



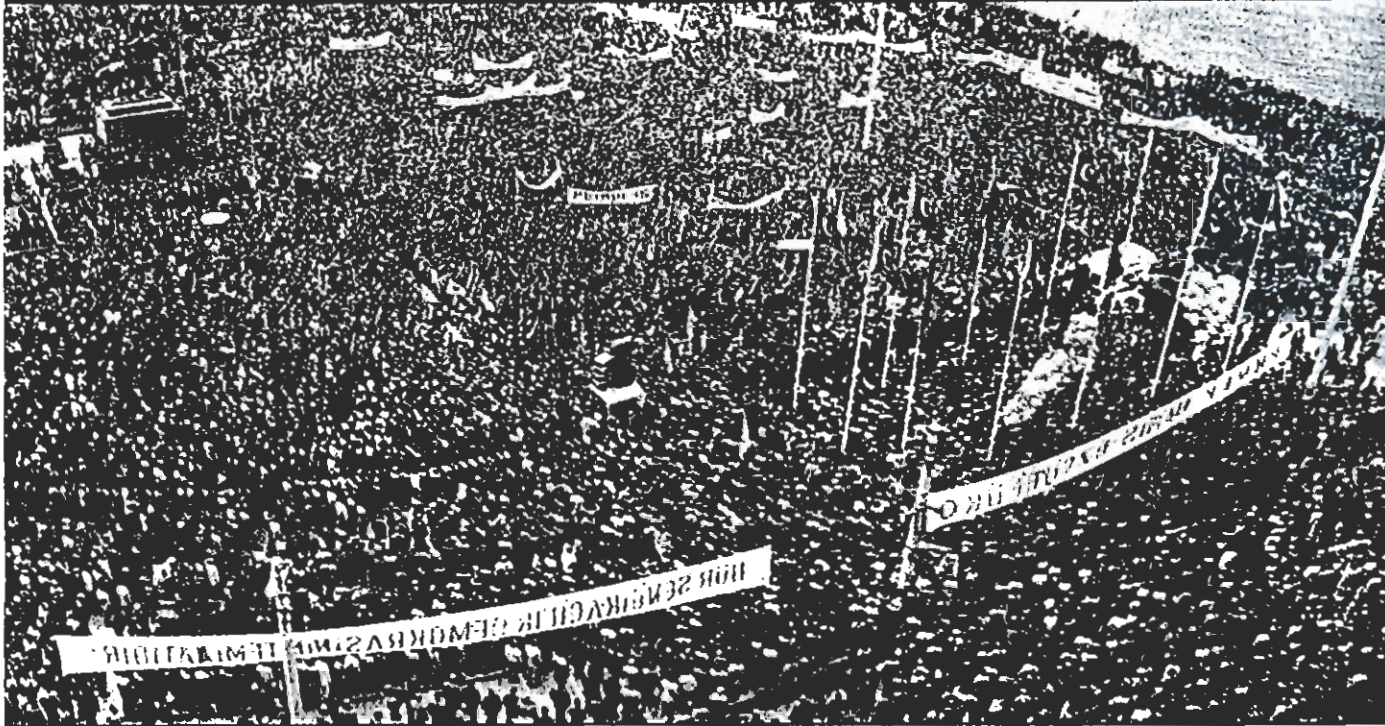
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## WORKERS' RISING RESISTANCE



After a 5-year silence under pressure, the trade union movement of Turkey, with the active support and solidarity of the international trade union movement, has begun to raise its voice against anti-labour measures by resorting to different ways of protest.

On February 22, 1986, about one hundred thousand workers from all over Turkey poured into Izmir, for the first open air labor rally allowed by authorities since 1978.

The rally was organized by the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TURK-IS) to protest high inflation, low wages and restrictions on labor rights in Turkey's 1982 Constitution. Ironically, this confederation's leadership has also been responsible for all anti-labour measures adopted by the military regime, because its Secretary General Sadık Side was the Minister of Social Security in the military government until the end of 1983, and he signed all anti-labour decrees. Furthermore, prior to the referendum on the 1982 Constitution, TURK-IS led a campaign in favour of this anti-democratic text.

Living conditions having worsened extremely, the grass-root of this confederation has carried out pressure on the union leadership to take a more active stand and to organize mass actions.

Prior to the rally, thousands of security forces were deployed around the Cumhuriyet Square. As police helicopters flew over the square, police searched most of the people coming to the rally area.

During the meeting, workers often rebuked for their conciliatory position. The Turkish Daily News of February 24, 1986, commented on this reaction as follows: "Workers from Anatolia, from the provinces of Erzurum to Balıkesir, from Sinop to Diyarbakır, has assembled at the rally ground to clearly and vocally protest the economic policies of the government. The Slogans prepared by Türk-İs were rather dry and came far from steering the crowd who had a rather social democrat leaning while a majority of the trade union chiefs addressing them were right-wingers. Thus the speeches did not make a great impact."

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## DISK CHAIRMAN BASTURK'S DEFENCE

During the week 24-28 February the DISK trial, now in its fifth yearç reached the stage of the defence hearings. At the 258th session of the second military court of Istanbul the President of the Confederation, Abdullah Bastürk, opened the defence case by reading out the first part of the 470 page document which he and the lawyers prepared in defence of the organisation and of policies pursued since its foundations in 1967.

DISK chairman Abdullah Bastürk is also the Chairman of GENEL-IS (General Workers' Union of Turkey), Member of the Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and Honorary Member of the Executive Committee of the Public Services International (PSI).

The presentation of the full document will take six more sessions of the court during the next three weeks, after which General Secretary Fehmi Isıklar, the other Executive Board members, the presidents of the individual unions, the remaining defendants and the defence lawyers will be given the opportunity to refute the prosecutor's charges.

It is expected that the defence proceedings will take three to four months, whereupon the final sentence is to be pronounced, probably in June/July.

As will be recalled, the military prosecutor in the final indictment, which he read out between January 15-28, called for prison sentences ranging from 6 years and 8 months to 20 years for 781 of the accused, acquittal for the remainder of the defendants, and dissolution of DISK and its affiliated unions.

An additional one and a half to two years will be required by the Supreme Military Court to deal with the case in the appeal stage. Thus the end of the DISK trial is not to be expected before 1988.

The 258th and 259th sessions of the court on 25 and 26 February attracted wide attention, got large press coverage in Turkey and were attended by observers from TUC, UGT, Türk-İs, IMF, PSI, ICFTU and WCL. The delegation had talks with the DISK executive committee members, a number of other defendants, the defence lawyers and journalists present.

Below we are reproducing the translation of Bastürk's defence which has been provided by the ICFTU.

"Messrs President and the Judges,

"In this lawsuit which can be considered as one of the widest and the longest of the world with its indictment of 1477 people and 257 sessions prior to defence in 50 months, at last we reached the stage of defence hearings.

"Although the state of war conditions declared by the court in the beginning were resolved with a pretext of accelerating the trial, we are to defend ourselves 50 months after the beginning of the lawsuit.

"The DISK-1 Indictment consisting of 864 pages with photographed supplement of 47 pages whole of which were composed by the Martial Law Military Prosecutor had been able to be read in 67 days and the examinations could begin 42 days later than the completion of the reading of the indictment. Only my examination as the president of DISK took 109 days and finished in 21 sessions. This, I guess, is the longest examination in the world.

"With more than 160 supplementary indictments, the number of the tried trade unionists in this lawsuit reached up to 1477. The examinations of the trade-unionists, 78 of whom were tried by death penalty, with DISK-1 indictment, could be done in 16 months and just the evaluation of the evidence related to DISK - apart from the evidence of the 160-odd supplementary indictments- took another 13.5 months. Meanwhile, the lawsuits against the affiliate trade unions of DISK were combined with the DISK trial and the examinations and evaluations of evidences took 16 more months.

- the falsity and unlawfulness of the claims in the indictment,

- The wide range of "date of crime"

- The crowd of the real and moral persons accused in this indictment,

- the combining of the lawsuits against the affiliate trade unions of DISK with this trial

- the accusation of many events, persons, institutions, many documents, terms and words in this indictment,

- the political polemic nature of indictments and the General Statement (GS) rather than being the documents of lawsuit and the accusation of democracy freedom of trade union activities and the social and civil rights in essence,

- the rejection of the mot-a-mot inclusion of the

answers of the tried persons during the examinations in the lawsuit minutes, especially in the DISK-1 lawsuit,

- and because I am accused for all the claims stated in the 315-317th pages of the GS, my defence will be wide in content. This, I believe, is my natural, primary and unrefutable right.

"I think the presidents and the board members of the affiliate trade unions will focus on the indictments against their unions and the accusations against them in the GS and evaluate the evidence in related matters. For this reason, my defence will cover mainly the DISK-1 Indictment, supplements of this indictment, GS and DISK Evidence Files as I consider the other claims in general as being the President of DISK.

"In the beginning of my defence I want to put forth this as the essence of my defence:

"DISK remained loyal to 1961 Constitution, the laws of this country and the principles of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and has been an independent, democratic organization. For this reason, I reject as a whole all the accusations made for DISK and its affiliate trade unions as moral persons and for all trade unionists who are tried here.

#### "1. THIS IS AN UNLAWFUL TRIAL

"As we tried to make it clear during our examinations and the evaluation of evidences and as we will continue to reveal during our defence in detail, this trial is an unlawful one. DISK-1 indictment, supplementary indictments, indictments against the affiliate trade unions and the general statement which this lawsuit is based upon are all unlawful documents having no legality at all.

"The basic features of these documents which are totally incompatible with the basic principles of the modern law and the logic of law can be stated as thus:

"I. With the indictments in this lawsuit and the GS' legislation, execution and judgment system in Turkey, the principle of 'continuity of the state', constitution of 1961 and the democratic institutions brought by this Constitution, movement of democratic trade-unionism, all the social and civil rights and the freedom of trade union activities are put under accusation. With these documents it is declared in written from

that all these mentioned institutions and fights are not recognized and will not be recognized.

- In these documents, the legislative system, i.e. the Parliament, of our country is blamed. The laws passed by the legislative body are either recognized invalid or found defected or new interpretations contradicting with the essence of them brought forth. One third of the members of parliament elected by the people of this country before September 12, 1980 are accused of 'adopting Marxist-Leninist principles' (DISK-1 Indictment, page 774), the relations of members of parliament with various persons and institutions are tried.

- In these documents, the executive system of our country is tried, too. No courts, no court of appeal is recognized in these documents; the decisions of such courts are accused to be either wrong or defective. Apart from this, the accepted principles of law, the conditions of trial and court are all rejected.

- In these documents, "the continuity of the state" concept is rejected, too, by accusing the 13,5 years of activities of DISK which were carried on within the context of 1961 Constitution and the continuous state order represented by the legal governments and the parliaments elected by the people.

- In these documents, the social legal state principles of 1961 Constitution, the democratic institutions and democratic accumulation and developments are tried; basic human rights and freedoms, freedom of organizing in trade unions and civil rights are rejected, too. Thus, in the first place the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of United Nations and then all the international agreement, ILO and its principles which were all signed by Turkey are totally rejected.

"II. The Military Prosecutor spent his last words with the General Statement. Before revealing the characteristics of the accusations complied in the GS, I want to assert my own views on the accusations not as an expert in law but as a trade unionist who served for 8 years as a member of parliament.

"A. In the 784-817th pages of the DISK-1 Indictment which was introduced to the press in 25 June 81 before it was completed, the legal description made was accusing DISK by trying to abolish the Constitutional order by force and proposed to sentence the trade unionists according to the article 146 of Turkish Criminal Code (TCC). However, the GS dated 15 January 1985 argues that DISK has violated the Article 141 of TCC.

"How can the same incidents described with the same sentences and the same pseudo-evidences be subjected to Article 146 in 1981 but to Article 141 in 1985? What kind of a legal approach is that?

"B. With a modification made by law nr.3531 in Article 141 of TCC, this article is made elastic enough accuse even the governments to come to the office by elections with the attempt of trying to abolish the constitutional social and economic orders. According to this modification, the exertion of force is not necessary to accuse anybody with Article 141.

"But the Military Prosecutor obstructed this way to himself either. As stated in indictments and in pp 106, 133, 134 and 145 of GS, DISK is accused of trying to abolish the constitutional order by *revolution*

"On the other hand, affiliate trade unions of DISK tried to abolish the law and order by Revolution, or Uprising or by a Terror, according to the pp 165, 170, 178, 191, 199, 204, 207, 211, 214, 224, 232, 240, 244, 260, 269, 281, 295 and 309 of GS.

"Although the accusation is made with the same sentences of DISK-1 Indictment's pp 784-817 where the "material and moral force" argument took place, on the 314th page of GS it is said that:

"For the application of Article 146 of TCC there could not be found any evidence or sign of employment of force element."

"Those explanations reveal that the accusations have no legal supports so far as the Articles 141 and 146 are concerned.

"III. The indictments related to the DISK trial and the GS strongly oppose to the accepted basic principles of criminal law, to the conditions of trial and court regulations and the related articles of the Constitution and other laws. As follows:

- In these documents, the principle of privacy of crimes that takes place in the Constitution and other laws is violated and all the suspected are accused with collective and successive crimes against principle.

- In these documents, the accused activities are not defined legally.

"The crimes imputed to us in these documents are not clear where as the first article of Turkish Criminal Code obviously states that 'nobody can be punished for any action which is not described as a crime clearly in the code.'

- In these documents, the legal elements of crime are not stated.

"In these documents, the events where the abolition of rights and/or the prescription exists, the incidents for which the public prosecutors or the courts decided there were no need for prosecutions or there were no appeal of public prosecutors against such decisions of the courts, tried and ended or still being tried, or the subjects which were cancelled by the previous amnesties are all brought into trial and used for accusations.

- In these documents there are no evidence of accusation. The accusations do not have material bases. This is essential characteristic of the whole trial: The trial itself has no single concrete evidence.

- The second article of TCC states that "nobody can be tried and punished for any action which was done." In these documents, this article is also violated.

- The accusations in these documents are based on the methods of *comparison* and *deduction* which are both forbidden by the criminal law.

- These documents are manipulative texts.

- The accusations in these documents are based on subjective rather than objective judgments.

- The accusations in these documents are based on suspicions, hypothesis, guesses, allusions and implications.

- These documents are enlarged in vain with unrelated material and eclectic and distorted excerpts.

- In these documents, the texts prepared by DISK are either falsified or distorted.

- These documents are based on hiding and distorting the realities.

- These documents are full of material faults, information errors and confusion of concepts.

- These documents are also full of self contradictions.

- The legal descriptions in these documents change continuously. For instance the same event is named as crime, evidence, force, favorable means, attempt and practice in various pages of the same document.

- In these documents the rules and regulations of DISK which were ratified and supervised up to date, all the official declarations and considerations, all the activities of DISK are accused in a manner completely opposing to the laws and rules of procedure.

- The papers which they forced us to sign under torture but which rejected by showing eye-witnesses in the presence of the Military Prosecutor and the Military Court are still accepted as the preparatory statements and some accusations are based on these ob-

viciously invalid papers. The Military Prosecutor seemed to accept these facts in the 78th page of DISK-1 Indictment and in his provisional statements implicitly. In the minutes of the hearings of June 1982 and 30 June 1982 it is clearly recorded that we introduced to the Military Court our petitions about the tortures we experienced but now it appears that our petitions about the tortures were taken out of the lawsuit files and destroyed.

"These characteristics of the documents including the accusations were submitted to your Court in the petitions of the accused trade unionists on various occasions; especially during the evaluation of the evidence they were made clear and based on concrete facts and several examples were introduced.

"On the other hand, the defence lawyers skillfully described the place of these documents against the modern democratic law uncovering the unlawful essence of these documents which I tried to summarize up to now.

"IV. In these documents which give the impression of a prejudice political polemic documents, unbelievable, irrational accusations expressed without any real evidence; these documents are arranged with opinions, ideas, texts, speeches and events none of which belonging to the DISK trade unionists.

"For example the DISK-1 Indictment includes the following documents, speeches, events, diapositives, films and recorded tapes none of which were belonging to either DISK or any one of the boards members:

- a) The book titled "6th Congress Report of DISK"
- b) The book titled "DISK Educational Notes" (DISK-1 Indictment pp 98-102, 593-613).
- c) Democratic Movement Central Committee draft (Indictment pp. 427-436)
- d) "National Democratic Front" booklet (Indictment, pp 449-474)
- e) Publication with the title of "Textiles Educational Notes" (Indictment, pp 622-625)
- f) Diapositives and related texts about German Democratic Republic (Indictment pp 629-636)
- g) Recorded tape of "Voice of Communist Party of Turkey"
- h) Speeches at the Conferences of Regional Representatives (Indictment pp 698-707)
- i) The speeches of the guests at the solidarity meeting for Chile (Indictment pp 721-731)
- j) May Day celebration messages received from abroad (Indictment pp 741-750)
- k) Letter of the secretary general of CPT dated February 1, 1979 (Indictment p. 753)
- l) The assertions of Parliament members of CHP (Indictment pp 766-776)
- m) The majority of the photographs in the supplement of the Indictment (47 pages)
- n) The occupation of Tarsis incidents (indictment p 115)
- o) The slogans apart from the ones determined by DISK used in the May Day Celebrations (Indictment pp 662-693).

"These documents, speeches and events which have nothing to do with DISK and members of the board cover almost one-third of the whole Indictment. And the Military Prosecutor accuses DISK by using those pseudo-evidence which do not belong to DISK. The DISK-1 Indictment is once more unlawful and violating the accepted general principles of modern law for these reasons...

**"4. WE ARE ACCUSED OF USING OUR RIGHTS STATED IN 1961 CONSTITUTION AND OTHER LAWS**

"If we are seated in the suspected chair today,

this is because we defended the basic human rights, especially the freedom of thought and speech with such devotedness. Because we urged and succeeded in putting into effect our rights stated in the 1961 Constitution and other laws.

"The right to live, the right to work, freedom of thought and belief, the right of meeting, the right of collective bargaining and strike... These were what we the trade unionists fought for.

"We fought for the principle of equality, freedom of thought and speech, right of organization, freedom of press, right of education, right to work, trade union rights and right of meeting and those were what the international documents that Turkey also signed and the 1961 Constitution secured.

"Trade unions are the products of democratic establishment of the societies, and today trade unions are considered as essential elements of democratic social life.

"But unfortunately the freedom of thought and organization could not be achieved easily. In this process we never forget Galileo who had the courage to say that "the world still rotates" in spite of all the pressures. We never forget our trade unionist colleagues who sacrificed their food, their work and even their lives, who spent years in the dark dungeons throughout the world in the last two centuries.

"We tried to save one of the most basic human rights, the freedom of organization, from being the privilege of a small minority. We tried to show that the democracy in Turkey can assume its full meaning just and only when all the workers, all the working people take their place in the administration of the country, as it was in other democratic countries.

"Because we know by heart that both the democracy and the freedom can be established robustly merely by the participation of the conscious citizens—conscious of his existence—in the political life as crowd masses.

"Today if we committed a crime, it is that we defended the Constitution of 1961 bearing in mind and heart those approaches. That we faced anarchism, terrorism and supporters of fascism decidedly. That we defended the rights of the workers till the last point.

"We, the trade unionists, defended the Constitution of 1961 and the basic rights and freedoms which forms its essence under the worst conditions with an unshaken confidence. We still defend. To defend the Constitution is the must of the patriotic duty for us. I and my friends are proud of our nature as uncompromising real democrats.

"I, Abdullah Eastürk in all my life as a citizen, and during my presidency both in Genel-Is and DISK, defended 1961 Constitution, defended the democracy, defended the freedom of trade unionism. I never accept these as crimes. And I will fight for the freedom of trade unionism and the social rights till the very end of my life.

"Human rights are universal. And these rights are secured by the international agreements tying the states. According to the Article 65 of 1961 Constitution, "The international agreements that are put into effect in accordance with the procedure gain the power of law" and are superior to the other codes in the domestic law.

"When there were numerous significant problems in our own country should we shut up and look on? As the representatives of half of million worker could be shut up and just look on? No, never. And we did not. We did our duty as was stated in the first article of the code of trade unions. To recall it, we asserted our views in order to save the economic, social and cultural interests of working class. We argued for our

views. We fought by the means the 1961 Constitution provided us, we fought by our votes in the elections.

"As the real patriots and also believing in the international solidarity of the workers, conserving our national cultural heritage and defending our national pride we fought for the realization of the rights stated in the 1961 Constitution.

"We the trade unionists are well aware of that we can not be the suspected of such a trial. Because it is not us, but the democratic rights and freedoms are what tried here in this Court.

"This trial is the trial of the future of the democracy, trade unionist rights and freedoms and the future of the social rights.

"For this reason, all the democrats of the world, my trade unionists brothers, colleagues are interested in this trial inevitably as their notion of democracy necessitates. I thank them here once more for the solidarity they extended.

"This lawsuit was not started for an illegal decision, action or an illegal plan of DISK or its members or the trade unionists of DISK were found and unearthed was started for the ideas and beliefs of the DISK leaders and members which were very well known by the public prosecutors, governors, ministers, by all the authorities since they were asserted publicly in all the meetings and conferences, for the clear minutes written in the officially ratified agenda, for the leaders and the members of DISK persuaded the defence of all interests of our country, for they defended the rights and freedoms of the workers as a whole and their views and actions were accused later.

"We did what we did for all of them were legal, for we were sure that they were all legal. We are still sure that they were. We clearly state once more that neither our ideas nor our activities can be considered as crimes.

"To consider our ideas many years later than we spell them publicly as crimes is never compatible with democracy, social order, continuity of the state of Turkish Republic, principles of judiciary state and the accepted principles of law.

"The ordinary associations such as Aydınlar Ocağı TUSIAD (Association of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen) and their members as well as Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Employers' Trade Unions confederation of Turkey) board members everyday participate in politics with their declarations and activities in today's Turkey; but only DISK and its affiliate trade unions are accused of participating in politics. If this is not an obvious hostility against the workers and their trade unions, it is a disgrace of humanity.

"We neither drafted any constitutions against the existing 1961 Constitution as some employers and politicians did, nor said "This Constitution is a luxury."

"We merely and only argued for the realization of the 1961 Constitution in its essence.

"If we are accused for being and fighting against robbery, exploitation and oppression, and smuggling,

"If we are accused for demanding higher wages,

"If we are accused for obtaining higher bonus and seniority payments,

"If we are accused for fighting against imperialism and fascism,

"If we are accused for fighting to reach that bright future when nobody will exploit anybody, nobody will be the slave of anybody,

"If we are accused for being real democrats and patriots,

"If we are accused for defending 1961 Constitution we admit them. If these are considered as crimes, yes, we committed these.

"We already struggled for the democratic rights and freedoms under death threats everyday before September 12, 1980, we defended them by risking our lives.

"Humanity fights for the better, for the finer. The basic human rights constitute the unabandonable fraction of this cause of humanity. No organization, nobody, and especially no trade unionist can give up this struggle.

"Everybody who wants to be acquitted in the Court of History should show respect to the basic human rights, to the basic principles of the International Declaration of Human Rights, and especially to the freedom of thought and organization.

"I believe that the esteemed members of this Court should observe these consideration too.

"What type of a democracy in Turkey will be in the future will emerge with this lawsuit. For this reason, this trial will serve as a criterion for the 'democratization process' in Turkey...

"In the General Statement it is claimed that DISK has violated the article 141 of the Turkish Criminal Code since its foundation in 1967, by attempting to set up a proletarian dictatorship through reevaluation and by employing terror as being an illegal Marxist-Leninist political organisation.

"The crimes stated in the Article 141 of TCC are:

1. the establishment of the domination of a social class on other social classes,
2. the abolition of a social class,
3. to form an illegal organization to realize the above mentioned aims.

DISK has never had any conception or any action which may be considered within this context.

"1. In the report to the 2nd Congress, DISK has stated that "We never permit any class dictatorship"; in the report to the 4th Congress; "Democracy does not permit the dictatorship of a family, a group or a class". These are all the official declarations of DISK which reveal clearly that leave aside chasing for a class dictatorship, it firmly stands against any such dictatorship or tendencies towards any dictatorship.

"2. On other hand, the Declaration of Establishment of DISK has described being a revolutionary as "To fight for achieving to make everybody a possessor and to benefit from the favors of civilisation equally." The Statute of DISK states in paragraph (c) of its article 3 that the Confederation will demand the state to control the basic sectors for manufacturing and the private sector to assist the state. In other words, DISK does not argue to abolish a social class but on the contrary it recognizes the existence of the private sector.

"3. DISK has never been a political organisation, neither legal nor illegal. DISK has carried all its activities in front of the public opinion preserving its loyalty to the laws of the country and always remained as an independent and democratic CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

"And, DISK has always argued for the parties to come to the office through general elections, and always asked its members to participate in every election.

#### "EPILOGUE

"The accusation in this lawsuit is based on the hypothesis that DISK and its affiliate trade unions are illegal political organizations. All other events and documents in the indictments are evaluated according to this hypothesis. In other words, the accusation of DISK to violate the Article 141 of TCC is not stated inductively after the investigation of what DISK has done, but on the contrary, DISK is considered as an illegal organisation in advance by prejudice and then

what DISK has done and indeed in many cases, what DISK has not done - is investigated and accused in order to prove that DISK was an illegal organisation. Thus the claims are made without relying on any evidence, the accusations are not proven by evidence, on the contrary we trade unionists are forced to prove the falsity of these claims and accusations.

"In my examination, during the evaluation of the written evidence and in this defence word of mine I have proven by the documents of DISK and official evidence that DISK and its affiliate trade unions have never had any intention, material or moral compulsion, illegality or illegal organisation elements that are necessary for the application of the Articles 141 or 146 or 142; and I stress that strongly once more. DISK and its members never aimed the domination or the abolition of any social classes. DISK, its affiliate trade unions and everybody who are tried in this lawsuit are all innocent.

"In my whole life as a worker and a trade unionist I merely and only fought for democracy and freedoms with the consciousness of my responsibility I bear for the society, the workers and all laborers. I struggled for a peaceful future, for love and friendship, for this PURPOSE I took my place in the struggle for independence, democracy and socialism.

"I am proud of being a member of working class. I have a deep respect and confidence in the minds and hearts of the hands weaving the future, my brothers. I am very glad and content that I participated in the fight for democracy and freedom, through all my years both in the Parliament and in the democratic meetings of the workers; I am very happy that I had my share in the last 25 years of the trade unionist struggle of Turkey. I have the honour of presiding both Genel-Is and Disk.

"I also bear the great honour of being the members of the boards of the PSI and ETUC side by side with my esteemed friends, the European trade unionists who showed the best examples of international solidarity and never left us alone in the days we were subject to the most unlawful accusations.

"The iron and stone dungeons, the unlawful treatments and tortures we experienced, all the things we suffered were not the first and not the last, as well. The clash between the people who fight for the better for the happiness and the ones who are the supporters of exploitation and oppression will continue further. But I am sure that one day, certainly and absolutely,

our children will expect a better future, all the workers will smile, the songs of freedom, fraternity and peace will be sung in my country and all over the world. And then the struggle of DISK and the things we suffered will be recalled and conceived once more and illuminate the future.

"DISK has functioned within the context of 1961 Constitution, the principles of ILC which were signed and accepted by the Turkish Republic and Codes numbered 274 and 275 as an independent and democratic confederation of trade unions; and will function in the same way.

"DISK has always struggled for the rights of labour, the bread and work of the labourers, the development of democracy and the freedoms, the realization of the basic human rights and freedoms, freedom of organizing in trade unions, and social rights, friendship and brotherhood, liberty, peace, preventing exploitation and oppression, the happiness of all labourers.

"DISK means the full application of 1961 Constitution.

"DISK means the realization of basic human rights and freedoms.

"DISK means the right to organize in trade unions, to strike, to carry out collective bargaining.

"DISK means the freedom of thought and freedom of living.

"DISK means democracy and freedom.

"DISK means legality and lawabiding.

"We did what we did for we believed in the democracy in Turkey and in order to strengthen this democracy.

"The invariable law of history orders to support what is right and just.

"DISK has always supported and struggled for everything just and right.

"Our greatest eye-witnesses are the history and the social relatives.

"Time will acquit DISK and us.

"Our share in the struggle for democracy and the freedom and our words of defence, the words of whom are seated in the rows of suspected in this Court, will leave profound traces in the making of the real democracy.

"With the deepest belief in that I request from your Court to acquit the persons accused here, to acquit DISK and its affiliate trade unions and acquit all of their activities."

## EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY WITH DISK

On February 14, 1986, the occasion of the 19th anniversary of DISK's foundation, the Executive Committee of ETUC adopted the following resolution:

"The European Trade Union Confederation, of which DISK is an affiliated member, hereby reiterates its protest against the anti-union policy of the Turkish regime of injustice, and appeals once again to all Western European governments, to all of the European institutions, and to all democratic forces in Western Europe to call upon the Turkish government to end the trials against DISK, its member unions and leaders. The European Trade Union Confederation furthermore appeals to the Council of Europe to abandon its plans for holding a session of the Parliamentary Assembly in Istanbul in early July 1986. The Confederation calls upon the Council of Europe, the governments assembled in that institution, and all of the members of the Parliamentary Assembly, to obstruct Turkey until human and trade union rights are again respected in that country.

"The ETUC and its member organisations express their respect for the courage and strength which the DISK members and the members of their families have shown in the face of persecution in this long, difficult and humiliating period. The European Trade Union Confederation assures DISK that it will do its utmost to demonstrate its solidarity and to continue to put pressure on all Western European governments and institutions to induce the Turkish government to adhere to the principles of free democracy and to finally enable free trade unions to operate without restriction.

"The European Trade Union Confederation expresses the hope that the democratic forces in Europe will realise their moral responsibility and will combine their efforts to ensure that DISK can celebrate its 20th anniversary once again as a free organisation representing the interests of the workers of Turkey."

## WORKERS' RISING RESISTANCE

(From Page 1)

"The social-democrat president of the Karp-Is (War Industry Workers Union), Kenan Durukan, was the only trade union chief who really received a proper ovation. The workers who were not satisfied with the addresses started protesting against Sevket Yılmaz, Chairman of TURK-IS. The meaning of this was very clear: The leadership of TURK-IS is being dominated by right-wingers and, until the rally, the workers never had proper personal contact with their trade union chiefs, headed by Yılmaz. Their leaders were seen only on TV or in the newspapers. This time it was different. They had the chance to see their leaders in the flesh and hear what they had to say. When the addresses were far from satisfactory, the rally, which was intended as a portest against the government, turned into a protest against the TURK-IS leadership.

"One very interesting point was that the workers who vocally protested against the trade union chiefs during, and especially after the rally, were unanimous in showing great support and affection for Aydın Güven Gürkan, the chairman of the main opposition social democrat party, SHP. The crowd clapped and cheered Gürkan for several minutes and did not allow him to leave the rally ground for quite some time."

After the rally, the police forces took 77 people into custody for having chanted slogans against the government's policies and the Turk-Is leadership.

Prime Minister Turgur Ozal, in response to the rally, said that the slogans chanted against him were unfair. "They declared me an enemy of the workers, whereas we all know that the engineers of these slogans are trade union lords," he said. Ozal also accused Gürkan of having violated the Political Parties Code by participating in a trade union rally.

Thereupon, SHP Chairman Gürkan, accusing the government of clamping down on the masses, said: "There is a serious tendency within this government toward putting fascist pressure on people. For quite some time I hesitated to use the word 'fascist'. I was under the impression that early use of this word would bring hazards rather than benefit. But I have now decided to use this word. It is unfortunate that the fascist tendencies in this government can no longer be hidden."

Whatever repressive measures the government may take, it seems that resistance by the working class will grow greater because the wage earners' living conditions are getting worse and worse due to the economic policies of the present government. Meanwhile TURK-IS leadership is still unable to riposte to this anti-labour stand. Since DISK is still suspended and its leaders are still being tried before military tribunals, wage earners are deprived of reliable leadership and are obliged to resort to some spontaneous actions.

Workers are discontented with the present situation because they have lost about a half of their purchasing power since the military coup of 1980. The following table shows very clearly the fall of real daily wages since 1979:

Years	Real Daily Wages
1979	111.2
1980	83.0
1981	77.4
1982	75.1
1983	74.9
1984	69.6
1985	64.9

According to a survey published in the Turkish Daily News on November 19, 1985, real wages decreased by 19.1 percent within the last 2 years; that is, since the foundation of a civilian government.

Despite the fact that collective bargaining was again allowed at the beginning of 1984, new wage increases are still very far from covering the rise in prices. The relationship between the gross minimum monthly wage and the monthly per capita income has developed to the detriment of wage-earners:

Years	Minimum Wage (TL)	Per Capita Income (TL)	Proportion
1981	10,000	12,400	83.1 pc
1982	16,200	15,718	103.1 pc
1983	16,200	20,244	80.0 pc
1984	24,525	31,625	77.5 pc
1985	41,400	57,700	71.8 pc

The 1984 World Development Report prepared by the World Bank confirms that among the 43 countries examined, Turkey is seventh on the list with respect to the number of very poor people striving to get their daily bread just to stay alive. In contrast to this, Turkey is also seventh among the other countries whose rich population dominates in number over others in the society.

According to another survey published by the daily Cumhuriyet on January 20, 1986, the duration of work necessary to buy some basic consumer goods has increased considerably since the application on January 24, 1980, of drastic economic measures imposed by the IMF.

Consumer goods	Work time necessary	
	In 1977	In 1984
1 Kg Bread	16 min.	33 min.
1 Kg Meat	230 min.	364 min.
1 Kg Margarin	56 min.	188 min.
12 Eggs	65 min.	89 min.
1 Lt Gas oil	9 min.	39 min.
1 Lt Milk	37 min.	82 min.

On the other hand, Ozal's economic policies have resulted in the rapid rise of unemployment in the country. The full unemployment ratio rose to 21.8 pc in 1985, whereas it was 15.7 pc in 1980. It should be kept in mind that another 20 pc of the active population are underemployed, and their families live in miserable conditions.

Data given by The Turkish Daily News of February 4, 1986, show a sharp decline in the share wage earners and farmers have in national income and a correspondingly sharp increase in the share that business has:

Years	Farmers	Laborer	Business
1980	23.87pc	26.66pc	49.47pc
1981	23.17pc	24.68pc	52.15pc
1982	21.79pc	24.56pc	53.65pc
1983	20.23pc	24.84pc	54.93pc
1984	20.11pc	21.48pc	58.40pc
1985	19.80pc	19.50pc	62.70pc

As for the economic situation itself, it is not any more hopeful than that of wage earners.

First of all, the growth rate of the Gross National

Product: Although a relative growth was registered just after the coup, it has been stagnating since 1981 at a level lower than the 8 pc foreseen in the 5-year economic development plan.

Years	Growth of GNP
1980	-- 1.1 pc
1981	+ 4.3 pc
1982	+ 4.4 pc
1983	+ 3.2 pc
1984	+ 5.9 pc
1985	+ 4.9 pc

In view of the annual growth rate of the population, which is still about 2.64 pc, the real GNP growth rate is much lower than the announced rate.

Besides, the Turkish Lira's loss in value against foreign currencies has produced a negative effect on the national per capita income:

Years	Income per capita
1980	1,313 dollars
1981	1,308 dollars
1982	1,151 dollars
1983	1,066 dollars
1984	974 dollars
1985	973 dollars

When Turgut Ozal presented his government program in December 1983, he claimed that the main feature would be an attempt to control inflation and to reduce its annual rate from 40 pc to 10 pc within a 5-year period.

But the 2-year period of his government shows that while inflation is constantly falling in other European countries, it has gained new impetus in Turkey and price hikes have been higher than expected, and all efforts to fight inflation has turned out to be unsuccessful.

Years	Rate of inflation
1980	107.2 pc
1981	36.8 pc
1982	25.0 pc
1983	30.6 pc
1984	52.0 pc
1985	40.0 pc

One of the most ambitious objectives of the ultra-liberal economic program was to narrow foreign trade deficit. Although the volume of exports was raised from 2.9 billion dollars in 1980 to 7.2 billion dollars in 1985, foreign trade still suffers from a chronic deficit:

Years	Export	Import	Deficit
1980	2,910	7,513	4,602
1981	4,703	8,567	3,864
1982	5,390	8,518	2,628
1983	5,905	8,695	2,990
1984	7,389	10,331	2,942
1985	7,928	11,581	3,652

(In Million dollars)

Thanks to worker remittances totalling 2 billion dollars annually, the foreign deficit has narrowed to about 1.5 billion dollars. But in Europe and the USA,

Turkish exporters of textiles and clothing face serious restrictions. There is a considerable fall in the turnover of the Turkish contractors in oil-producing Islamic countries. Because of all this, a rapid increase can be expected soon in Turkey's foreign trade deficit.

On the other hand, Turkey's luxury imports have continued to increase while the great majority of the population is deprived of vital consumer goods and services.

According to a survey by the *Financial Times*, the Turkish companies operating in the Middle East and North Africa obtained contracts totaling 14 billion dollars at the end of 1982 while the annual turnover of these firms was 5 billion dollars at that time, this figure fell to only 836 million dollars in 1985.

Another of Ozal's objective has been to increase foreign capital flow by granting foreign investors extraordinary incentives and facilities, such as tax exemption. While the total flow of foreign capital from 1954 to 1980 was only 228.1 million dollars, in the last five years, from 1980 to October 1985, foreign investors have applied to the Turkish Government for investment of 1,175 million dollars. However, of this promised foreign capital, only a third (404 million dollars) was really invested in Turkey. Furthermore, a big part of this invested foreign capital is non-guaranteed trade arrears rather than real hard currency investment:

Years	Capital Promised	Capital Invested
1980	96.0	53.0
1981	337.5	60.0
1982	167.0	55.0
1983	102.7	72.0
1984	272.4	103.0
1985 (10 months)	200.6	51.0
Total	1,175.2	404.0

(In million dollars)

What is more, foreign investors have repatriated as profit about 230 million dollars within the first 4-years period.

The principal reason for the drastic economic measures applied for six years was no doubt Turkey's increasing foreign debts. In order to guarantee the repayment of these debts, the Turkish people have been forced to make sacrifices. But the 6-year practice clearly shows that Turkey's foreign debt, instead of decreasing, climbed to 24.6 billion dollars in 1985, from 11.4 billion dollars in 1980. Increases of 5.5 billion dollars have occurred during the last 2-year period of Ozal's Government.

According to the latest data, Turkey still holds 12th rank among the most indebted countries.

Of the total foreign debt, 16.35 billion dollars are middle and long-term debts, 1.05 billion dollars are debts to the IMF, 6.43 billion dollars are short-term debts, 3.26 billion dollars are commercial debts, and 3.18 billion dollars are the savings of Turkish migrant workers living abroad.

While her foreign trade was given a 3.65 billion dollars deficit in 1985, Turkey was obliged, in the same year, to pay off more than 3 billion dollars of her debt, half of which was interest payments.

Besides her commercial foreign debts, Turkey also owes 3.5 billion dollars to the United States, incurred by the purchasing of military materials.