



### GOLDEN YEARS OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN TURKEY



Not only "establishing law and order", but also strengthening the military power of the country was among the declared principal objectives of the National Security Council who carried out the coup d'état of September 12, 1980.

After a 2-year period of repression, the 5-man military junta now claims that "law and order" has already been established and they were ready to restore "parliamentary regime" in Turkey.

It is true that "law and order" was apparently established, but at the cost of more than 200,000 arrests, brutal torture practices, man-huntings, suspension of all human, social and political rights... Still more than 50,000 progressive persons are being tried at the military tribunals, of whom more than 4,000 under the menace of death sentence... 15 persons have already been executed!

After this blood-bath, what kind of a "parliamentary regime" is to be installed? The press reports on the preparation of the new "constitution" hint that it would be an authoritarian "civilian" regime of which the strings are to be pulled again by the military.

As for the aim of strengthening the military power of the country, within a 2-year period, the army chiefs have already reached "satisfactory and pleasing" levels by using all financial and material possibilities of the State and by exploiting a manpower deprived of the right to defend itself by the means of collective bargaining and strike.

Strengthening the military power of the country... In fact, it is not only the affair of the army chiefs. Behind them are also the United States and the big business of Turkey.

Just after the military coup d'état, on October 17, 1980, a communiqué issued after the high level Turco-USA talks in Ankara said: "The talks which were held in a friendly atmosphere gave a clear indication of the concrete prospects for the advancement of Turkish defense industry through mutual efforts and that the progress to be made in this area would contribute to enhancing cooperation on bilateral as well as multilateral levels, particularly within the framework of the NATO alliance". (See: *Bulletin*, October 1980)

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of September 17, 1980 reported that "after the military take-over, the efforts for creating a military-industrial complex with the participation of public and private sectors have been intensified. This complex aims to produce military apparatuses and also to export high quality steel, integrated circuits and castings."

It is clear that the creation of such a war industry needs an advanced technology, high accumulation of capital and qualified personnel.

For the transfer of the advanced US technology, high-level talks between Turkish and US delegation are still being carried on. Some technologies have already been transferred.

A qualified personnel already exists in Turkey, moreover since the coup d'état it has been possible to employ them with very low wages.

As for the accumulation of capital, the military-industrial complex composed of big companies and army officers has already taken important steps within two years.

The year of 1981 was a "Golden Year" for monopoly capital and percentage of profits reached up to 200-300 percent. (See: *Bulletin*, May 1982)

On the military side of the complex, there are one fond and three foundations.

OYAK (Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund) was founded 20 years ago with the contributions of army officers and sergeants with the apparent purpose of providing them with supplementary social benefits. But the 5 pc cuts on the salaries of officers and sergeants totalling up \$ 20 million a year gave army chiefs the possibility to go be-

yond the foreseen social activities and the OYAK decided to invest its enormous funds in industrial and commercial affairs. Thanks to its collaboration with foreign companies such as International Harvester, Renault, Good-Year and Mobil in petro-chemical, canned food, tire and automotive industries, OYAK has turned in a very short time into a mammoth finance-holding of which the assets in 1980 reached 35 million dollars.

Since the military coup d'état of 1980, the accumulation of assets of the OYAK has been accelerated and reached 57 million dollars within a 2-year period.

The Assembly of OYAK was held on May 29, 1982 in Ankara and army chiefs declared that the point reached by the fund in its activities and developments were "satisfactory and pleasing".

Retired General Hasan Görmüş, President of the Administrative Board, announced also the benefits accorded to army officers have multiplied following the military take-over:

"The assets of our fund have reached 8,563 million Turkish liras in 1982 (as they were 4,600 million TL in 1980). Our shares in different enterprises are 2,603 million Turkish liras and they provide us with a total profit of 1,889 million TL in 1981. We have accorded a 1,832 million TL social assistance to our members within last 3-year period. The sum of housing credit for each member has been raised up to 600,000 TL."

Besides the OYAK, the military-industrial complex has also three foundations, set up through a military and civilian cooperation with the purpose of attracting donations from the public and using them at the war industry.

The leading among them is the Foundation for Strengthening the Air Force (HKGV). The assets of this foundation reached 2,000 million TL at the end of 1980. It owns 45 percent of the shares of the "Turkish Aircraft Industries Company" (TUSAS), founded with the charge of modernising the Turkish Air Force and constructing war planes. The congress of HKGV was held on May 7, 1982 in Ankara and General Tahsin Sahinkaya, member of the NSC and commander of the Air Force, said: "We have reached the final stage in the preparations for establishing our own aviation industry." The director of TUSAS, Mr. Samim Dilek announced on May 17 that the Chief of General Staff had already chosen F-16 and F/A-18 fighters as the planes to be constructed by the Turkish aviation industry. These two aircraft types have been chosen among 9 models proposed by 6 aviation firms. F-16 belongs to the US aviation company General Dynamics and F/A-18 to another US firm, Northrop.

The Turkish aviation industry will cooperate with at least 170 local firms for the production of different pieces. The HKGV is also contemplating the production of photographic film and paper to be used at reconnaissance activities of the Air Force.

The Foundation for the Strengthening the Land Forces (KKGV) was founded later, but registered a very rapid development. At the congress of this foundation, General Nurettin Ersin, member of the NSC and commander of Land Forces, said that the assets of the KKGV reached 3,578 million Turkish liras, while it was only 400 million TL in 1980. It means that, thanks to the military intervention, donations to the KKGV have increased eight-fold. General Ersin claimed that 5.5 million persons donated to the KKGV within two years. Especially in the Turkish immigration in Europe a donation campaign has been launched by the Turkish diplomatic missions. Only in Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and Holland, Turkish consulates have collected donations of 2 million DM. The KKGV owns investments in many enterprises and founded ASELSAN to produce electronic pieces and wireless equipments, and ASPILSAN to produce batteries for military equipments. ASELSAN will have the capability to produce spare parts for F-16 and F/A-18 L aircrafts. It concluded in April 1982 an accord with US Aydın Cooperation for manufacturing high technology electronic equipments.

As for the Foundation for the Strengthening of the Navy (DKGV), it places the donations collected from the people in the manufacture of naval crafts for the fleet. Two speedboats constructed owing to the donations of the Turkish immigrant workers in Germany have been named "Gurbet-I" and "Gurbet-II" (Exile-I and Exile-II). Recently, a submarine is being built at Turkish naval dockyards by the DKGV. The foundation has also a 15 percent share in the NETAS, a telecommunication equipments company.

In the process of creating a war industry in Turkey, the closest foreign partners are the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. During the visit of Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Ankara, talks were held for the sale and joint manufacture of nearly 300 advanced US fighter aircraft to modernize the Turkish Air Force over the next decade. As mentioned above, the military rulers of Turkey desire to manufacture F-16s and F-18s. This project would cost about \$ 5,000 million over 10 years.

Turkish Air Force Commander Tahsin Sahinkaya, following his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, declared on May 15, 1982 that Turkey would receive from this country 120 F-104s and 77 Leopard-I tanks until the end of 1983.

According to a press report of May 28, Turkey would station AWACS surveillance planes in the central Anatolian province of Konya as part of NATO's warning system. The planes would patrol Turkish airspace, the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

(For further information on the subject, see: *Bulletins* of July/August 1978, September 1980, October 1980 as well as *US Interests in Turkey*, booklet published by Info-Türk.)

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## POLITICAL LIFE

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### "REFERANDUM" AND "POLITICAL GROUPINGS"

The official Turkish news agency AA reported on June 11 that a national referendum would be held by November 14, 1982 at the latest and estimated 23 million Turkish citizens over the age of 21 would be asked to express their opinion on the text of the new constitution by casting one of the two votes: "Yes" or "No".

This is a new turning-point in the time-table of the so-called "restoration" of democracy in Turkey. As explained in our preceding *Bulletins*, the Consultative Assembly has been editing the new constitution within the framework drawn up by General Evren. It is reported that the work of drafting the constitution would be completed in July by the Constitutional Commission. The Consultative Assembly will discuss the draft bill at its plenary sessions in August and pre-

sent the text to the National Security Council for ratification in September. The draft constitution will then be examined by the 5-man military junta who has the last word and submitted for referendum.

The Turkish newspapers report that the Constitutional Commission headed by Prof. Orhan Aldıkaçtı has already put on the paper many articles of the new constitution. Among them are also those rendering the executive more powerful in comparison with the legislative, providing the President of the Republic with more extensive authorities and restricting social and political rights. Even the daily *Milliyet* of May 15, 1982 hinted that a temporary article naming General Evren for the first President of the Republic of the new era would be put in the draft.

The Constitutional Commission is acting according to the desires of the five generals, but there are some inconveniences at the 160-member Consultative Assembly. Although all of them were designated by the NSC, some members have already taken a criticizing stand either under the pressure of public opinion or for some subjective reasons. The difference of stands was first marked during the ratification of some death penalties and culminated in the discussions on the Land and Agricultural Reform Bill or on the Administrative Reform Bill. Those members who opposed the secret voting of death sentences, who voted for a more radical land and agricultural reform or who criticized the bureaucracy have already been classified into "social-democrats" or "radicals".

The military junta is afraid that these black-sheep will oppose also many articles of the draft constitution. With the purpose of avoiding "unpleasant" debates on the articles at the plenary sessions, the NSC has charged its yes-men in the Assembly to stage a new game.

The daily *Milliyet* of June 4 reported that Prof. Aldıkaçtı and about 75 members of the Consultative Assembly had formed a political group under the name of "Atatürkist Liberals".

Although some further press reports claimed that "Atatürkist Liberals" as well as "Social-Democrats" and "Radicals" formed the cores of new political parties, they were well fabricated speculations for overshadowing the real aim of this initiative. Certainly following the adoption of the new constitution and the new legislation on political parties and elections, new political parties will be formed within the ideological limits laid down by the military junta. Since the political activities of former party leaders have been forbidden, the initiative of forming new parties will come from out

of them. And among the latter there will be "distinguished" members of the actual C. A. But this is the question of the period after the referendum.

The real motive of the secret meetings of "Atatürkist Liberals" was later announced by Prof. Aldıkaçtı himself: "I am not going to form a political party. My aim is to get the new constitution ratified in the Consultative Assembly as soon as possible and without everlasting debates..."

It means that Mr. Aldıkaçtı's initiative aims at creating a majority group in the Consultative Assembly which will vote each article of the draft as dictated by the junta and worded by the commission.

There are also rumors that seats of the future "parliament" are being promised to those who accept the discipline of "Atatürkist Liberals" and act accordingly.

The second anxiety of the junta is about the referendum. Although it will be held under a repressive military regime and probably resulted in the approval of the new constitution, the junta is still afraid of the possibility of a low participation or a rather high percentage of the votes "No".

As a first measure for averting these possibilities, the military has decided to renew the registration of voters. The preparation of the new record will be made so as to prevent progressive people from voting freely.

On the other hand, General Evren has already launched a propaganda campaign by visiting many cities, towns and villages, by organizing ceremonies and receiving delegations from different institutions. The press and the TV-Radio under the control of the junta give accounts of these visits and ceremonies in ways that render General Evren "popular" and the constitution imposed by him "acceptable".

But all these measures and propaganda campaign may not assure a mass approval of the new constitution. Not only for manifesting their disapproval of the constitution of a civilian authoritarian regime, but also for protesting against the repression, obscurity and deteriorating living conditions, millions of voters may say "No!"

Even before the referendum of November 14th, during the debates at the Consultative Assembly, some members may be obliged to raise the protest of the suffering people and to vote against the draft constitution!

Whatever measures the military junta and its yes-men may take, the coming long hot summer days have some surprises in store for the military junta as well as the world opinion.

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## STATE TERROR

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### EX-LEGISLATORS BANNED TO LEAVE TURKEY

Military authorities have ordered 133 former legislators, members of the Republican People's Party (CHP) of Ecevit, not to leave Turkey until a martial law investigation is completed. Restriction was issued at the request of the Istanbul military prosecutor, who is investigating alleged links between the defunct Turkish Peace Committee and the DISK.

### ECEVIT RELEASED, BUT FACES SECOND TRIAL

Former Premier Ecevit, who had been in prison since April 10, was freed on June 3 by order of a military judge during the first session of his trial on char-

ges of having injured Turkey's reputation abroad through an interview in a Norwegian newspaper. But he is still tried by another military court on a separate charge of violating a military ban on public political statements in an article he wrote for *Der Spiegel*.

### TIP'S DEFENSE:

"WE ARE NOT MARXIST-LENINIST"

The trial of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) restarted on May 14 in Istanbul with the interrogation of the party founders and administrators. The defendant No. 1 of the case, Mr. Alp Selek refused the prosecutor's claim that the TIP was a marxist-leninist party and pursued illegal activities. He said that the



TIP had never had an aim such as establishing a communist order in Turkey and had always carried on legal activities.

#### OFFICIALS OF 13 ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE MILITARY COURT

In Ankara, chairmen of 13 democratic association were indicted on May 2 by the military prosecutor for a common declaration issued in 1977. Prison term up to one year is demanded for each.

#### CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF TURKISH BAR ASSOCIATIONS

The annual congress of the Union of Turkish Bar Associations was held in Zonguldak on May 14 and the delegates raised criticism against the suppression of defence right at military tribunals. The administrative board declared at the congress that it had already made three appeals to General Evren for halting anti-democratic practices. At the end of the works, the congress adopted a resolution asking suppression of death sentence and torture practices, respect for the right to defense. Mr. Attila Sav was re-elected chairman of the Union.

#### CASE OF THE TURKISH PEACE COMMITTEE TO START SOON

The military prosecutor of Istanbul announced on May 24 that the indictment against 30 members of the Administrative Board of the Turkish Peace Committee, of whom 25 have been under arrest since the end of February, was ready. Ex-ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem, chairman of the committee, Orhan Apaydın, chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association, Dr. Erdal Atabek, chairman of the Union of Turkish Doctors and other defendants are accused of "forming an illegal association", "making propaganda for communism and separatism" and "diffusing news discrediting Turkey abroad". The prosecutor asks prison terms up to 30 years for each.

#### IRREGULARITIES AT THE INTERROGATION OF BASTURK

The questioning of Mr. Baştürk, Chairman of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), continued at the 2nd Martial Law Court in Istanbul in the course of the month of May in the way of *Inquisition*. Despite the lack of proofs, the military judge tried to obtain contradictory statements by forwarding confusing questions. When defence lawyer Ercüment Tahiroğlu objected to this attitude of the judge on April 30, he was removed from the court-room. On May 12, Baştürk claimed that his statements were not registered in the correct way and asked employment of a stenographer, but this demand was also rejected by the judge.

#### GENERAL STAFF'S REPORT ON STATE TERROR

The Turkish General Staff issued a survey claiming that martial law authorities had rounded up 43,140 political activists since September 12, 1980. Of 6,492 incidents happened between September 12, 1980 and February 11, 1982, 3,718 were alleged to be caused by left activists, 177 by Kurdish militants, 125 by rightists. Authors of 2,452 incidents are still unknown. All these incidents caused 466 deaths. The same survey reports that among those indicted are 32 journalists, 221 trade union officials and 325 association officials. 7,662 persons are still searched by authorities.

More than half of those subjected to investigation are over age of 25, 20 percent are unemployed, 23 percent are students. The security forces confiscated 614,500 fire-arms in operations and 60,171 arms were surrendered by citizens themselves.

#### MAN-HUNTING ON 1st OF MAY

Since 1978, it is fourth time that the 1st of May cannot be celebrated with ceremonies or rallies in Turkey. As remembered, the military junta even went further in 1981 and decreed to transform the 1st of May into a working day. Nevertheless, in different cities of Turkey, worker militants defied this year the ban on the celebration of the 1st of May and painted anti-junta slogans on the wall. One of these militant groups was ambushed in Istanbul by security forces and a member of the Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol) was shot dead.

On May 17, again in Istanbul, during another ambush, a young girl was killed by the police forces.

Within one month period of May 1982, the security forces claimed to arrest 39 members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) in Diyarbakır, 12 members of the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP) in Izmir, 16 members of the Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol) in Malatya, 18 members of the Revolutionary Vanguard of the People (HDO) in Kars, 30 members of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) in Ankara, 27 members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) and Dev-Yol in Ankara and 49 left militants in Adana.

Besides, in Istanbul, a German tourist named Manfred Ruhl was arrested on May 29 on the charge of tearing the Turkish flag into pieces.

#### 1 MORE EXECUTION AND 109 DEMANDS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

The military executed a rightist activist, Cengiz Baktemur, on 1st of May in Elazığ. He was condemned to death on the charge of committing political murders. So, the total number of those who were executed since the military coup d'état has reached 16.

On the other hand, in the month of May 1982, military prosecutors opened new trials against political activists and asked death sentences for 109 among them. The total number of the capital punishment demand has reached to 4,585 at the end of May. In the following list of the new cases, numbers of the demands of death sentence are mentioned in parentheses just after the number of the accused:

- Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK): 3/5 in Elazığ, 136 (24)
- Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) and Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP): 28/5 in Erzurum, 169 (37)
- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol): 7/5 in Izmir, 26 (5); 14/5 in Izmir, 54 (5); 14/5 in Ankara, 4 (1)
- Liberation (Kurtuluş): 7/5 in Izmir, 5 (3); 23/5 in Istanbul, 108 (14)
- Association for Fighting Unemployment (PİM): 6/5 in Istanbul, 7 (1)
- Unity of Marxist-Leninist Propaganda (MLSPB): 26/5 in Istanbul, 6 (6)
- Association of Idealist Youth (UGD): 19/5 in Izmir, 30 (13)
- Association of Progressive Youth (IGD): 15/5 in Ankara, 12 (-)
- Path of Partisan (PY): 7/5 in Istanbul: 5 (-)
- Revolutionary Path (Dev-Sol): 6/5 in Ankara, 20 (-)

In the same month, in Adana, 16 persons were condemned to 10-year imprisonment each on the charge of "adhering to the TKP".

## AWARD TO GÜNEY, BLOW TO THE JUNTA

Yılmaz Güney's "Yol" (Path) and Costa-Gavras' "Missing" shared the Golden Palm, the top prize, in the 1982 Cannes film festival. The succes of Turkish film-maker Güney, while crowning Turkish cinema, has been a blow to the Turkish military junta.

Güney, greatest Turkish film-maker of today, is also one of the victims of inhuman repression applied on the Turkish intelligentsia. Because of this repression, he was in exile when he won the prize.

When Güney came out of hiding in Europe to show his latest film at Cannes, the Turkish military asked for his extradition from France. Before an official answer was given, Güney attended a conference of intellectuals sponsored by Greece and France on the Greek island Hydra.

As the awards were announced in Cannes, the Turkish Government disclosed that protest notes had been delivered both to Greece and France for refusal to extradite Güney.

Güney, 51, was born in a little village, the son of a landless Kurdish peasant. He worked his way through high school in the southern town of Adana and entered Istanbul University's school of economics. After two years he was expelled and spent two years in jail, in 1960-1962, on charges of making communist propaganda in a magazine article. After his release, he drifted around, working at odd jobs for two years, and eventually ended up in the movie business. His early film career was an actor in macho roles. In the 1970s, he developed into Turkey's most widely acclaimed screen writer and director. Since then he has received a number of international prizes, including the Golden Leopard, the Golden Apple and the 1979 Berlin film festival awards. In 1981, his film *Sürü* (Herd) won the first prize of cinema critics in Brussels.

During the period of 1971-1973, he was detained for his progressive ideas by martial law authorities, and later released along with other political detainees on a general amnesty.

But his longest jail term of 19 years was the result of the fatal shooting of a judge at a restaurant in Yumurtalık. In fact, there was extreme provocation by the victim, who used highly abusive language to Güney and his wife. Notwithstanding there was not a shred of evidence against Güney, he was condemned to maximum prison term.

While in prison, he wrote articles, scenarios and even oriented from his cell the realization of many films. For his articles, recently he was condemned by military courts to 22,5 years imprisonment in total.

When he fled Turkey, Güney was accused of being a "traitor". In fact, all Turkish intellectuals who were obliged to flee the country due to the repression have always been charged in the same way... The most striking example of this drama is Nazım Hikmet, greatest Turkish poet who, after serving a 13-year prison term for his opinions, fled Turkey in 1951 and died in exile in 1963.

Güney said in an interview after the ceremony of award "I am very moved by the prize, but I did not consider it a personal award. It is an award to all my people, particularly those who shot the film".

All Turkish movie fans were elated when they learned of Güney's award. Even the Turkish press, despite being under pressure of the junta praised his success. "It was a great happiness for all of us Whatever Güney's present political and legal position, it should not cast a shadow over his artistic success," said daily *Cumhuriyet*.

## PEOPLE'S PLAYERS IN SWEDEN

The People's Players (*Halk Oyuncuları*), a theatre groupe which was originally founded in Turkey in 1967 and active until 1971, the date of the preceding military coup d'état, resumed its activities in exile in April 1982. Reorganized in Stockholm by famous Turkish artists Tuncel Kurtiz and Ayşe Emel Meşçi, the People's Players staged first Güngör Dİlmen's play "Kurban" (Offering) dealing with the woman question in Turkey.

On May 10, one person was condemned to death in Erzincan and 18 other to prison. Same day, in Istanbul, 5 persons were condemned to 5-year prison each for adhering to the Association of Patriotic Revolutionary Youth (YDGD).

On May 15, 8 members of the Dev-Sol were condemned to 60 year imprisonment in total in Ankara and two leftists to 18 year each in Konya.

## TORTURE ALLEGATIONS

Süleyman Coskun, Zehra Ceyrek, Sevim Cangör, Osman Pehlivan and Ali Kılıç, defendants of the TKP Case, declared at the military tribunal that they had been subjected to torture during their interrogation at police center. (C-5,8,11/5)

It was revealed at the trial of the TKP/B in Ankara, two policemen, Omer Bülbül and Kenan, who questioned the defendants, had been condemned earlier to 5,5-year prison term each for molestation. The defendants declared also that they were tortured by the said policemen. (C-19,20/5)

The defendants of the case of Dev-Sol at the 2nd Military Tribunal of Martial Law Command in Istanbul refused to give their identities for protesting a-

gainst ill-treatment applied to themselves at the military prison of Metris. Besides, about a thousand detainees in the same prison started a hunger-strike and the relatives of some prisoners have also joined this protest action. (T-13/5)

The General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces announced that until April 28, 1982, 283 allegations of torture were transmitted to martial law authorities. 125 of them were found groundless and 37 files were transferred to tribunals. (C-9/5)

## REPRESSION ABROAD

Secretary of State Erkel said at German Parliament that Turkey has demanded the extradition of 65 Turkish citizens, accused of political offenses, but only 8 of them were sent back to their native country. 18 of them are still kept under surveillance, because the investigation about them was still carried on. (M-4/5)

As the leaders of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) are tried at military tribunal in Turkey, their accomplices abroad enjoy open support and protection of the Turkish diplomatic missions. According to the report given by *Demokrat Türkiye*, the chiefs of the Türk-Federasyon (Federation of Grey Wolves or-  
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ganizations) organized a meeting in Hannover on May 8. The Turkish Consulate allotted them the Turkish House (Türk Evi) for the meeting. But on the protests of the Turkish and German progressives, the meeting could not be held.

The 4th congress of the Türk-Federasyon was held at the end of May in Koblenz. Serdar Celebi, Ali Batman and Erver Altaylı, who are accused by the military prosecutor of having organized Grey Wolves abroad, addressed the congress. At the end of the meeting, Serdar Celebi was re-elected chairman of the federation. (T-31/5)

While the Grey Wolves are protected by the Turkish missions, two progressive Turkish journalists were deprived of their national passports in Brussels. Dogan Ozgüden and Incl Tugsevul, editors of the In-

fo-Türk Agency, were informed by the Turkish Consul Omer Sahinkaya that they could no longer obtain Turkish passports, this right being refused to them by the military regime on the pretence of "their activities, injurious to Turkey, abroad".

## SUICIDE OF A TURKISH WORKER

In the city of Heilbronn (Federal Republic of Germany), a Turkish worker named Muzaffer Sahiner committed suicide on the rumors that he was searched by military authorities in Turkey, reported the daily *Tercüman* of May 18, 1982. The suicide of Sahinler, who worked in Germany for 18 years, shows the degree of the intimidation created by the repressive measures taken by the military.

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## SOCIAL LIFE

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### TURK-IS CONGRESS: OBEISANCE TO THE JUNTA

As the activities of the confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) are suspended and its 52 leaders are tried under the menace of death sentence by military tribunals, the other trade union confederation of Turkey, Türk-İs, by the consent of the military, held its national congress on May 24-30, 1982 in Ankara.

As expected, there has not been any changement neither in the policy of the confederation nor in its administration. It is clear that this congress was held as a simple formality, with the purpose of convincing the world opinion that trade-union activities are permitted.

In fact, all works of the congress were carried out under the surveillance of the military, and all delegates, with a few exception, expressed their gratitude and loyalty to the military junta. Nobody talked of the arrest of the DISK leaders and militants. Some delegates criticized the policy of freezing wages, but the arrows of criticism directed to Vice-Premier Turgut Ozal. Nobody dared to attack the military or the international finance institutions which imposed the drastic measures.

The most striking event of the congress was the re-

election of Secretary General Sadık Side who is also the minister of social security of the military government since the coup d'état. He is one of those who have been responsible for all governmental decisions taken against the interests of workers. This dual position of Sadık Side has provoked reactions in Turkey as well as abroad. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) suspended the Türk-İs' affiliation as long as Side stays in ministerial post.

Taking no heed of all protests, Side defied international trade union movement and declared at the congress that he had no intention to leave neither ministerial post nor the seat of the secretary general of Türk-İs. Under the pressure of the military, all delegates were obliged to vote for the re-election of Side.

As for the post of chairman... Ibrahim Denizcier was replaced by Sevket Yılmaz, who is known as one of the most reactionary members of the Türk-İs' administrative board. Although he had declared before the congress that he could not take part in an administration together with Side, last day he changed his view and accepted to work at the side of a minister of the military government.

Following the congress, the first thing the new chairman did, was to visit General Evren and to present him the gratitude and loyalty of the Türk-İs.

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## CULTURAL LIFE

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### TURKISH JOURNALISTS BANNED TO PARTICIPATE IN CONGRESS

The Congress of the International Federation of Journalists held in Switzerland on 17 and 21 May Two delegates of the Turkish Trade Union of Journalists (TGS) were not permitted to participate in this congress by the military regime. The Congress of the IFJ expressed its indignation against the Turkish regime's violation of the liberty of expression.

### BRECHT'S WORK CONFISCATED

The military tribunal of Istanbul decided to confiscate the 5th edition of Bertholt Brecht's work, "Bread of the People" and two famous translators, Kadir and Asım Bezirci were indicted for having translated it.

On the other hand, Ayşe Nuran Saygılı was condemned to 7,5-year prison term for "having made propaganda for communism".

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 FOREIGN RELATIONS
 

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## SOLIDARITY

- Distinguished European statesmen sent Ecevit a common solidarity message expressing their full support for "his fight aiming restoration of a real democracy in Turkey". According to the newsletter of the Progressive Popular Federation (HDF) of April 23, 1982 among the signing personalities are also Willy Brandt, Chairman of the SPD, Olof Palme, Chairman of the SAP, Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the SPO, Bernt Carlsson, Secretary General of Socialist International.

- While the 1st May celebrations were forbidden in Turkey, the Turkish and Kurdish workers in European countries took part in May Day rallies and celebrations.

- The Liaison Office of the DISK in Belgium started to issue a newsletter entitled "Solidarity/DISK" on 1st of May, 1982. "This year 1st of May will bring to the workers of Turkey only the memories of hard won but quickly lost rights and of course the will to fight for regaining them. It is apt that workers of other countries remember their brothers in Turkey under the military regime on this day of international solidarity and unity," says the newsletter.

- On 1st of May, Amnesty International launched a world-wide campaign for solidarity with eight trade-union leaders from different countries who were in prisons. Among them is also Mr. Baştürk, Chairman of the DISK. The Belgian Section of Amnesty International organized also a Solidarity Day on May 2, 1982.

- *Journal des Juristes Démocrates* (Belgium) published an article in its May issue, entitled "The Turkish Bar Beheaded".

- On May 8, 1982, two big demonstrations were held by the Turkish and Kurdish groups in Duisburg and Köln, protesting against death sentences and tortures in Turkey. It is the first time during the period of military regime, the political groups of different tendencies could act together on this occasion.

- "*Flashes*", organ of the World Federation of Trade Unions published in its May issue an article on the DISK Trial.

- On May 14, *Au Travail*, organ of the Christian Trade Unions Confederation of Belgium (CSC) published in detail the observations of Lawyer F. Vandrooghenbroeck who was present at the interrogation of Mr. Abdullah Baştürk between 15 and 20 April 1982.

- The Executive Committee of the ICFTU adopted a new resolution on Turkey at its meeting of May 14, 1982, held in Brussels. The committee condemned the violation of human rights and trade union rights, protested against the suspension of trade union activities and using ill-treatment and torture, launched an appeal for immediate release of DISK leaders.

- The National Congress of the German trade union center DGB adopted nine resolutions on Turkey which condemn the violation of trade union rights in Turkey and asked the German authorities to suspend aid to this country unless respect to human rights and welfare to the Turkish people is secured.

- BIR-KOM, a European-wide committee of different Turkish and Kurdish organizations started on May 24, 1982 a hunger-strike in many European cities for protesting against tortures, executions and man-huntings in Turkey. Supported by many famous Belgian politicians and personalities, strikers demand an investigation on the tortures to death in Diyarbakır Prison, sending a European mission to Turkish prisons and opening debates in European institutions on the violation of human rights in Turkey and Kurdistan.

## TURKEY-EUROPE

- Norwegian Foreign Minister Sverre Strøm announced at Parliament on May 7 that Norway would work actively with other countries to summon Turkey before European Commission of Human Rights.

- On behalf of the Socialist Group, Van Miert, Glinne, Fellermaier, Gredal, Jacquet, Hansch, Mme Van den Heuvel, Cariglia, Saby, Moreau, Walters von der Vring and R. Dury presented European Parliament a proposal of Resolution inviting foreign ministers to express their indignation before systematic persecutions and to carry out pressure on Turkish authorities for immediate liberation of Ecevit.

- On May 13, the groups of EPP, Conservatives and Liberals eluded a debate at European Parliament on the ill-treatment of Ecevit and by doing so they broke an accord concluded by the presidents of political groups.

- Great Britain, France and Italy applied to the EEC Commission to restrict the import of Turkish textile products. The Commission has stopped the imports of Turkish shirts to France. Both British and Italian demands will be taken up later on.

- At the beginning of the month of June, the Political Affairs Committee of European Parliament adopted the report of Mr. Von Hassel completely in favour of the military regime. This text adopted despite the opposition of socialist and communist members of the commission, suggested member states to have a comprehensive attitude towards the Turkish authorities and also to ratify the 4th financial protocol between the EEC and Turkey. All proposals of amendment to condemn the repression in this country were rejected by the majority of the Commission.

## TURKEY-USA

US Secretary of State Haig, in a new diplomatic offensive, confirmed his government's support to the Turkish military regime during his visit to Ankara on May 14. But the Gulf War and the Middle East appeared to have been the principal issues discussed at his talks with General Evren. It was emphasized at the end of the visit that all the discussions were held inside a NATO context, implying that Turkey did not deal bilaterally with the United States in this affair. But a few days later, the Ministerial Council of NATO, held on May 17-18 in Luxemburg, declared in its final communiqué that "Some members of the NATO can take certain measures for defending any region out of the NATO zone". This is a green light for bilateral cooperation between Turkey and the United States to station the *Rapid Deployment Force* in Anatolia.

In fact the preparation for stationing the Rapid Deployment Force have already started. Many Turkish military airports are being modernized for permitting the US air operations.

But in this process, the Turkish junta is in the danger of losing the moral and material support of the Middle East countries. Recently, in his inaugural speech on the occasion of the Governor's meeting of the Islamic Development Bank held on May 24 in Istanbul, General Evren said "Turkey is an integral part of Islam world". But any complicity in the US military manoeuvres will certainly deteriorate the relations with the Middle East countries.

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## IMMIGRATION

- During the May Day rally in Frankfurt am Main, some racist German groups attacked the Turkish and Kurdish participants.

- Until today about 250 enterprises have been set up in Turkey with the investments of immigrant workers. The total capital placed by them is estimated about 1,700 million DM. (C-3.5)

- According to a survey, two third of the German population is against the permanent establishment of foreign workers in Federal Republic. (T-4.5)

- State Secretary of France Mr. François Autain announced that more than 40,000 foreign clandestine workers would be expelled soon from the country.

- The parliamentary group of the Union parties in Federal Republic of Germany asked the expulsion of political activists of immigrant population. (M-6/5)

- The Socio-Cultural Center of Immigrants (CSCI), MRAX, the Human Rights Ligue and IDI held a common press conference on May 6, 1982 in Brussels on the question of the criminality of immigrants in Belgium. Exposing the reasons of criminal acts and underlining the fact that some politicians tried to use these acts as a motive for new discriminating measures, four organizations declared: "The systematical refusal of a social under-group is also a criminogenous factor."

- The Immigration Festival of the FGTB, socialist trade-union center, was made on May 8th, 1982, in Brussels with the participation of different national groups. Famous Turkish resistance singer Melike Demireg and folk singer Lütfü Gültekin also took part in the programme. All public sang together Demireg's song "Etele" (Hands in hands).

- Hundreds of Turkish migrant workers employed by Turkish contractors in Libya have been obliged to return to Turkey because their employers have not paid their wages. (G-13.5)

- In the city of Hannover (Federal Republic of Germany), rightist German youngsters attacked Turkish groups. (M-13.5)

- The German authorities are studying on a project aiming to enlist about 20,000 immigrant youths in German Army. (M-13.5)

- A German youth newspaper BSZ, edited by the high-school students in Berlin, published an article entitled "Ausländer raus!" (M-14.5)

- Police Chief Winfried Pünder, charged at the Köln Airport, has been indicted for having humiliated Turks in his article which appeared in a professional review. (M-16.5)

- Four German officials have been indicted for having issued false documents to clandestine Turkish workers. (DN-21.5)

- "Rockers" have launched a terror campaign against foreign workers in Frankfurt a.M. and attacked non-German people. (H-26.5)

- Consultative Council of Immigrants of the French Community (CCICF), a consultative organ constituted by the Belgian Government, held its first press conference on May 26, 1982 in Brussels. Exposing its views on the different questions of the immigration, the CCICF made public also an open letter to the candidates of coming municipal elections to be held in October 1982. The CCICF, reminding that immigrant workers are neither hostages nor electoral "cannon-fodder", appealed to candidates to aim the realization of equality between Belgians and foreigners.

- Despite the fact that about 700,000 Turkish workers are members of the DGB (German Trade-Unions Center), at the 12th Congress of this organization held in Berlin, they were not represented by Turkish delegates. It is the case also for all foreign workers.

- Following the fire of St. Josse in Brussels which caused the death of 14 Turkish immigrant workers, another fire in the city of Harlem of Holland on May 30, 1982 took the life of 5 Turkish citizens. As the former, the victims of the last incident are also from the region of Emirdag of Turkey. On the fire of St. Josse, Belgian deputy Claude Dejardin made an intervention at the Council of Europe and criticized the housing policy of European countries.

- Turkish associations under the control of the Turkish Embassy in Belgium held a convention on May 30, 1982 in Brussels for founding a federation to serve the military regime's objectives. Attended by the Turkish diplomats in Belgium, the convention first adopted the statute of the new federation and later decided to invite all other conservative Turkish organisations to take place in it. This new federation models itself after the "ornicales" of the Moroccan immigration organized by the regime of Rabat.

## SUICIDES OF TURKISH GIRLS

*Within one week, in Federal Republic of Germany, three Turkish girls have committed suicide one after the other.*

*On May 21, in Hamburg, a 12 years old girl called Zehra, hanged herself to death by leaving a letter to her parents in which she says: "I do not want to live anymore. Forgive me!" According to her friends, Zehra had been in a psychological depression for unsuccessfulness at school.*

*On May 29, 1982, in Berlin, a 16 years old girl, Sülfü Avlar committed suicide by the same way. It is reported that the girl was under the restraint of her conservative family.*

*Same day, in Hamburg, another Turkish girl, 25 years old, burned herself to death in protest against the racist attitude of German society. The suicide of Semra Ertan has been an event which unveils the drama of the second generation of the Turkish immigration.*

*According to the information given by her family, her father came in Germany in 1962 and did not take the children with him. Semra grew in the city of Iizersin in Turkey, without care of a father. Six years later, the father took his wife and his five daughters to Germany. But the five sisters have always lived a migratory life between Turkey and Germany. This continued until 1972. In that year the family got together and settled in Germany, and they started a normal family life after a 10-year interval.*

*Semra was going to normal school in Germany but could not adapt to the class. She was always behind her school mates. Her father and mother were unable to give enough attention to Semra because they both were working. In addition to unsuccessfulness at school, she could not find any job. She was going everyday to employment office but returning to home without job. Although she was a cheerful girl, Semra was complaining of hostile attitude of Germans towards foreigners and was completely in despair.*

*On the suicide of Semra, both the Turkish and German press have launched a wide campaign deploring the rising racism in the German society as well as the lack of an immigration policy fulfilling the requirements of the second generation.*

*As the daily İftilyet says: "Semra was a bright young girl but failed to find her place in the society. Separated families... Going to school in an alien society... Unemployment. This is a joint venture move... The Germans finance it and the Turkish authorities provide the scenario and the actors..."*