



INFO TÜRK INFO - TÜRK INFO-TÜRK

bulletin mensuel • monthly bulletin • maandelijks bulletin

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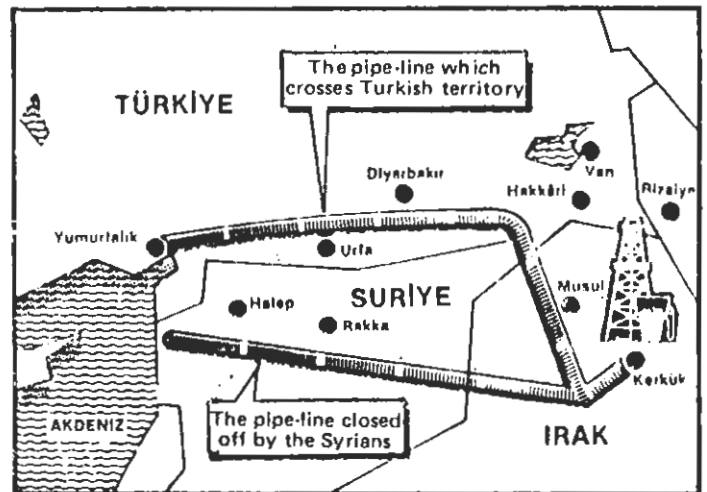
10th Year • 38, rue des Eburons - 1040 Brussels - Belgium
Published in English and French by Collective Info-Türk •
Tel: (32) 2 339 34 12 • ISSN 0770-9013 • Dépot légal: 2198
Annual subscription: 500 BF • CCP 000-1168701-45-Bxl.

SCENARIO

SCENARIO OF THE POSSIBLE OCCUPATION OF IRAQI OILFIELDS BY THE TURKISH ARMY IF THE BAGHDAD REGIME IS OVERTHROWN BY IRAN

Right after the partial elections which had a considerable impact on the political framework imposed by the military, big media led the Turkish population to believe that Turkey's involvement in the Iran-Iraq war was inevitable.

On one hand, the powerlessness of the Turkish army before the Kurdish guerilla movement which has been developing since August 1984, on the other hand, the penetration of Iranian forces on Iraq's oilfields have given rise to speculations regarding the possible plans of the Turkish government. The speculation which has caused the greatest reaction in the Turkish and world press has been that of a possible invasion of northern Iraq by the Turkish armed forces.



Already just after the May 26, 1983, combing operation against the Kurdish Resistance during which the special forces of the Turkish gendarmerie and parachutists entered Iraqi territory, several observers were of the opinion that the Turkish military regime, by carrying out this "police action," had taken the first step to realize an old dream: to recover the whole of northern Iraq, the "Vilayat Mezoul."

The day after the First World War, the Kemalist power was led by the British to give up this region, so as to create a new state under British protection: Iraq. Many Turkish soldiers think this oil-rich region should be returned to them, especially as a significant minority of Turkish-speaking people live among the Kurds.

The British newspaper *The Times* of May 28, 1983, reported that "an article appeared the year before in the *New Statesman* which affirmed the existence of a Turkish-American plot aimed at seizing the north of Iraq. Considering the friendly cooperation between the Turkish and Iraqi governments, such an idea seems extremely far-fetched and it seems that what has been done has nothing at all to do with such a plan. However, it reminds us that certain facts that seemed unthinkable before could become real in case of the complete collapse of Iraq's central government."

The last Iranian penetration in Iraqi territory straightaway threatens the Iraqi government and several scenarios relating to the future of the Iran-Iraq war and Turkish implication in this war begins to appear in the most prestigious dailies of the West.

Says the *International Herald Tribune* of November 1, 1986:

"Turkey borders the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union supports Syria, while conducting a war in still another Moslem country, Afghanistan. Turkey's two other neighbors, Iran and Iraq, are in the sixth year of a pitiless war. 'What other country has neighbors like ours?' a Turk asks.

"Turkey's insecurity is real, as is its interest in alliance with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United States. It maintains a half-million-man army (in a population of 52 million), the largest NATO military force outside the United States. It is justified in doing so.

"But insecurity and dependence produce a sense of victimization as well, which takes as its object the United States, this indispensable ally which —Turks say— nevertheless does too little in support of Turkey, and may at any moment take some rash step for which Turks will have to pay the price.

"Earlier this month, a commando from Iran, apparently acting with help from autonomy-minded Kurdish tribesmen, raided the Kirkuk oilfields in Iraq. These fields are roughly equidistant from Iran and Turkey, some 150 miles (243 kilometers) into Iraq. Turkey gets much of its oil from Kirkuk, has a substantial pipeline income from the oilfield, fears Kurdish autonomy, and has a historical claim to the Kirkuk region, which is peopled by Turks.

"The Iranian raid prompted what a leading Turkish daily called 'a scenario being discussed in the diplomatic and political lobbies of Ankara.'

"The scenario goes as follows:

"1. Iran's forthcoming offensive breaks through Iraqi defenses.

"2. Turkey invades Iraq to take Kirkuk before Iranian forces arrive.

"3. The Soviet Union threatens Turkey.

"4. The United States sends its Rapid Deployment Force, ostensibly to defend the Turks, actually to support their pre-emptive seizure of Kirkuk and its oil for the West.

"The Turkish opposition replied that 'this scenario looks as if it is cooked up by the United States; America, opposition figures said, wants to punish Iran as well as to deny Kirkuk's oil to Iran and its ally, Syria. The outcome, these Turks say, would be US forces permanently in Turkey, and Turkey's independence reduced to zero.'

"On Oct. 16, the Turkish foreign minister denied that his country had any intention of invading Iraq, and restated Turkey's neutrality in the Gulf War."

However, that same day, the daily *Milliyet*, referring to reliable sources, publicized three "national motives" for Turkish intervention.

More than one million Turks live in Mosul and Kirkuk regions. At the beginning of the National Liberation War of Turkey (1919), these regions figured inside the borders claimed by the national liberation movement. But, after the war, this question could not be resolved in a favorable way because of Turkey's weakness at the time, and the Mosul and Kirkuk regions were left to Great Britain. However, Turkey historically has right to these regions.

• Turkey imports a large part of its oil needs from Iraq. Most of Iraqi oil comes by way of a pipeline. Furthermore, Turkey annually receives \$300 million in exchange for the location of this pipeline to third parties. Ankara cannot accept a threat to its economic interests.

• In case of the collapse of the rule of Saddam Hussein, Iraq could fall apart. By profiting from this situation, the Kurds could obtain a more advantageous position in northern Iraq. They have already been strengthened thanks to the lack of power in this country. Moreover, the separatists of Turkey are based in this region.

In another article, *Milliyet* reports that the amount of petroleum transported from Kirkuk in Iraq to Yumurtalik in Turkey by means of the pipeline annually rises to 46.5 million tons. This exportation of petroleum furnishes Iraq with an annual revenue of six billion dollars. The length of the pipeline crossing Turkish territory is 641 kilometers. Turkey has already ordered the enlargement of the pipeline by an association of Turkish and Italian companies. After the realization of this project, the volume of petroleum to transport will rise to 70 million tons and Turkey's annual location revenue will climb to \$500 million from the present 300 million.

According to another report, Turkey also has vital interests on the Harbour-Bagdad route which assures Turkish exportation to Middle East countries. This route is also well exposed to threat from Kurdish partisans supported by Iran.

According to the German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* with the Iraqi government's consent some 2,500 Turkish soldiers have been given orders in Iraqi territory to protect this route against Kurdish attacks.

In fact, for three years, the Bagdad government, powerless before Iranian and Kurdish threats, several times authorized Turkish armed forces to enter its territory. Since 1979, there has been an agreement of "cooperation" between General Evren, then the Turkish chief of staff, and the President Saddam Hussein, allowing the "coordination of actions to control the Kurdish minorities" in the two countries.

Thanks to this accord, the special forces of paratroopers and the gendarmerie of Turkey penetrated in May 1983, on some forty kilometers, in Iraqi territory.

Following the conclusion of a second accord in 1984, Ankara gave itself to launching another operation in Iraqi territory against the Kurdish partisans. But Teheran's refusal to cooperate with Turkey forced the Turkish military to give up this second operation.

However, on August 15, 1986, the Turkish army, without taking account of Teheran's possible reaction, bombarded Kurdish villages, and some days later, a unit of the special forces entered Iraqi territory with the aim of arresting Kurdish militants taking refuge in this region.

In reality, the Turkish army is already present in Iraqi territory, thanks to the weakness of the Bagdad regime, and despite their denials regarding the occupation of the Mosul and Kirkuk regions. The Turkish seizure of northern Iraq will only be a simple formality if the Bagdad government collapses in the face of new Kurdish-Iranian offensives.

The National Security Council, an organ above the government composed of top commanders of the army and certain ministers, met on October 27, 1986, under the presidency of the General Evren and evaluated in depth the situation in the region.

Taking account of the inevitable reaction against annexation of the Mosul and Kirkuk region

in world opinion, the expansionist milieu in Turkey speak of another formula, one more digestible: the proclamation of a Turkish Republic of Kirkuk.

This solution has already been applied in Cyprus in proclaiming the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus under the presidency of Rauf Denktaş, confidante of the Turkish generals. For the latter, it will not be difficult to find a new Denktaş from the Kirkuk region.

The idea of proclaiming a Turkish republic in this region under the omnipresence of the Turkish Army found a theoretician in the person of Professor Aydın Yalçın, one of the civilian brains of the 1980 military coup.

However, whatever the formulas to be implemented may be, this adventurist idea has already been the object of violent reactions in political circles. For example, the former minister of foreign affairs İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil attributed this idea to the Turkish neo-fascist movement and expressed his anxiety in these terms: "In the present conjuncture such an action would be obviously adventurist. Turkey should never be expansionist."

As for another former foreign affairs minister, Mr Hasan Esat Isik, he is of the opinion that behind the whole scenario is the United States: "Turkey's interest depends on stability in the region. We should not change our policy of neutrality regarding the Iran-Iraqi war. Although the Turks in Greece are under pressure, the United States makes a big deal only about the fate of Turks in Bulgaria. And recently added to that has been the fate of Turks in the Soviet Union. The Kirkuk affair is an American trap. The West wants to stop Iran and punish it. To this end, they wish to use Turkey. Perhaps Israel and some moderate Arab countries wish to say 'aye' to such a solution. But on the international scale, Turkey will find itself isolated. Our state should not be based on race and religion. Such an action can drag us into an affair whose end is uncertain."

The Growing Presence of the US

While speculations about possible Turkish occupation of Kirkuk and about American support to this operation grows daily, the Turkish press signals that, despite the apparent tension about the reduction of US aid to Turkey, military cooperation between the two countries is developing in a systematic fashion.

According to the *Cumhuriyet* of November 2, 1986, this cooperation is becoming concrete in five areas:

1. Nuclear Posts:

Turkish and American soldiers, in the context of NATO work, have already concluded an accord relating to the modernisation of nuclear posts in Turkey. The four military airports and the Incirlik air base where nuclear bombers are stationed are equipped with new nuclear arms systems. These systems allow the nuclear bombers to take off more quickly. Of these systems, 30 will be installed at the Incirlik air base, five at Balıkesir, six at Erhac (Malatya), six at Murted (Ankara) and six at Eskisehir.

2. The F-16 at Incirlik:

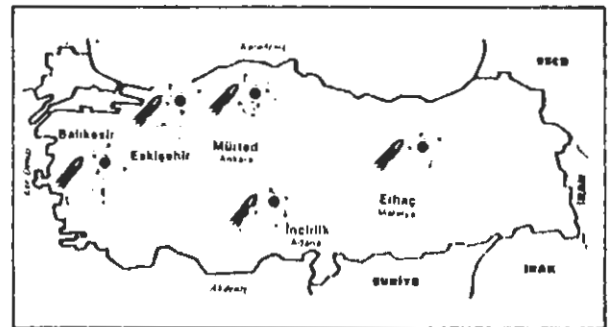
Up to now, all the American bombers stationed in Turkey were F-4's (Phantoms) and F-104's. At the end of long negotiations, the Turkish Chief of Staff accepted replacing the F-4 at Incirlik by F-16 bombers. While the F-4 squadrons are each composed of 18 bombers, the new F-16 squadrons each contain 24 bombers.

3. Turkish support to American units:

In case of war, Turkey will be responsible for providing all the logistic support to the American units stationed on its territory. According to an agreement plan titled "Agreement of support by the host country", all the reinforcement squadrons will have at their disposal all the necessary services and material as soon as they arrive at their base. According to a Pentagon spokesman, the two parties are already in agreement on 95% of the text.

4. Airport destined for co-utilization:

This concerns the airports of Mus and Batman, which respectively cost 21 million and 8.3 million \$. A fifth of the construction of the Mus airport is already done. The construction at Batman will begin very soon.



5. Enlargement of the Incirlik base:

The largest air base of the Western Mediterranean is in the process of being enlarged by the United States. This work costs a total of 29 million \$.

Moreover, according to an inventory published by the daily *Milliyet*, the number of nuclear warheads in Turkish territory has risen to 489 and the number of nuclear infrastructures to 22. According to the German revue *Der Spiegel*, the USA will also place chemical arms in Turkey starting next year.

Armed Conflicts in the East

While the Ankara leaders affirmed that the last pockets of resistance by Kurdish partisans had been squashed, a group of PKK militants carried out a series of attacks in October 1986 against military targets in the southeast.

The most spectacular of these attacks was the assault against the Mardin radar base which is in NATO service. On October 21, 1986, Kurdish militants, using launch-rockets for the first time in their battle, succeeded in damaging and putting out of service one of the radars at this base. According to

the Turkish press, this base keeps surveillance on Soviet territory and provides the USA with very important information. After this attack, the partisans withdrew from the region without leaving a trace.

The military authorities declared that the partisans could carry out armed actions of the same kind against other strategic targets, particularly the air base of Pirinçlik in Diyarbakir, the pipeline of Kerkuk-Yumurtalik, the bridge of Habour, the Batman refinery and the dams of Keban, Atatürk and Karakaya. The Turkish newspapers also announced the following assaults of Kurdish militants in Oct. 1986:

On the 2.10, in Semdinli (Hakkari), an officer of the Gendarmerie and a soldier are killed, 4 pro-government peasants wounded by Kurdish militants.

On the 3.10, in Cukurca (Hakkari), a pro-government villager headman is killed.

On the 9.10, in Uludere (Hakkari), a Kurdish attack results in the death of a woman.

On the 12.10, in Eruh (Siirt), three pro-government villagers are killed for having refused to give provisions to the partisans.

On the 15.10, in Uludere (Hakkari), the partisans kill a pro-government villager.

On the 19.10, in Mardin, a corporal is killed and a soldier wounded by the partisans.

On the 21.10, in Diyarbakir, Kurdish militants kill a soldier and wound an officer. A Kurdish militant also falls in a confrontation.

On the 23.10, in Eruh (Siirt) and in Kahta (Adiyaman) partisans kill a gendarme and wound a soldier.

On the 26.10, in Ergani (Diyarbakir), partisans throw a fire bomb on the lodgings in the magistrates district.

The Director General of Security Saffet Arikan announced on October 8 that the security forces would be strengthened with the entrance into service of 804 policemen, trained in the United States, and police dogs who understand about sixty words in German. Next 500 more policemen would be charged in the same region.

On the other hand, on the eve of the 1986-87 school year, the Turkish government began to take new measures "against separatism". To this end, the Ministry of Education distributed to all the schools in the region video cassettes to teach Turkish language and culture faster. At the same time, several school directors of Kurdish origin were sent from their posts and replaced with former Army officers.

Still no Amnesty

After his defeat in the partial elections, Prime Minister Turgut Özal, so as to shake up his team, carried out some mini changes in the ministerial cabinet by replacing several ministers with new ones. The new ones include the Minister of Justice Mahmut Öltan Sungur. In one of his first statements to the press, the new minister said that he was against general amnesty. According to him, conditions for amnesty have not yet come about.

105 Death Sentences in Parliament

With the new approvals of the Court of Cassation, the number of capital punishments on the National Assembly's agenda has risen to 105. Among

them, 58 have been sentenced for left-wing political actions, 11 for right-wing ones and 32 for common law crimes. Four Palestinian commandos who had occupied the Egyptian Embassy before the 1980 coup are also among the 105 who face hanging.

Recent Sentences

On the 2.10, in Diyarbakir, a case against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) resulted in the sentencing of five militants to terms of up to 13 years.

On the 7.10, in Izmir, a member of Dev-Yol was sentenced to capital punishment and six others to various terms totalling 40 years and 10 months.

On the 11.10, in Diyarbakir, two alleged members of the TKP were sentenced to terms of 5.5 and 2 years.

On the 31.10, in Ankara, the former vice-president of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), Mr Baris Can, was fined 5 million Turkish Lira for having insulted the Minister of Justice during debates at the National Assembly.

Indictment of Politicians

The number of legal proceedings against former political leaders, because of speeches they made during the last electoral campaign has risen to 38.

Former Prime Minister Ecevit who actively participated in the electoral campaign of his wife, president of the Democratic Left Party (DSP), has been charged 25 times by prosecutors.

Former Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel who supported the campaign of the Correct Way Party (DYP) has been charged 9 times, while former vice-premier Alparslan Türkeş and Necmeddin Erbakan have been charged thrice and once respectively.

As for new political leaders, Messrs. Erdal İnönü and Husamettin Cindoruk, presidents respectively of the SHP and the DYP, have also been pursued for their electoral speeches. However, cases against them have been suspended thanks to their parliamentary immunity.

New Case Against Demonstrators

The Izmir prosecutor filed on October 19 a second political case against 14 people who are already being tried before the State Security Court for organizing May Day actions. While they already risk prison terms of up to 15 years for "illegal actions", in this new case the prosecutor is requesting sentences of up to 8 years on the charge of having insulted General Evren and Prime Minister Özal by using the term "the Evren-Özal dictatorship".

Seven Doctors Before the Tribunal

Seven leading members of the Doctors Order of Istanbul have been tried before a criminal tribunal for having held their congress without official permission and for having posted up certain tracts on the walls of their premises. Each faces a prison term of up to six months.

LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION IN TURKEY

The Socialist Party of the Kurdistan of Turkey (TKSP) publicized information which gave evidence of linguistic and ethnic discrimination in Turkey. This concerns Law No. 2832, adopted by the National Assembly on October 19, 1983, and published in the Official Journal of October 22, 1983.

This law about publication in languages other than Turkish describes the Turkish language as the mother tongue of all citizens of Turkey.

"Article 3 - The mother tongue of the Turkish citizen is Turkish. It is forbidden:

"a) to develop any form of activity in which any language other than Turkish is used or spread as the mother tongue;

"b) to carry, in demonstrations or parades, banners or placards or other signs written in languages other than Turkish or to send out broadcasts or emissions on records, music-cassettes, video-cassettes or other media in language other than Turkish, even if these languages are not forbidden, without permission from the highest authority in the region:"

Languages which cannot be used for the communication and spread of ideas are defined by the law in these terms:

"Article 2 - It is forbidden to communicate, propagate, or diffuse ideas in languages other than those which are the first official languages of the States recognized by the Turkish State, under reservation of the provisions of the treaties or accords of which the State of Turkey is a party and the provisions of the legislation relating to the publications of educational, scientific research or public organisations and institutions."

The law declares that whoever goes against these bans will be liable and may receive prison terms of up to three years and that all publications in languages other than Turkish will be confiscated on the decision of justices of the peace. In case of delay, the administrative authorities can order confiscation without waiting for the judge's decision.

Interrogation of Socialists

A public debate on the probability of the constitution of a socialist party in Turkey, organized on July 26, 1986, in Ankara by the Sacak revue has been the object of a legal inquiry. The prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court summoned for interrogation, on October 15, five speakers and the responsible editor of the revue.

3,000 People Refused Employment

According to the daily *Milliyet* of October 7, by virtue of new regulation regarding protection of national security, during the course of six years, more than 300 thousand people have been refused jobs in the public services. Not only people who have been sentenced for a crime concerning national security, but all those who are not of Turkish origin or married to someone of foreign origin or suspected of not been attached to the ideal of Turkism were forbidden from taking up such posts.

Hunger Strike in Prison

Political prisoners in the special Bartın prison launched a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the ill treatment in this prison.

A populist deputy had indicated on August 30 that conditions in this prison were becoming more and more intolerable. "All the political prisoners are deprived of medical needs and very often of

drinking water. While several prisoners have already acquired the right to be freed due to a new law, the penal authorities provoke incidents so that they cannot benefit from this right because of indisciplined actions. The Human Rights Association indicated on October 21 that left-wing prisoners were systematically exposed to the threat of death or beating in cells for right-wing prisoners in which they are often locked up.

On the other hand, parents of political prisoners in the Metris prison in Istanbul, have pointed out, in a petition addressed to the military authorities, that these prisoners are systematically deprived of medical consultation.

A Torturer in Function

A torturer in the police force who had been sentenced to a prison term of 13 months and 20 days for having paralysed a detainee during interrogation at Kars, was returned to his function at the Sakarya Prefecture after having served his sentence. According to the newspapers of Oct. 22, this policeman was the object of another case for having tortured to death another detainee in Erzurum. Although he was sentenced to a prison term of 5 years and four months, policeman Kemal Kartal is well protected and even put to work by the Ministry of the Interior under the pretext that his sentence has not yet been ratified by the Court of Cassation.

Turkish Journalists' Congress

The Annual Congress of the Turkish Journalists' Union (TGS) met on October 4, 1986, in Istanbul. This congress, gathering delegates of working journalists of the country, formulated the following demands:

- All laws inspired by hostility vis-a-vis workers, notably the 1982 Constitution, the Code of Unions, Strike and Collective Negotiations, the Turkish Penal Code, should be modified.

- May First should be proclaimed anew Labour Day as it is in other countries.

- The case against DISK should be ended and DISK should be authorized to resume its activities.

- It is shameful in the last quarter of the 20th Century not to have freedom of opinion and to arrest journalists for their opinions. It is also shameful that non-respect for the freedom of the press in Turkey remains on the agenda of the International Federation of Journalists.

- The Confederation of Turkish Unions (Türk-İs) to which TGS is affiliated should leave its immobility and resume effective union activities.

New Press Cases

On October 19, in Senirkent (Isparta), two journalists of the daily *Yeni Senirkent*, Esat Topçu and Mahmut Topçu were arrested for publication defamatory to a State functionary.

On October 25, in Ankara, journalist Cüneyt Arca'yürek was tried before the State Security Court for a series of articles which he had written for the daily *Cumhuriyet*. He is accused of going against the protection of higher State interests by publicizing the contents of certain meetings of the National Security Council while took place before the 1980 coup. He faces a prison term of three years at least.

On October 31, the officials of the weekly *Yeni Gün*, Cengiz Turhan and Vedat Çakmak have been charged with having published a study on the situation of homosexuals in Turkey. They will be tried before a criminal tribunal for having broken the law on the protection of minors from harmful publications.

A Journalist sentenced

Journalist Sadik Albayrak was sentenced by the Konya State Security Court to six years and three months. On the accusation of writing a book contravening the principle of secularity, he had already been tried and acquitted by a military tribunal.

Following the cassation of this judgement, he was tried before the State Security Court. Albayrak, after having served the prison term, will be kept under surveillance for two years and one month.

Publications banned

Since the taking effects of the law on the protection of minors from harmful publications, prosecutors over a period of six months have referred more than 500 publications to the Special Control Council for expertise. According to the *Milliyet* of October 24,

this council is made up of 11 members pursuing its studies on 173 video cassettes, 22 cinema films, 120 daily journals, 10 weekly reviews, 35 monthly revues, 152 books, 33 music cassettes and 13 calendars or post cards.

Thirteen books and three monthly revues have already been classified harmful and their sale, because of the said law, must be made in opaque packages.

Recently, on October 27, another book titled "Homosexuality of Yesterday and Today in Turkey" was classified harmful. Its author Dr Arslan Yüzgün had administrative recourse against this decision.

List of Banned Publications

The Ministry of Justice published a detailed list comprising the titles of publications banned up to now by tribunal decisions and publications whose entry into Turkey is banned by government decrees.

The list has been sent to the political sections of local prefectures and to the directors of educational institutions.

Students' protest actions

The suicide of a student, İsa Tanrıverdililer, following his failure because of the coercive ruling of higher education, has elicited great reaction within student circles in Istanbul. On October 28, some thousand university students gathered before the Administration of the Marmara University to protest against the university policy imposed by the Higher Council of Education (YÖK).

This first protest actions since the 1980 coup resulted in the arrest of nine students.

Furthermore, in Erzurum, a group of university students started a hunger strike to protest against the arbitrary expulsion of certain university students. Three days later, they had to end this action because of police pressure.

American Solidarity With DISK

While the proceeding against the Turkish regime was suspended at the ILO, 44 parliamentarians of the United States, 38 representatives and six senators, addressed a letter to Prime Minister Özal and demanded that cases against the members of DISK and the Turkish Peace Association be dropped.

"We are of the opinion that those charged in these two cases have not committed any crime and are being tried only for their opinions. The Turkish Government, by putting its signature on the European Convention of Human Rights and the Final Helsinki Act, is involved in respecting the rights of forming associations and being affiliated with trade unions and freedom of opinion."

Furthermore, Mr Richard Schifter, adviser of the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Turkey and held talks with Mr Abdullah Bastürk, president of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) and one of the main victims of the military repression in Turkey.

ON THE POSITION OF JEF HOUTHUYS IN THE ILO

Our article regarding the concessions given by the International Labour Organization to the Turkish regime (*Info-Türk*; June 1986, p.4) elicited reaction in trade union circles. In this article, we described how this organization, on the proposal of Jef Houthuys, president of the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions in Belgium (ACV), decided to suspend complaints regarding the violations of trade union rights in Turkey.

The Adjoint Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL), Mr F. Bleux, in a letter dated Oct. 22, 1986, claiming that this information was faulty, made the following remarks:

"1) Jef Houthuys is not a member of the ILO Council of Administration and thus does not participate in the meetings of the ILO Council of Administration or in the meetings of the Committee of Trade Union Freedom composed of a limited number of Council of Administration members. The unionist members of the Committee of Trade Union Freedom are Messrs. Maier (Austria), Sanchez Madriaga (Mexico) and Zimba (Zambia).

"Consequently it is out of the question that Mr Jef Houthuys can intervene in meetings in which he does not take part.

"2) Moreover, it is not correct that the Council of Administration had proposed bringing an end to the complaints against the Turkish government. Annexed is a copy of the Recommendations of the Committee of Trade Union Freedom approved by the Council of Administration in its May/June 1986 session.

"The introduction phrase of these recommendations stipulate clearly that is a question here of an interim report and that the Committee wishes to receive replies from the Turkish government on several very precise questions (see lines b, c, d, f, h, m.).

"3) I don't understand why INFO-TÜRK is not better informed before publishing erroneous information about Jef Houthuys, Vice-president of the WCL, who has always defended without equivocation, the cause of Turkish workers and of DISK."

First of all, we have to point out that we have never questioned the position of the WCL regarding trade union rights in Turkey. On the contrary, even in the article contested by Mr Bleux, we have stressed appreciatively the common position of the three international confederations of trade unions, including the WCL.

However, we have to repeat once more that the position of Mr Jef Houthuys', who is also the vice-president of the WCL, is not as coherent.

It is true that Jef Houthuys is not a member of the Council of Administration or of the Committee of Trade Union Freedom. We apologize to our readers for attributing an incorrect title to Mr Houthuys.

However, Mr Jef Houthuys is the Vice-president of the Committee for Applying Recommendations and Conventions, and under this title, he took part in the 34th session of the International Labour Conference, held June 23, 1986, in Geneva. And with this title still, Mr Houthuys intervened in favour of the suspension of the proceedings against the Turkish regime in these terms:

"...There are also cases like that of Turkey which we wished to question but from which we have got a written response; the response of this country contains clear and formal promises. And one must examine, next year, if these promises truly have been fully kept." (Provisional account of the 34th session, Monday June 23, 1986, 10:15 am, Page: 38/17). *[Translation of the text in french]*

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Turkey-EEC Relations

After the first meeting of the Turkey-EEC Association Council held, after a 6-year interval, on September 16, 1986, in Brussels, the two sides have had a series of bilateral talks with a view to finding a solution to the problem of free circulation of Turkish nationals in the EEC countries.

According to the Turkish Daily News of October 10, the Federal Republic of Germany had proposed to Turkey a complementary 375 million \$ aid in exchange for the suspension of free circulation which

is to begin from December 1st, 1986 in accordance with the Association Accord of 1964 and with the Additional Protocol of 1972.

As reported in previous Bulletins, the Turkish side also demands a formal support from the member countries for further Turkish candidacy to the EEC.

On the other hand, a pilot-study drawn up by the European Commission which stipulates some new facilities for the Turkish nationals established in EEC countries in exchange for the suspension of free circulation for all Turkish nationals has not yet ob-

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ON THE POSITION OF JEF HOUTHUYS IN THE ILO (continued)

It is after this invention that the International Labour Conference, principal organ of the ILO, adopted the report of the Commission for Applying Conventions and Recommendations.

As for the report of this commission which recommends excluding the Turkish question from the agenda of this year, according to *Cumhuriyet*, the most reliable daily in Turkey, it is still Mr Jef Houthuys who proposed suspending the proceedings against Turkey, "by expressing his confidence in the written promises of the Turkish Minister of Labour and Social Security, Mustafa Kalemli." After this commission's meeting, Mr Kalemli was pleased at the happy outcome of this affair, the *Cumhuriyet* reported.

One should recall that before and during this conference which took place between June 4 and 25, 1986, it was not only the Turkish government, but also opposition Turkish groups and European and international trade unions organisations who provided many documents showing that there was systematic violation of trade union and democratic rights, that the mass trial against DISK was continuing, that more than 1,500 trade union leaders still face prison terms, that DISK is still suspended from all trade union activity.

Furthermore, even the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (Türk-İs) which has been implicated in the anti-worker practices of the military regime by allowing its secretary general to be a minister in the military government from 1980 to 1983, even it could not be in favour at this conference of suspending the proceedings. On the contrary, the president of this confederation, in his interviews published in the Turkish newspapers, accused Minister Kalemli of having sent to ILO the promises written by two advisors of the Confederation of Turkish Employers (DISK). In fact, the promissory document in which Mr Houthuys has faith was drawn up by professors Kemal Oguzman and Münir Ekonomi, both known for their service to employers.

The important thing in this article is not an error of title, but the conciliatory position, no matter under what title, of a renowned trade unionist who is president of one of the two big trade unions of Belgium and the vice-president of the WCL, which, we stress once more, has always shown solidarity for the just fight of the workers of Turkey.

tained approval by all twelve members of the Community. This document is still being studied by the permanent representatives of the member countries. The Turkish press reports that the Council of Ministers will debate this pilot-study on November 24-25, 1986, in Brussels. If all partners arrive at a consensus, the project will be submitted to the next meeting of the Turkey-EEC Association Council.

Social-Democrat Support to Özal

Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal, seeking support among EEC countries for possible Turkish candidacy to the EEC, has obtained unexpected "solidarity" on this subject from the Social-Democrat Populist Party (SHP) in Turkey.

The leader of this party which obtained 22.6% of the votes at the partial elections was invited to the meetings of the Socialist International in Bonn and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Before leaving for Europe, SHP Leader Erdal İnönü was visited by the State Secretary Mesut Yılmaz. During this surprise talk, the spokesman of the Özal Government, after having given a briefing on the present situation of Turkey-EEC relations, asked him to support a possible Turkish move for admission to the EEC.

In fact, the Socialist Group of the European Parliament maintains a position critical to the

Ankara regime and opposes any resumption of the relations between the Turkish National Assembly and the European Parliament before the five conditions regarding human rights imposed by the later in 1985, are fulfilled by the Turkish Government. Even after the resumption of the Turkey-EEC Association Council meetings, the socialist group declared that this meeting would not signify an approval of the present political situation in Turkey.

However, Mr İnönü, during his talks with the leaders of Socialist International and the Socialist Group of European Parliament, insisted on the necessity of developing a dialogue between the Turkish National Assembly and the European Parliament despite criticism from European socialists. Reminding people that his party is entirely in favour of Turkey's adhesion to the EEC, Mr Erdal İnönü asked brother parties to take a new position with a view to developing contacts and cooperation between the two sides.

During these talks, the Socialist Group leaders repeated once more their reservations and criticisms mainly on the continuing disrespect of human rights in Turkey.

Amnesty International Report

The Amnesty International Secretariat issued on October 3, 1986, a new report on the "unfair trial of political detainees in Turkey."

This 13-page report, after outlining the background of political trials since the proclamation of martial law in 1978, makes a profound analysis on the unfairness of these trials and expressed the following conclusions:

"- Military courts are not independent from the executive authorities, either in law or in practice.

"- Lawyers defending political prisoners have been harassed and impeded in many ways, in particular by insufficient access to their clients and the denial of private conversations.

"- Detainees charged with political offences have been subjected to excessively long trials and periods of pre-trial detention, amounting to more than five years in many cases.

"- Military courts trying political prisoners have repeatedly failed to investigate allegations by defendants that statements had been extracted under torture.

"- More than 48,000 political prisoners tried by military courts since the first declaration of martial law in December 1978 have therefore been sentenced to imprisonment or the death penalty after an unfair trial.

"- Although martial law has now been limited to five provinces, military courts in provinces previously under martial law continue to function and at least 800 cases remain pending before them."

Anti-Refugee Measures

Following the demand of the Brussels municipalities, the Belgian Government decided on October 29 that new candidates for political refuge, during the examination of the admissibility of their demand, would be placed in an old military barrack, le Petit Château in Brussels. So, during this period, they would not benefit anymore from the financial help of the Social Assistance Centers of the municipalities.

The arrival of new candidates for political refuge have for a long time been the subject of polemics in the press which reflect xenophobia and racist dema-

gogies. With this new decision, the Belgian Government has taken a new step on the way to restricting the right to asylum.

According to a study carried out by the State Secretary charged with the problem of political refugees, Belgium, in comparison with neighbour countries, has never been an example of generosity. However, the concentration of refugee candidates within a few municipalities of the country (27.4% of the candidates are in Brussels, 23% in Gent and 14% in Liège) has provoked some problems concerning the aid offered by these municipalities to them. Nevertheless, since May 1985, six municipalities of Brussels which have the highest percentages of strangers in their territories have been authorized to refuse the registration of new arrivals. So, they no longer have the problem of candidates for political refuge. Considering this fact, the recent polemics incited by the administrators of these municipalities is a political manoeuvre to justify their xenophobic practices.

The number of candidates for political refuge in Belgium, according to the above-mentioned study, was 6,240 in 1985, while 2,984 in 1983 and 3,695 in 1984. As for those who have been given political refugee status, their number is only 1,421 for the past three years.

Racist and Xenophobic Acts

2.9, in Mainz (FRG), a Turkish worker, 25, Lokman Fidan is shot dead while walking his dog.

21.9, in Dillenburg/Oberscheld (FRG), a group of *Skinheads* attack the houses inhabited by foreigners and set fire to a foreigner's car.

6.10, in Berlin, a Turkish worker, 26, is machine-gunned by unknown persons while he is coming out of a garage.

20.10, in Dillenburg (FRG), Turkish national Islam Aslan's shop is destroyed with explosives by unknown persons.

29.10, in Berlin, a Turkish young woman, Leyla Pilar, 17, is assaulted by two German women. They tear her cloths to pieces while shouting racist insults: "Dirty Turk, dirty pig!"

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