PEACE - FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION - TRADE UNION RIGHTS - WOMEN'S RIGHTS

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY. NEWS AND VIEWS February-March 1985

STOP POLITICAL EXECUTIONS

102 DEATH SENTENCES PENDING

- 52 for so-called 'political-ideological crimes'.
- 27 young persons already hanged for 'political crimes'

An unprecedented number of martial law court death sentences await final ratification in the sanitised Turkish National Assembly. Time is running short as the Ozal-Evren regime gears up for another batch of hangings.

During October 1984, in a deliberate snub against the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, Illyas Has (aged 29) and Hidir Arslan (26) were hanged for alleged political offences.

THE GODS ARE ATHIRST

Hangings which had stopped since 1972, were resumed within one month of the September 1980 military coup. To date, 50 persons have been executed, 27 in connection with martial law trials

The October executions came immediately after President-General Evren's vitriolic speech in the eastern city of Mus denouncing the 'enemies within and abroad'. In a statement signalling the go-ahead for the October hangings Evren asked: "Do you mean we should look after these traitors for the rest of their lives and not hang them?".

- More than 400 prisoners under sentence of death
- A spate of new political hangings on the agenda

The execution of Hidir Arslan is all the more tragic because he was not accused of 'violence' but only with the nebulous charge of 'belonging to a revolutionary organisation'. All aspects of his martial law trial and appeal process are disturbing and give further warning that the Evren-Ozal regime intends to carry on with hangings.

KILL OFF THE OPPOSITION

The new round of blood-letting is linked to the military's obsession with punishing persons whom they hold "responsible" for the "anarchy of the late 1970s". This, however, reflects the top brass' fear of any radical opposition in the country. Consequently, laws and established judicial norms are being disregarded to physically eliminate young radicals, some of whom in their late teens or early twenties when first detained nearly five

CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE HANGINGS

The four committees sponsoring dayanisma have decided to launch a campaign against the death sentence in Turkey. The timing of this initiative is intended to coincide with the debate on Turkey's continued membership in the Council of Europe. The four committees are about to distribute a statement giving further details of the legal situation and condemning the impending hangings.

MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

* Halil Tunc, Former Turk-Is President, and still an advisor the legal trade union confederation said "If I were leader now, I wouldn't accept that we (the trade unions) should be blindfold and passive, I would rather close the doors of Turk-Is". (January 8th)

* In the latest war games conducted by the Navy, 37 soldiers were drowned with only 2 saved when their landing-craft overturned in stormy seas. A veil of silence has fallen over the disaster with officials refusing to comment. (February 2nd).

* A recent investigation has shown that 43% of the population believe that bribes are necessary in order to get work done in government and

* The first week of 1985 saw 13 suicides in Istanbul. The continuing increase in suicide numbers was explained by Istanbul Professor of Psychiatry Oycan Koknel as "unemployment, poverty and lack of joy". (January 7th)

state departments. (January 21st)

STOCKHOLM SOLIDARITY **CONFERENCE SETS AGENDA** FOR EUROPEAN COUNCIL TURKEY DEBATE

A Gesture of Solidarity: Another blow to the Regime

ETUC DECIDES DISK'S AFFILIATION

Long awaited decision of the ETUC to accept DISK as an affiliate came on January 31, 1985, when its Executive Committee met. DISK's application for affiliation was made in 1974.

The decision is another severe blow to the Fascist regime in Turkey which is still trying nearly 1500 trade unionists from DISK at military courts, for their entirely peaceful trade union activities. Seventy eight of them are facing death sentences.

DISK, the Progressive Trade Union Confederation of Turkey, was only narrowly second to Turk-Is, the main trade union centre at present.

It is reported that Turk-Is leaders, as another act of collaboration with the regime, wanted their application to be kept pending the permission of the Government as required by the new trade union law imposed by the dictatorship.

Despite the apparent delay, the acceptance of DISK's application by the ETUC is, no doubt, a meaningful gesture in support of DISK, and the trade union movement in general.



Better late than never... You now have issue 14, specially extended to compensate for the delay and cover events from February 1 to March 1. We have had three main problems which have delayed this issue. In order of importance -- and to quote Napoleon-- these were and are, 1. Finances, 2. Finances and 3. Finances... In short, our financial difficulties are far from being solved.

Our readers are our only asset. It will be your solidarity (your dayanisma) which will sustain us. We have two requests from you: 1. please subscribe and 2. please find new subscribers. However, despite all our financial difficulties, rest assured that we will meet again with dayanisma number 15 due in May.



PEACE CAMPAIGN HOLDS AGM

Some 50 peace activists gathered at an AGM held in the House of Commons to discuss the past activities of the Campaign to Defend the Turkish Peace Movement and plan for the coming year. Many of the participants travelled hundreds of miles from as far away as North Yorkshire and Malvern to be present at the meeting chaired by Roland Boyes MP and attended by Ann Clwyd MP.

CND Vice-Chair Joy Hurcombe who, along with Bruce Kent visited Turkey in January, spoke of her impressions. "Mahmut Dikerdem and five of the accused had recently been released from jail, pending their appeals" she said. "Of course, there was great relief that their suffering had ended for a while. Despite all pressure, they had not given an inch. They

even found wry humour in the antics of their accusers".

Joy Hurcombe went on: "I was suddenly made aware of this most beautiful country with its ancient culture existing in a state which had for some reason decided to turn on its most respected citizens and punished them in a way which is alien in any other member of the Council of Europe".

Roland Boyes and Ann Clwyd urged the participants to step up campaigning to secure the release of the remaining 12 TPA prisoners. Ann Clwyd drew particular attention to the plight of Mrs. Reha Isvan, a founder of TPA, who unlike the male prisoners has been kept at the harsh regimen Metris Military Prison.

dayanışma

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INTRODUCING THE NEW WITCHFINDER GENERAL

By Cam Matheson

The demand for a general amnesty for political prisoners has now reached such proportions that not even President, former General, Evren and Prime Minister Ozal can continue to ignore it.

Virtually all the opposition political forces of the left, non-fascist right and centre are now united in the call for such an amnesty.

There is a further logistical reason, with both military and civil prisons stuffed full to overflowing, it is becoming even more difficult for Evren and Ozal to maintain their already faded and cracked veneer of "civilized Turkey".

Under these circumstances you might be forgiven for thinking that the logical development would be to grant a general amnesty.

Not so!

The essential nature of the Turkish regime is such that having locked up tens of thousands

on the most ridiculous trumped-up charges it cannot afford to have these people free to tell of their incarceration and the kangaroo-courts that put them there - one or two can be handled but tens of thousands can not and will not be allowed to roam free - the regime is too precariously balanced for that.

Nevertheless the pressure for amnesty remained so something had to be done. Evren and Ozal were in a corner and were obliged to take some action or be seen for what they are, vicious, incompetent and vindictive.

Their predicament was that they needed a formula which appeared to offer amnesty whilst maintaining the lie that the interned and imprisoned were, and still are, guilty as charged.

Their answer is one of the most despicable pieces of legalistic trickery ever devised anywhere at any time, but fully in keeping with the warped minds that can imprison on the evidence of the late Tsar Peter the Great. (As

was done with Mrs. Reha Isvan, Executive Committee Member of the Turkish Peace Association). Amnesty or partial amnesty will be granted to those prisoners who provide "evidence" against others.

It is, you must admit, a neat piece of legislation. If you "shop" somebody else, you will be fully or partially amnestied but to have had the "information" to enable you to "shop" someone else you must have been guilty yourself, through some form conspiratorial organisation when you are freed who is going to listen to the complaints of wrongful imprisonment and so on, from someone who is not only guilty themselves but actually gained their own freedom at the expense of somebody elses

But for some of the prisoners it is not just a simple, if dastardly, moral dilemma. It is for them literally a matter of life or death. At the time of writing there are 112 people for whom the death penalty has been confirmed - if they "shop" somebody they will live - if they don't they will hang! The new law amnesties the death penalty to life imprisonment. For these poor wretches the dilemma must be unbearable

The present Turkish regime has no political or legal authority - the only authority it has was imposed at the point of a gun in 1980 - with this latest "law" it has surely also lost any claim to moral authority.

WHO HOLDS THE STRINGS?

On February 16, a 'summit' entitled "Government - Armed Forces Cooperation" was held in General Staff Headquarters in Ankara. According to A General Staff statement, the bizarrely named 'summit' was intended to "discuss evaluate and interpret the political and military crises in the world and in the region surrounding Turkey". Participants included General-President Evren, top army commanders, PM Ozal and his 'kitchen cabinet'.

Reports suggest that the military handed a memorandum to PM Ozal to set the agenda for his April visit to Washington.

GEO-POLITICS FOR SALE

The memorandum presented to Ozal on February 16 demands that Ozal press for the items already worked out between the Turkish and US Chiefs of Staff. These include, firstly, the ratification for a second term of five years of the joint US-Turkish Defence and Cooperation agreement which has doubled US military aid to Turkey since the coup and upgraded the US bases in the country.

Secondly, the Turkish military have offered to take in US bases which may be removed from Greece by PM Papandreo's drive towards neutrality and nuclear free zones in the Balkans. Ozal has been asked by the Turkish army chiefs to indicate to the Americans that "every favour has a price". Ozal will bargain hard to increase US military and economic aid during his talks with the White House and State Department.

REACTIONS

The Armed Forces-Government 'summit' was attacked by the extraparliamentary opposition. Professor Inonu of SODEP [the Social Democratic Party barred from participating in the general elections] pointedly said that the term "Armed Forces-Government Cooperation" was a misnomer because the Constitution "formally" put the armed forces under the control of the government. How could the two sides meet as 'equivalents' if there was indeed a 'constitutional order'?



Necdet Üruğ Head of General Staff

THE 'BIG STICK'

The episode reveals once again that the institutionalised power of the generals' junta wields the real power in Turkey. This fact was indeed spelled out by the hapless Mr. Ozdaglar, an Ozal protege and at 35 the youngest cabinet member until his sacking in January's corruption scandal, who made the following widely reported statement to a Western diplomat: "Your excellency, your excellency...Democracy is a luxury. We keep on talking about democracy to make you happy. We have someone with a big stick at the top and we are at the bottom. This is how things are".

Nota Bene

NEW GOVERNMENT FORMULA TO REPLACE OZAL?

by Abdullah Yılmaz

The above title may appear fanciful; one might say "What is this about 'new formula' when the Government is only 16 months old and has a clear parliamentary majority?"

This would be logical if we were thinking of a normal, democratic situation, but in Turkey such "fancies" can become reality.

It is this abnormal situation that Prime Minister Ozal is trying to conceal by his constant repetition of "Turkey has completed its transition to democracy - our parliament is legitimate" and by implying that he will be in power for at least 5 or may be 10-15 years.

His problem is that his dream does not fit the current political reality and so he is obliged to indulge in more political manoeuvres.

Let us think back: when it became clear that ANAP [Ozals party] was falling under the control of the NAP [Fascist Party] Ozal and Co. started to talk about a "Turkish Islamic synthesis" trying desperately to cover fascism with Islamic motives. But he couldn't hide the fact that the roof of the structure was being supported by fascist columns - Mustafa Taser, Halil Sivgin, Veysal Atasoy and other renowned militants for the NAP. With the failure of that "synthesis" Ozal promoted a further manoeuvre - "moderation" - he spread the word around that the former members of the now banned Justice Party [Demirel's Conservative Party] would be reflected in the government and in his, Ozal's party leadership.

Given that the two other pro-junta [and therefore allowed into parliament] parties were in disarray - the junta's Nationalist Democracy Party [NDP] is virtually dissolved and the Populist Party [PP] has split almost to the point of non-existence - he hoped to use the fact that his own party has polarised into 4 different factions plus his visit to Reagan etc. to smile the false smile of "democracy" before the Council of Europe in April.

But that plan didn't work either for the reality is that one of the 4 "currents" [namely, the Islamic fundamentalists, fascists, JP conservatives and right-wing social democrats] totally dominates the others, for Ozal in the run-up to his party's congress [to be held in a few weeks] has been in close collaboration with the fascists [NAP] leading to the an overall victory for fascist delegates from the branches. The fascist influence is such that Ozal felt "encouraged" to cancel the results of the Izmir branch meeting because they had elected a "moderate". In another branch in Ankara it was obvious that a "moderate" was going to win so Ozal tried to impose his own candidate, only conceding when two thirds of the delegates handed in blank voting slips.

The whole sickening gerrymandering process has led to the disclosure that the "centre right" are proposing a new government formula - the intention is to create a new government inside the junta's parliament comprising defections from the three parties.

This has been tried many times before and is such an old trick that its chances of success are very slim.

Continued on page 11

DISHONESTY OVER GENERAL AMNESTY

"LAW OF REPENTENCE" TO ENCOURAGE REDUCED SENTENCES FOR 'SUPER-GRASSES'

Last May, the Council of Europe urged the Turkish authorities to respect the Convention on Human Rights with an immediate "amnesty for those prosecuted and convicted for their opinions". During the past twelve months all the cardboard parties represented in the National Assembly have also raised this question because of overwhelming public pressures.

Given that some 40 percent of males in Turkey are between the ages of 20 to 44, a rough estimate suggests that one in twenty-five of this age-group have been detained at some stage since the coup for 'political and ideological offences'. Current estimates of numbers of 'political prisoners' put these at around 20,000.

These figures are intended to indicate the impact of the post-coup regime on Turkish society at large. (Women prisoners have been excluded because of deliberate witholding of statistics and the blurring of distinctions between different categories of women prisoners).

CHARTER FOR SUPER-GRASSES

PM Ozal had raised false hopes during the run-up to the 'unfree' elections of November 1983 by committing his party to 'a general amnesty'. Other parties followed suit. Despite these committments, President-General Evren and his Presidential Council (comprised of the four other generals leading the coup) had effectively vetoed the possibility of amnesty and told martial law authorities to muzzle the press accordingly.

But because of mounting internal public pressure and external outcry, something had to be done. The result is a thoroughly cynical "Law of Repentence" now being discussed. This is an informers' charter allowing people to come out of prison or having their sentences reduced if they make a convincing denunciation against someone else.

The most disturbing aspect of this proposed bill is that it does not matter what testimony the 'denouncer' may have given initially nor how many years has elapsed in the case concerned.

Military prison authorities have been promoting such non-legal practices by giving special privileges and facilities to inmates categorised as 'independents' and 'pro-State independents' that is, prisoners who have agreed to turn state-witness. As the Bar Associations have protested, such measures flatly contradict penal law and prison regulations which specify equal treatment of all prisoners. The so-called "Law of Repentence" is another example of the breakdown of international legal norms in post-coup Turkey.

TURKEY'S 'DR. STRANGELOVE'

NEW YOUR BASED TURKISH DOCTOR USING MILITARY PRISON INMATES AS GUINEA-PIGS FOR MIND DRUGS.

Turkey has been rocked by newspaper revelations linking a New York based Turkish doctor with banned experiments on prison inmates and destitute 'medical volunteers'. Allegations that Dr. Turan Itil has taken advantage of legal loopholes and more relaxed Turkish laws concerning medical experiments on human beings to conduct research banned in the United States and the rest of Europe have stunned the Turkish public.

AN 'ANTI-TERRORIST' CONFERENCE

Initially regarded as an eccentric Turkish adherent of the American ultra-conservative 'new right', Dr. Itil first came to notice as the organiser, along with former CIA Turkey station-chief Paul Henze, of a semi-secret conference held in Istanbul at the end of January.

Convened in the Middle East Trade Center amid intense security precautions, the conference was attended by familiar names associated with the neanderthal right such as General R.L. Clutterbuck (Retd.) of Britain, Doctors Martin Abend and Jonah Alexander and Simon Bourgin of the United States and a smattering of European faces. The presence of the Turkish Minister of Justice lent the conference semi-official status.

Hinting at the strange activities of Dr. Turan Itil soon to be revealed in the press, the full title of this shady gathering was: "The International Symposium for the Rehabilitation of Terrorists in Turkey".

SELF-STYLED ANTI-TERRORIST EXPERT TURAN ITIL HEADS PRO-EVREN TURKISH LOBBY IN THE US.

DR. ITIL, MIND DRUGS: TERRORISM IS GENETICALLY DETERMINED'

Early in March, Turkish newspapers carried reports of an article by Dr. Turan Itil in the Psychopharmacology Bulletin which stated that his data was derived from experiments in Turkey "since in Turkey government regulations regarding trials with new psychotropic drugs are less rigid than in the United States".

According to an expert on psychopharmacology, Dr. Akgul Baylav, who was approached by dayanisma, 'psychotropic drugs' relate to all manners of chemicals which act upon the nervous system in a manner which determines behaviour. Dr. Akgul Baylav said: "These are highly sensitive areas of science, almost twilight zones. That's why the World Health Organisation and the United States Food and Drugs Administration have laid down very rigid guidelines for experiments."

She added: "The most dangerous aspect of Dr. Itil's work is that he wants to prove that 'terrorism is genetically determined'. This reminds any responsible scientist of the hypotheses used by Dr. Mengele of Auschwitz concentration camp infamy".

In his statements to the Turkish press, Dr. Itil has asserted that: "On the basis of experiments I carried out on thousands of terrorists currently held (in Turkish military prisons) I can tell you that they are all of sub-normal intelligence. The intelligent ones are all out at large. There is a communist wandering around



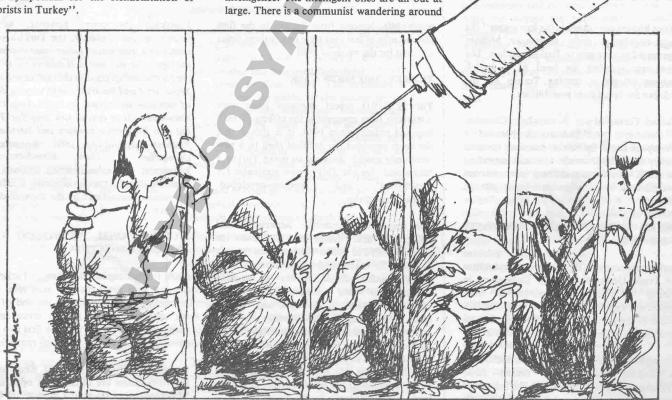
Dr'Strangelove' Itil's publicity brochure

free for every terrorist behind bars" (Nokta weekly magazine 17/2/1985).

THE CIA CONNECTION - "TERRORISM IS HEREDITARY"

The shadowy presence of Paul Henze, former CIA station-chief in Turkey and currently prominent in the pro-Evren lobby in Washington, raises other questions in connection with the MK ULTRA scandal of CIA-backed drugs tests conducted between 1953 and 1964. Best known as the experiments which led to "discovery of LSD" and resulting in the death of at least one of the human guinea-pigs, the MK ULTRA project was denounced on an American CBS TV programme broadcast just before last Christmas. Eight of the people experimented upon have sued the US government for damages totalling millions of dollars.

Dayanısma will carry more reports on the horrific revelations concerning Dr. Turan Itil's experiments in Turkey's military goals to "prove" that "terrorism is hereditary".



TUC MEETING TO MARK DISK AN

● TUC General Secretary Norman Willis: "It is clear that international pressure has helped to secure the release of DISK prisoners. It is equally clear that much remains to be done".

A high-level meeting held in the TUC general council chamber on February 13, marked the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of Turkey's banned Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK).

The meeting/chaired by Mr. Alex Kitson of T&GWU was attended by representatives of the British labour movement led by Mr. Norman Willis the General Secretary of the TUC, TUC officials, officials of several major unions, Ms Jenny Little of the Labour Party International Department leaders of Liberation and John Bowden, the well known labour law specialist. The Turkish side included executives and other officials of some trade

The situation in Turkey shows once again that the violation of trade union and human rights in developing countries harms not only the working people of the country concerned, but may also harm working people in industrialised countries like Britain by attracting British investment into Turkey because of low wages and poor working conditions and thereby fuelling British unemployment [Statement on Trade Union Situation in Turkey, Congress House, February 13, 1985]

unions affiliated to DISK, currently living in

In their key-note speeches, both Alex Kitson and Norman Willis emphasised the importance of the international outcry and the sustained solidarity of the past five years in securing the conditional release of the DISK executive though still facing capital charges in a martial law trial which has broken all previous records by continuing at a snail's pace since Christmas 1981.

It is no less necessary now for us to press our call for an amnesty for all trade union and political prisoners in Turkey. We must also call for the restoration of basic trade union freedoms in Turkey. If a government operates against free trade unions then it operates against the people. New trade union laws in Turkey severly restrict the possibility of workers to combine to defend their living and working conditions. And the Turkish Government wants international recognition and acceptance into the international community. It must allow normal human freedoms including trade union rights to be practiced without restriction.

(From the speech delivered by Norman Willis during the DISK eighteenth anniversary meeting)

A CURE WORSE THAN THE DISEASE

The SCRUDT report prepared by Dr. Enis User reveals the extent of the economic and social damage inflicted by these policies. First and foremost came an enforced squeeze on domestic consumption for all sections of Turkish society except the highest income groups who were given the green light to embark on a binge of consumption and luxury imports.

During the first year of the IMF 'programme' alone, real wages were slashed by 25% and four years on, according to TURK-IS trade union research findings, real wages are down by 55% At the same time, net profits of the top 500 Turkish companies increased by 37% in the early 1980s.

A striking illustration of this unprecedented assault on wage-earners is the fall of the average daily wage from US \$8 per day in 1981 to US \$3 in 1984, which makes Turkey even

MEETING REVEALS EXTENT OF BRITISH TRADE LINKS WITH GENERAL'S TURKEY

"Your biggest advantage is the low wages" the mass circulation daily newspaper Milliyet announced in February to Turkish readers. The paper was quoting the head of a British business delegation touring Turkey on the look-out for investment possibilities.

Michael Turner of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry is part of a developing move by British business towards Turkey that British trade unionists attending the DISK anniversary meeting were warned "would spell lower wages and fewer jobs in Britain".

EXILED TURKISH TRADE UNIONISTS WARN TUC

Turkish members of the Solidarity Committee for Trade Union Rights and Democracy in Turkey (SCTURDT) presented a well-researched report to the TUC detailing the extent of the growth of trade between the two countries since the coup of September 1980.

The report reveals that the Turkish authorities in Ankara had offered British firms "systematic encouragement to make full use of Turkeys open market and cheap labour".

Meanwhile, imports from Turkey in the first nine months of last year were nearly three times the total for the whole of 1980.

TURKEY: 'IMF SHOW-CASE'

The SCTURD report contains some very disturbing facts concerning the effects of IMF imposed policies since 1980. It is argued that the coup provided the political shell to a new 'economic model' designed to make Turkey a 'show-case' for the IMF's new strategies for 'developing' and 'medium-developed' capitalist countries.

The impending economic bankrupcy and collapse of Turkey during 1977-1979 under the weight of US \$12 billion foreign debts (mainly in short to medium-term borrowings from foreign banks) was one of the far reaching effects of the world recession. If Turkey was allowed to default on its debts, and furthermore, if Turkey could negotiate its debt repayment schedules outside the terms offered by the IMF, it was feared that other potential defaulters such as Mexico (owing US \$85 bilion in 1982), Brazil (US \$89 billion) and Algeria (US \$18 billion) could band together to ask for more fayourable terms for repayment.

Following the coup, however, as The Economist put it plainly, the Turkish junta's continuing economic policy was "designed, nurtured and watched in Washington, DC, [as] the forerunner of policies that the International Monetary Fund has tried --with varying degrees of success-- to implant in Latin America and elsewhere... It is crucial not only for Turkey but also for foreign bankers and international financial institutions that it succeed". [November 3, 1984]. Elsewhere, The Economist and other leading journals have admitted that the Turkish economy is effectively "remote-controlled" by the Turkish desk at the IMF.

MULTINATIONAL INVESTMENT - THE BRITISH CONNECTION

More foreign capital has come to Turkey over the past four years than the sum total of the preceding twenty years! By the end of 1983, for example, Britain ranked seven amongst major exporters to Turkey, the first two places going to the US and W.Germany respectively.

Recent visits by the Duke of Kent and Sir Geoffrey Howe are intended to open up this "fluctuating but rewarding market" to British

NIVERSARY

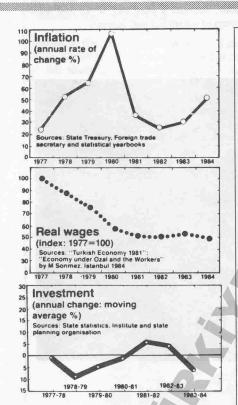


more favourable a haven for cheap labour than places like Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and S.Korea, renowned for their 'low wages and

productivity'. (Average wages in the latter countries in 1982 were, respectively, \$9.76, \$11.68, \$17.52, \$11.36).

It is right for us to meet here on the anniversary of the founding of DISK because the TUC has had friendly relations with DISK since the first days of their existence. Now that the DISK leaders are released on bail, our fight must be renewed. Many thousands of trade union and political prisoners remain detained and trade union freedoms continue to be restricted. The TUC in its calls for the restoration of democratic institutions and genuine trade union freedoms, does not represent a small isolated minority. In this fight we are in the company of major international institutions - of the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the International Labour Organisation, the European Court of Human Rights, many of Europe, the International 2200 national governments, and the ICFTU and ETUC...
(From the speech delivered by norman Willis

during the DISK eighteenth anniversary meeting).



firms. As reported in October's dayanısma, the Duke of Kent's trade delegation focused on arms sales, energy supplies (including nuclear power stations) and engineering contracts.

Continued on page 11

Commenting on post-coup 'stable industrial relations front' Mr. Halit Narin, President of the Employeers Union: "We listened to the workers for the past twenty years. Now we are going to do the talking and they will listen".

British Overseas Board of Trade Press Notice during the visit of a trade delegation headed by the Duke of Kent: "Turkey's economic performance has improved considerably in the past three or four years. The emphasis is shifting from the public to the private sector, and the business world has become more outward looking. Since the new government's arrival at the end of last year, radical new economic measures, including those on exchange control and import/export regulations, have been announced. These are designed to open up Turkey's economy and are a virtual revolution in Turkish attitudes towards the movement of goods and capital".

The slashing of real wages and the squeeze on domestic demand has reached such proportions that American businessmen visiting Turkey felt compelled to raise the question at a trade conference held in Istanbul last October: "Mr. Prime Minister", they asked Ozal, "you want us to invest in your country. What guarantee do you have that your policies will not end up in social and political upheaval?".

Turkish wages are now cheaper at US \$3 per day than in other 'havens of cheap labour' such as Hong Kong (\$9.76), S. Korea (\$11.36), Taiwan (\$11.68) and Singapore (\$17.52).

MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

Accusations and counter accusations of bribery at the highest level are now rife in government and business circles. The latest involves government minister Ismail Ozdaglar who was presented with a tape claiming to prove his complicity in a 25m Turkish Lira bribe scandal. He was sacked within 10 hours. The scandal is around a row between the two largest shipping and transport firms who are at daggers drawn in the rush for some very lucrative contracts - it is not expected that Ozdaglar's resignation will end the scandal. (January)

* Another long-running scandal is the one of bribery and torture surrounding the Kapikule Customs Post. The latest episode came when a woman employee at the customs post stated that at the time of the investigation she was told to undress by the police, knowing she would be sexually assaulted, she "accepted" their version of events and signed the statement written by the police. (January 28th)

* Traditionally, the Chamber of Commerce has always remained independent of the State (for example there is no known case of the President of the Chamber of Commerce meeting the President of the State). No longer in an unprecedented break with tradition Mehmet Yazar who head the Chamber was "visited" by President Evren, leading to speculation that Yazar is carving out for himself a political career. (January 6th)

* In spite of government promises to the contrary, the demolition of the shanty towns continues making many homeless. 152 dwellings have already been razed with 1,052 listed for future demolition. (February 2nd)

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* Ozal's recent visit to Davos (Switzerland) for an economics and business conference was not quite the success the junta-controlled media claimed. He offered 218 projects for foreign investment. In spite of the extremely low wages in Turkey only 6 schemes were taken up. The regimes political instability appears to be the main reason for the low response. (February 3rd)

* Arrested by the security forces in Ankara for running stark naked in the street during the freezing cold, Ibrahim Avci said that he could not cope with rocketing prices and inflation and that he feared arrest if he complained verbally about his poverty. "In a moment of desperation" he said, "I decided to protest with no clothes on. I don't normally do such things. But I can't cope with this economic hardship". (16th January)

* Mr. Erhan Acar, the lecturer sacked from his post in the Architecture faculty of Ankara's English language Middle East Technical University for refusing to shave off his bear, is unrepentant. He recently publicly accused the University of "taking a hostile attitude to one of my personal organs. Arbitrary and unconstitutional rules are being enforced", he said. (February)

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MARKED: "RELEASE REHA ISVAN"

One of the organisations supporting dayanisma, the Solidarity Committee for Women's Rights in Turkey (SCWRT) organised jointly with the Women's Section of "Londra Halkevi" a lively conference followed by a social to celebrate International Women's Day (March 8). Sponsored by the GLC, the day-long event was held at Islington Central Library with the participation of the ANC women's section, Democratic Organisation of Iranian Women and the Iraqi Women's League.

The presence of Armthorpe Miners' Wives action Group highlighted the important international links formed and sustained during the epic miners strike. The speakers drew attention to the common denominator of liberation which united different struggles and joined together sisters from different countries.

SCWRT speaker Durner User spoke about the experiences of the women's movement in Turkey, how for the first time in the country's history women had organised themselves into a popular movement, formulated their own demands, and actively struggled for these. She pointed out that this mass women's movement had been supressed by the military after the coup of 1980 and women denied their hard-won rights.

Durnev User drew particular attention to the plight of Mrs. Reha Isvan, currently serving an 8 year sentence for founding the Turkish equivalent of the CND. "She is in a hell called



Metris Military Prison" User said "THIS IS NO PLACE FOR ANY HUMAN BEING; let alone 59 year old ailing Reha Isvan". Durnev User asked the women's organisations present to join SCWRT's campaign to get Mrs. Isvan out of Metris jail by the time of her sixtieth birthday on October 29th.

The day also had its lighter moments including an international evening with dances from the Turkish Community Centre, Iraqi and Kurdish folk groups. British women performers, particularly the poetry readings by Mine and Debby, brought a busy day to an end with feelings of sisterhood and strength.



Their Struggle for Peace and Equality

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN TURKEY

A new 56-page pamphlet on women in Turkey providing a readable account of:

the history of the Women's Movement in Turkey

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REHA ISVAN, Leading Women's Rights campaigner facing 30-year prison sentence.

Her crime: wanting peace.

REHA ISVAN: In one of the harshest military prisons in the country now 59 years old "has rheumatoid arthiritis in her hands so that she can hardly hold a spoon...in unbearably cold and uncomfortable conditions".

A "PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE" SPEAKS

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR.DORA KALKAN

Dr. Dora Kalkan was born in Istanbul in 1946. She graduated from Istanbul University Medical School in 1972, since when she has been a member of that school doing research into the complex area of neurology, muscular dystrophy and related disorders. A member of the American Academy of Neurology she has done research work in both the USA and UK.

In 1975 she became a founding member of the Progressive Women's Organisation (Ilerici Kadinlar Dernegi) and is also a member of the Turkish Peace Association.

After the 12th September 1980 coup she was imprisoned for a year for her activities on behalf of the PWO, and was until 3 weeks ago when she escaped from Turkey and arrived in Britain still on trial for these activities. She applied for political refugee status as a result of these charges brought against her by the Turkish regime.

Dr. Kalkan has a 4 year old daughter who is now safely in this country with both her parents.

Dayanısma:- Dr. Dora Kalkan would you please tell us your past, your medical career and how you became involved in social questions?

Dr. Dora Kalkan:- I graduated from medical school in 1972 full of idealism and emotion for medical practice. I began to work in the university with enthusiasm to heal the sick and help the poor.

But, after a short period of three years, I realised something very important - trying to help people with neurological and psychological problems was not easy - but it was made even harder because people lacked the awareness of basic social medical needs and their rights in this area. There was no preventative medicine in the country - and women were the worst off - thousands died in childbirth, thousands died trying to take the most primitive precautions against pregnancy, thousands of children died for lack of the simplest drugs and basic medical care, diseases like pneumonia and diarrhoea which were curable, were the major cause of death for children under the age of one - rickets and other ailments caused by under nourishment were common - women didn't really know the best way to look after their children.

So dealing with intricate problems like muscular dystrophy, though necessary, seemed like a luxury when the simplest and most basic problems of health and nutrition were ignored.

So I decided to spend some time in social health and along with my medical career I decided to work for women's health.

Dayanisma- Please tell us about the PWO and your work in this organisation.

Dr. Kalkan- In 1975 I became a founding member of the Progressive Women's Organisation in Turkey. My aim was to help women and children towards a better life,



Dr. Dora Kalkan

better nutition and better health. And I think. with the help of many friends, we were achieving our goal. Working women in Istanbul and in many parts of the country and women from the rural areas became members of the PWO.

We taught them how to read and write, how to better take care of their children and how to fight for their rights and benefits.

Women found answers to their various questions in the PWO - it was like a revelation after centureis of repression and ignorance.

Social evenings, where they could speak freely of their problems with other women sharing the same problems, brought them joy and eagerness to fight for their social rights.

Dayanısma- You were imprisoned in Turkey?

Dr. Kalkan-The PWO's activities were banned in April 1979 (in the period of martial law which preceded the coup - Dayanisma). Our organisation embracing women from all parts of the country seemed, to the military regime, to be dangerous. In October 1982 I was arrested, taken from my office in the University and imprisoned for being a founding member of the PWO. After 6 months in prison the military prosecutor asked me what was my aim in founding the PWO - trying to help women to improve their life and their children's health was not a plausible answer to him. He refused to believe that a medical doctor and member of the University would care for the under-developed parts of the country. So my imprisonment continued for a whole year. Now I am on trial with the prosecution demanding 20 years imprisonment.

Dayanısma- Did your ward celebrate Women's Day in prison?

Dr. Kalkan- While in prison we did celebrate International Women's Day on March 8. It was a joyous day, nostalgic for the key day of PWO but full of the best feelings and belief in the future. We all knew that perhaps for some years March 8 wouldn't be celebrated in our country - but women had learned their rights and their needs so their activities can't be stopped and March 8 will be celebrated in the future. The emancipation of society and particularly women can't be halted - during the active days of the PWO March 8 was celebrated by thousands of women - in prison

there were 12 in one tiny cell to celebrate the day - but we knew friends in the world outside were with us, this knowledge gave us strength.

Davanisma- What was the PWO's crime? What charges did they bring against you?

Dr. Kalkan- That's a good question and very difficult to answer. It is hard to understand the logic of the prosecutor.

I am accused of being the founder of a legal organisation - I was a prisoner of conscience for merely thinking - all the PWO congresses, seminars, lectures were given in public and announced in advance in newspapers. The PWO headquarters were in the most popular avenue in Istanbul. I, as a member of the University, have never been charged with any crime. All our activities from 1975 to 1979 suddenly became illegal in 1980 - I have never been accused of terrorism or of anything but simply for 'thinking'.

Davanisma- Can you tell us about the members of the PWO and, in particular, Mrs. Isvan?

Dr. Kalkan- The PWO included women of different backgrounds, ages, needs and social activities - among them you could see young, 20 year old shanty-town women learning to sew and 50 year old peasant women learning to read - young mothers, students, professional women came together for the emancipation of women, they were all eager to help but one woman I really admire is Reha Isvan - executive committee member of the Turkish Peace Association and wife of the former major of Istanbul. She was 50 years old when the PWO was founded and she worked in every area of PWO and Peace Association activity - she was warm and understanding - a good speaker, I know that many people came to a clearer understanding when she spoke of peace - we were all proud to have her as a member of the

But, unfortunately, this very dedicated women, mother of three children, agricultural engineer, educationalist and a peace worker has been in prison for the last 28 months. She is now 59 years old, has rheumatoid arthritis in her hands so that she can hardly hold a spoon, and being incarcerated in the unbearably cold and uncomfortable conditions of the military prison has affected her very badly. But during the time were in prison together she was firm in her belief in the future and was a tower of strength to us all - she is in prison in bad unhealthy conditions, yet she is strong and unbeatable.

Dayanısma- What is your position vis-a-vis the Turkish Peace Association?

Dr. Kalkan- I am being tried in the Peace II trial as a member of the Turkish Peace Association. As a woman, a doctor and a mother, I am proud of being a member of the Progressive Women's Organisation and the Turkish Peace Association - I know the future is ours.

Dayanısma-Thank you.

TURKISH CBI GOES WET'

The Turkish Businessmens and Industrialists Association (TBIA), the country's equivalent of the CBI, was pressured into electing a new chairman. The AGM produced a surprise name for the chair of this powerful organisation and Mr. Sahap Kocatopcu, a textile tycoon and former Minister of Industry and Technology in the junta government formed after the coup, was elected. Alleged to have quit his cabinet post after disagreements with Ozal in 1982, Kocatopcu is backed by the country's 'Top Three' holding companies who are nervous of the long-term consequences of Ozal's brand of undiluted 'monetarism'. Kocatopcu's election is seen as an attempt by some sections of Turkish business to distance themselves from Ozal's economic policies. The new chairman's predecessor had given Ozal full support.



Sahap Kocatopcu

DEDICATED BY EVREN TO 1985 YOUTH YEAR

TO THE ATTENTION OF TEACHING STAFF AND THEIR ASSISTANTS

Respected...[name of lecturer]

In a communication received from the Higher Education Council Directorate via the Office of the Rector, it is stated that some of the students registered in your colleges contravene regulations on proper attire that dress regulations are not being enforced and that our Respected President has given directives that members of staff protecting such students should be duly noted.

As regards proper attire, students with headscarves, beards, long hair; excessive make-up, mini-skirts, tight trousers and revealing clothing, plunging neck-lines will definitely be barred from attending classes.

Moustaches will also be trimmed so as to avoid excesses and comply with regulations.

The Office of the Rector considers its duty to inform all Faculties, Polytechnics and Institutes to duly note and report all persons contravening the dress regulations to the Deans of the colleges concerned so that appropriate measures can be taken. The Deans will be held personally responsible for the implementation of this directive.

I strongly urge you to note the above, to take the necessary steps and to treat this as an order of State which precludes any discussion with any other person.

Prof. Dr. M.Oluc Arik DEAN

AK/3.4.1984



205 WORDS BANNED FROM RADIO AND TV BROADCASTS

At the end of February, the state controlled Radio and TV Corporation (TRT) published a list of 205 words which will "henceforth be expunged from all broadcasts" including on-the-spot TV interviews with members of the public.

The banned words include the modern Turkish equivalents of 'freedom', 'reform', 'rational', 'culture', 'memory', 'nature', 'contemporary', 'imagination', 'theoretical', 'experience' and a host of others well established in everyday speech and writing.

CULTURAL (COUNTER-) REVOLUTION

As indicated in The Times leader of September 11, 1984, neo-fascists have taken effective control of the TRT whose current director was formerly a senior figure in the Nationalist Action Party (sic) ideology department.

In tune with the attempts to install a 'State ideology' based on the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" --this being a code-word for the unity of Turkish fascists with hard-right religious zealots-- popular Turkish words are being purged and replaced with their synonyms derived from the discarded fusion of Arabic and Persian called "Ottoman".

An equivalent would be banning English words and reintroducing their Latin originals in BBC and ITV broadcasts.

BACK TO IMPERIAL EDICTS

Prior to the establishment of the Republic in 1923, Turkish culture was split into a spoken language of the people and the written language of the Court and intellectuals. The adoption of the Latin script by the young Turkish Republic in 1928 and the language reforms promoted during the 1930s sought to end this cultural split and promote mass literacy. The medium of communication in modern Turkey would be a language (and a script) accessible to the bulk of the population, rather than the artificial creation of palace scribes called "Ottoman" limited to a narrow circle. Where it proved impracticable to provide an everyday spoken Turkish substitute for Arabic and Persian words, some would be granted 'naturalisation'.

Having declared themselves to the world as "protectors of Ataturk's legacy", the Turkish general are now proceeding to dismantle some of the more positive aspects of this heritage. The revival of these archaic words is intended to re-introduce the cultural elitism of the Ottoman period when there were two languages and when an ordinary person could not hope to understand a normal written text even if it were read aloud to him or her. In the past years this gap had been closed with the language of books, newspapers and government documents being the same as the spoken language. It now appears that the generals want to cloak their repression in the language of the Sultans.

STOCKHOLM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

Continued from page 12

- The general elections held in 1983 are sham and do not represent the will of the Turkish people because of the restrictions on political parties and candidates imposed by the generals;
- Local elections held in March 1984 (with the participation of three previously disqualified parties) can not be regarded as meaningful because of martial law restrictions on campaigning and free speech.

URGENT DEMANDS

Having agreed on the fundamentals of the post-coup regime, the Conference then moved on to formulate demands for the restoration of democracy by urging the Turkish administration to:

Create the institutional and political framework for a genuine pluralist and participatory democracy:

Honour its treaty obligations concerning fundamental human rights and freedoms, the right to free association including trade union freedoms, and to provide *guarantees* for the exercise of these:

Immediately end martial law;

Stop executions and abolish capital punishment;

Declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners;

End torture and brutality in prisons, and intimidation and harrasement of prisoners' relatives:

End forced emmigration from Turkey on political grounds and declare an amnesty for all current political emigres.

The Conference drew the attention of the Council of Europe to:

consider the continued membership of Turkey in the Council of Europe in the light of genuine



Lasse Budtz: Danish MP and Spokesman for the Council of Europe Socialist Group: "There are attempts to bury all that has happened since the coup. This conference has highlighted the plight of the Turkish people".

steps taken to ensure a transition to democracy and on the basis of guarantees given and maintained over civic and human rights.

And, finally, the Conference appealed to all European governments and political parties to:

Support activities aimed towards the transition to a genuine democracy in Turkey. The best form of solidarity which can be extended is to join in with the Turkish people who are struggling to maintain democratic values and principles common to us all.

BRITISH TRADE LINKS WITH TURKEY

Continued from page 7

Current British firms on the lucrative Turkish pipe-line follow this trend. But the kind of British investment projected for Turkey illustrates that Turkey does indeed have a strong foundation for industrial growth and can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as "an agrarian society"--as some Western apologists of the military regime tend to argue to justify 'military tutelage' for what are falsely presented as 'peasants lacking in democratic culture'!

IMF: 'NO TO FURTHER INDUSTRIALI-SATION'

The IMF's main concern is that Turkey should pay back all its debts. However, five years on, such is the nature of Turkey's debt-trap that despite continuous devaluation of the Turkish lira, credit and consumption squeezes, the debt burden has soared from US \$12 billion to US \$30 billion since the coup.

The country's historically prominent public sector (with its hundreds of state-owned factories) has been starved of new investment and offered for privatisation. Private sector credits are at usurious rates. The export boom fuelled by the senseless war between Iran and

Iraq is far from being stable. There is a yawning gap of US \$3,6 billion balance-of-payments deficit. Even PM Ozal has expressed his worried over the drying up of funds for industrial investment.

The IMF, however, is pressing for what amounts to the de-industrialisation of Turkey. In a three-pronged attack, high incentives are provided for foreign 'agri-businesses' (until lately, Turkey was one of the seven countries in the world self-sufficient in agriculture), for the 'tourism sector' (Franco's Spain is cited as a model for this), and multinational investment in the four tax-free 'free trade zones' soon to be set up.

Indeed, the interest shown by British firms in energy and other 'infra-structure' projects are closely related to these new 'free trade zones' which are expected to be constructed by the giant US contractors Bechtel Corporation which include Secretary of State Schultz and Secretary of Defence Weinberger (both close friends of the Turkish generals) amongst their influential directors. These 'free trade zones' will be set up in Southern Turkey so as to facilitate multinational exports to the Gulf and the Middle East. Their net worth to the Turkish economy will be minimal.

NOTA BENE:

NEW GOVERNMENT FORMUAL TO REPLACE OZAL?

Continued from page 4

Another formula, more favoured by some, is to form a new party entirely outside of ANAP. In the words of Ahmet Ihsan Kirimli, who recently resigned from the MDP, when at a press conference organised with another 25 MPs "otherwise the left will be the alternative".

This is the present state of the fascist regime where even the Prime Minister is no longer secure - it is weakening almost by the hour.

The whole sickening gerrymandering process has led to the disclosure that the "centre right" are proposing a new government formula - the intention is to create a new government inside the junta's parliament comprising defections from the three parties.

MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

- * The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Leader who was with the recent British business delegation in Turkey is reported in the Turkish press as saying that low wages were an important benefit to Turkish commerce; high inflation was not such an important matter and that he would like to see Turkey in the EEC. (February 6th)
- * With the recent "privatisation" of the Bosphorous Bridge, the spate of sell-offs of state owned concerns continues. The latest is the massive Keban Dam which provides water for the Eastern and South Eastern regions of Turkey. According to a leading bank "the shares went very quickly". (February 8th)
- ***

 * A trial taking place in Frankfurt of the killer of Dr. Bedrettin Commert (assassinated in 1978) has uncovered a direct link between the Grey Wolves (the military wing of the fascist party NAP whose leaders are now in ANAP, the government party) and the mafia controlled heroin trade in W. Germany. (February 3rd)
- * After finding themselves banned from the general election, though allowed to run in the local elections, SODEP and DYP now find that their call for new elections cannot be broadcast as they banned from appearing on the state-run radio and television. (January 26th).
- * Mustapha Taser, now General Secretary of ANAP (Government Party) but formerly a 'Grey Wolf' paramilitary and leading member of NAP (Fascist Party) has announced that those MPs who vote with the government will get preferential treatment as will those rank and file ANAP members in terms of jobs and other perks. (January 24th).

STOCKHOLM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE SETS AGENDA FOR EUROPEAN COUNCIL TURKEY DEBATE

- A landmark in support for Turkey organised by the Swedish Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Turkey which includes representatives of all political parties in the Swedish parliament ranging from conservatives to communists.
- Mid-February Conference held in the Swedish parliament attracts 200 delegates from Scandinavia, Holland, France, Federal Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece and Britain and over 100 press correspondents.

Mayor of Stockholm lays on a civic reception.

Despite diplomatic protests and intense pressure from the Turkish government put on the Swedes to cancel it, the all-party Swedish Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Turkey held a high-powered conference in Stockholm to highlight the absence of democracy in Turkey and the continued abuse of civil liberties.

Held on February 16-17 and timed to coincide with the run up to the debate on Turkey expected in the April session of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, the Stockholm Conference brought together a broad spectrum of European parliamentarians who have been involved with Turkey since the coup and who intend to press the issue during the next sitting of the Assembly in Strasbourg.

REAL FRIENDS OF TURKEY

The delegates included the Danish MP Lasse Budtz who is the spokesperson for the European Socialist Group in the Parliamentary



Hadar Cars: Executive member of the Swedish Liberal Party: "The Turkish people do not deserve this regime..."

Assembly, David Blackman who is the Secretary of the Socialist Group in the European Parliament (not to be mixed with the Council of Europe), member of the French and the Council's National Assembly Parliamentary Assembly Jean-Pierre Fourre (also an observer in November 1983 to the Turkish Peace Association trial), member of Parliamentary Assembly and former Immigration Minister of Sweden Carin Andersson, member of the Federal German Parliament Klaus Thussing, Scandinavian members of parliament and Hans Larsen who is the General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists.

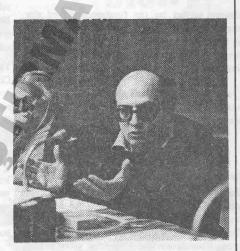
THE TURKISH CONTINGENT

Apart from the Turkish members of the Committee organising the Conference, a strong contingent of well-known democrats from Turkey travelled to Stockholm to participate in the proceedings. These included the prominent trade unionists Kemal Daysal(DISK executive), Mehmet Karaca (President of the now banned Metalworkers Union), Metin Denizmen (President of Bankworkers Union, also banned), the General Secretary of Turkey's supresed Teachers Association TOB-DER, Mustafa Duzgun, and lawyer Enis Coskun, the General Secretary of the Turkish Peace Association.

Equally significant was the presence of Professor Server Tanilli, a leading academic based in France and a tireless civil rights campaigner now confined to a wheelchair after an assassination attempt by Turkish fascists. The President of FIDEF, based in the Federal Republic of Germany, a federation of associations formed by immigrant workers from Turkey, Hasan Ozcan, also attended the conference. The prominent Turkish author Demir Ozlu was one of the many Turkish intellectuals present.

"TURKEY IS NOT FREE"

Structured around detailed reports prepared by the participants, the Stockholm Conference addressed itself to the criticisms and recommendations put forward by the European Parliament (MEPs from EEC countries directly elected) and the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (MPs selected by national parliaments from all European states endorsing the European Convention on Human Rights). Both institutions had urged Turkish authorities to put their house in order prior to this year's debates.



Professor Server Tanilli: Representative of the Initiative to Support Turkish Intellectuals: "The 1982 constitution is a manifesto of big business against labour, a document which is little different from army regulations..."



Mr. David Blackman: Secretary to the Socialist Group in the European Parliament. "Turkey has no place in the Council of Europe because of the nature of its current regime and its violations...."

The Conference however agreed that the situation in Turkey continued to deteriorate -- a fact which could not be hidden by the public relations campaign recently launched by the post-coup regime and its far-right supporters abroad:

• The military-imposed 1982 Constitution goes against the letter and spirit of all international treaty obligations (including the UN Charter) signed by Turkey and is the main impediment towards restoring democracy in Turkey;

Continued on page 11