Nihat Tosun, Nebil Tosun, Yunus Ekmel Esingonca, Ömer Ali Erdem, Hüseyin Özyurtçu, Ali Nerse, Ramazan Kılıç, Hasan Aydın.*

Note:

1. Anatolian Agency is the official state news agency of Turkey.
2. The same news appeared in *Milliyet* and *Yeni Asır* dailies in Turkey.

PARLIAMENT DEBATE ON CYPRUS

The following are extracts from the debate in the House of Commons on the 15th November 1983 over the Unilateral Declaration of "Independence" in North Cyprus.

The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Sir Geoffrey Howe):

Our position has always been that we recognise only one Republic of Cyprus. That remains the position today. In our view, this latest move cannot be seen as altering the status of the Turkish Cypriot community. We would deeply regret it if, as seems to all too likely, this action provokes the breakdown of the inter-communal talks and the consultations carried out by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Both have had our full support.

There have for some time been reports that a move of this sort was being contemplated by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. We have throughout made it clear, most recently, both to Mr. Denktash personally and at a high level at Ankara, that we would strongly disapprove such a move. It must be a matter for deep regret that those representations have apparently been disregarded. Our ambassador at Ankara has this morning, on my instructions, called on the Turkish Government not to associate themselves with this move by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister has sent a similar message to President Evren urging him to help secure a reversal of the declaration.

(...)

Mr. Healey: I should like to associate the Labour Opposition with Her Majesty's Government's position on this matter, as explained by the Foreign Secretary and set out in the statement issued by the Foreign Office this morning, and, in particular, with the statement that Cyprus is a single state with a single President, Mr. Kyprianou. I also want to associate the Opposition with the condemnation of the act of the Turkish Cypriot Assembly, an act which is bound to have a damaging effect on the interests of its own people and on all people on the island of Cyprus, particularly the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees from the areas that are now under Turkish control.

(...)

Sir Geoffrey Howe: I am grateful to my hon. Friend for drawing my attention to the position of the Turkish Government as he sees it. The objective must be to secure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of what may well be a federal state.

Mr Norman Atkinson (Tottenham): Is it not a fact of life that Mr. Denktash must have sought permission from General Evren before daring to make such a statement? Is it not true that Mr. Özal, the Prime Minister-elect of Turkey, said last week and repeated earlier this week that, should Mr. Denktash declare independence unilaterally for the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus, he would give full support to that declaration, and it would certainly have the backing of the Turkish occupying troops?

Sir Geoffrey Howe: The hon. Gentleman is right to draw attention to the two press reports of Mr. Özal's views. One of those reports was a correction of the other, and they are both slightly confusing. Regardless of the outcome of the recent elections in Turkey, we have been making our views absolutely plain to the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish Government for a long time. ...

(...)

Mr. Cyril D Townsend (Bexleyheath): My right hon. and learned Friend's firm statement will be warmly welcomed on this side of the House. Does he appreciate that the declaration of independence could lead to further violence in Cyprus and further destabilisation of the eastern Mediterranean and that, over the years, many Turkish Cypriots have been strongly opposed to such a declaration? Will he continue to take the lead in the international community in working for a peaceful and unified Cyprus?

(...)

Mr. Eric Deakins (Waltham Forest): Is the right hon. and learned Gentleman prepared to put the strongest possible pressure on Turkey, and does he recognise the crucial importance of the United States of America in this matter? The United States may carry more weight with Turkey than the whole of the rest of the Western Alliance.

Sir Geoffrey Howe: I shall bear in mind the important role that the United States could play.

(...)

Mr. Alfred Dubs (Battersea): The Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus is not economically viable. It is totally dependent upon economic support from Turkey. Must not the responsibility for the unilateral declaration of independence rest to a large extent upon our NATO partners in Ankara? Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman therefore take appropriate action to ensure that a Government who condone military invasion do not remain part of NATO?

Sir Geoffrey Howe: I would not be disposed to take the hon. Gentleman's advice in that respect. I remind the House again that the Prime Minister has already sent an urgent message to President Evren, urging him to secure a reversal of the declaration. ...

(...)

Mr. Jeremy Corbyn (Islington, North): Will the Foreign Secretary assure the House that there is no question of the Government recognising the new regime in the northern part of Cyprus? When the right hon. and learned Gentleman communicates with the Government of Turkey, will he deplore their support for the UDI? Will he also consider whether it is appropriate for the British Government to have any relationship with the repressive military junta in Ankara which has imprisoned thousands of people, including, very recently, the president of the Turkish Peace Association and 17 of his colleagues? Is it not possible that the support given by the British Government to the junta has led to take the foolish course of supporting UDI?

Sir Geoffrey Howe: We have taken every opportunity to express to the Turkish Government our firm opposition to any step of this kind. I therefore repudiate the suggestion implied in the last part of the hon. Gentleman's question.

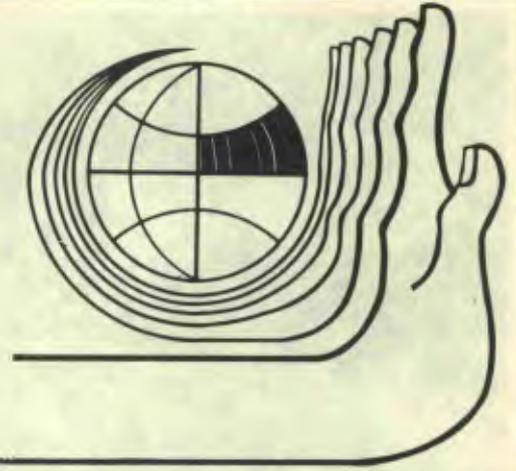
(...)

... We deplore what has taken place, and there can be no question of the recognition of more than one Government for Cyprus.

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**HUMAN RIGHTS
IN TURKEY**
through the eyes of
European Parliamentarians

Introduction
by Ernie Roberts, MP
Reports by
Chris Smith, MP
Jeremy Corbyn, MP

CONSTITUTION OF THE CDDRT

- The name of the organisation shall be the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey (CDDRT).
- 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 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 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.

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

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

7. 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.

CDDRT General Council

Bedir AYDEMİR
Richard BALFE, MEP
John M BLOOM
Philip BRAY
Sandra HODGSON
Aif LOMAS, MEP
Aydin MERİÇ
Sian NEWENS
Ernie ROBERTS MP
Alan SAPPER
Marion SARAFI
Faik SİNKİL
Tijen UĞURİŞ
Martin UPHAM
Bob WRIGHT
and one representative each from:
Turkish Students' Federation in UK
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain
Union of Turkish Women in Britain
Union of Turkish Workers

Sponsors include

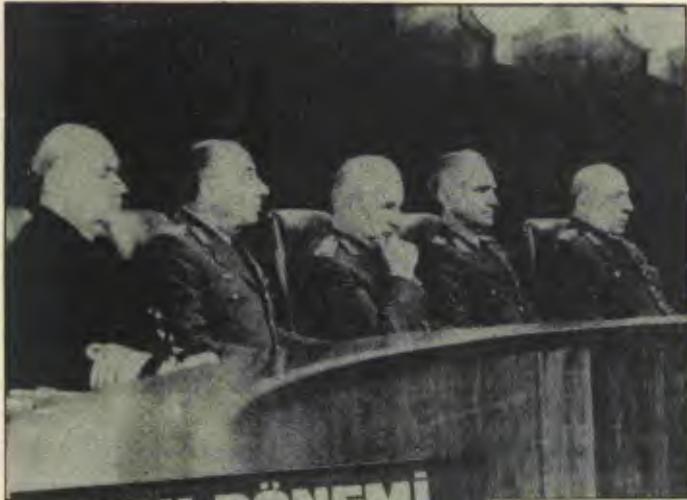
Peter Archer QC MP
Joe Ashton MP
Norman Atkinson MP
Tony Banks MP
Guy Barnett MP
Margaret Beckett MP
Andrew Bennett MP
Syd Bidwell MP
Roland Boyes MP
Ron Brown MP
Richard Caborn MP
Vic Carlisle MP
Dennis Canavan MP
Bob Clay MP
Harry Cohen MP
Jeremy Corbyn MP
Tom Cox MP
Harry Cowans MP
Stan Crowther MP
Ron Davies MP
Frank Dobson MP
Dick Douglas MP
Alfred Dubs MP
Alexander Eadie MP
Ken Eastham MP
Bob Edwards MP
Derek Fatchett MP
Martin Flannery MP
George Foulkes MP
John Golding MP
Judith Hart MP
Stuart Holland MP
Doug Hoyle MP
Bob Hughes MP
Roy Hughes MP
Lewis Carter-Jones MP
Robert Kilroy-Silk MP
Neil Kinnock MP
James Lamond MP
R. Leighton MP
Bob Litherland MP
Allan McKay MP
William McKelvey MP
Kevin McNamara MP
Bob McTaggart MP
J Maxton MP
Joan Maynard MP
Michael Meacher MP
Martin O'Neil MP
Stan Orme MP
Bob Parry MP
Terry Patchett MP
Jo Richardson MP
Allan Roberts MP
Ernie Roberts MP
Ernie Ross MP
Clare Short MP
Dennis Skinner MP
Clive Soley MP
Jack Straw MP
Stan Thornes MP
Robert Wareing MP
Dafydd Wigley MP
Richard Walford MEP
Barbara Castle MP
Ann Clwyd MEP
Kenneth D Cullins MEP
Brian Keay MEP
Aif Lomas MEP

Dr Barry Seal MEP
Colin Barnett, Sec. NW TUC
Ken Brett, AGS AUEW
James Lamond MP
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Lawrence Daly, NUM
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Beryl Hufnible, Yorks & Humber TUC
E.V. Hughes, NW TUC
Alex Kitson, TGWU
Mick McGahey, NUM
Allan Sapper, ACTT
Bob Wright, AGS AUEW
ACTSS Central London Branch
APEX Holborn Branch
ASLEF
ASTMS Divisional Council 8
ASTMS Manchester HS Branch
AUEW Kingston District
AUEW N. Manchester District
AUEW Sheffield District
AUEW (TASS) Div Council 9
COHSE Caterham Branch
Fire Brigades Union
GMWU Burnley Branch
GMWU 22 Bury Branch
GMWU 115 Manchester Branch
GMWU Pendle 122 Branch
GMWU Warrington Branch
NALGO Met Dist Council
NALGO Ilackney Branch
NALGO Southwark
NATFHE Leek

NUM
NUM Derbyshire
NUM Scotland
NUM Yorkshire
NUPE
NUPE Northern Ireland Div
NUPE West Midlands Div
NUR Manchester
Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance
SOGAT '82 LCA & EP Branch
TGWU
TGWU Reg. No.1
UCATT London Region
UCATT NW Region
Greater London Association of Trades Councils
Cambridge & Dist Trades Council
Gloucester Trades Council
Greenwich Trades Council
Hackney Trades Council
Kingston & Dist Trades Council
Leeds Trades Council
Cities of London & Westminster Trades Council
Preston Trades Council
Rotherham Trades Council
Stockport Trades Council
Waltham Forest Trades Council
GEC Openshaw JSSC
Union of Turkish Workers
Beckenham CIP
Bermondsey CIP

Chelmsford CLP
Greenwich CLP
Hazelgrove CLP
High Peak CLP
Keighley CLP
Walthamstow CLP
Wigan CLP
Labour Party Young Socialists
National Organisation of Labour Students
Communist Party of Great Britain
Foreing 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)
Communist Party of Portugal (org. in Britain)
Union of Turkish Progressives in Britain
Turkish Students Federation of UK
City of London Polytechnic Students' Union
Cyprus Students' Society - Manchester University
Leeds University Union
UMIST Students' Union
Manchester Pily Students' Union
Manchester University SU

Teesside Polytechnic Students' Union
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Demokrat Norway
Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers
London CRS Political Committee
Frank Allau
Tony Benn
Lord Fenner Brockway
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Arthur Davidson QC
Frank Hooley
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Lord Jenkins of Putney
Mgr. Bruce Kent
Arthur Latham
Ken Livingstone
Robert J. Longuet
Jim Marshall
Lord Molloy
Stan Newsen
John Platts-Mills QC
George Morton
William Pomeroy
Reg Race
Andrew Rothstein
Marion Sarafi
Gordon Schaffer
E.P. Thompson
John Tilley
David Watkins
Philip Whitehead
Sheila Wright



NSC at one of the meetings of Consultative Assembly

National Security Council is now the Presidential Council

Between 12 September 1980 and 6 December 1983 the National Security Council passed 669 laws. The final law passed by the NSC bans any written or oral statement which "may cause conflict and dispute". It also bans any statement which accuses, praises or defends the ex-politicians, any statement which contains discussion or criticism or which speaks ill of or demeans the Head of the State, the President, and the members of the NSC for the period between 12 September 1980 and the effective date of this law.

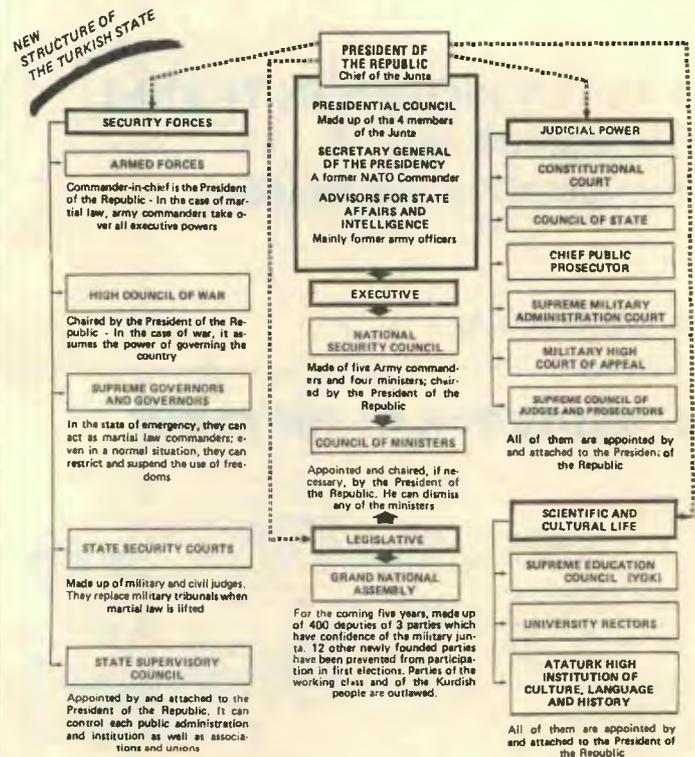
Those who make written or oral statements which affect the internal and/or external policy of Turkey adversely, will be imprisoned from 3 months to one year.

If these offences are committed through a publication, the penalty will be doubled. (*Milliyet*, 8 December 1983).

The National Security Council will henceforth be called the Presidential Council and will be in office for the next six years.

The new structure of the Turkish State

Since 12th September 1980, the generals made every effort to form a corporative and monolithic social and state structure of fascism. They have passed hundreds of laws. The new structure of the Turkish state is designed to give great powers to the President, Kenan Evren who will be in office for six years. The accompanying diagram by *INFO-TÜRK* is well-researched and presents this new structure of the Turkish State clearly.



Affiliate to 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 CDDRT and enclose a cheque/PO for £

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