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12th September 1980  
Chief of putschists



7th November 1982  
"President of the Republic"



14th January 1983  
"Doctor Honoris Causa"

## PASSAGE OF GENERAL EVREN TO CIVIL REGIME

As the "witch-hunt" is hitting hundreds of openminded university members, the puppet "Higher Education Council" (YOK), acting on behalf of all Turkish universities, presented General Evren with the title of "Doctor Honoris Causa" and honorary university professorship, on January 14, 1983, for "his extraordinary success in restoring peace and order to the country and his respect to laws while doing it". The ceremony was attended by all university rectors and faculty deans who had been nominated few months ago by General Evren himself.

On the subject of Evren's "extraordinary success in restoring peace and order", we suggest our readers to see the news concerning the State Terror and especially the notes on the liquidation of university members carried on by martial law authorities, p.3-4, as well as the preceding *Bulletins* and "La Liberté de Pensée à la Militaire", pamphlet of Info-Türk, 1982.

On the other hand, after Evren's installation in the Presidential Palace, by the order of the military junta, works have been started for the construction of a "State Quarter" surrounding the Presidential Palace on the heights of the capital city, Ankara. The Turkish press reports that only the four members of the actual military junta, who will automatically become vice-presidents of the Republic after the legislative elections, and high bureaucrats will have the privilege of residing there.

## LAW ON POLITICAL PARTIES

In the Resolution adopted on January 27, 1983, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe considering that "the new Constitution is intended as a first step towards the restoration of full parliamentary democracy" and believing that "the democratic character of the new constitution will be determined, to a large extent, by the way it is implemented", expressed the hope that "the restoration of full democracy was to be completed by an electoral law and a law on the political parties." (See *Bulletin Info-Türk, No. 75*)

Does the new constitution really merit such a qualification? The answer to this question has been already given by democrat parliamentarians of the Assembly during the debates on the Resolution (See: p.7). Although voted the Resolution, they expressed their reserves and criticisms on the character of the Constitution.

As to the way of implementation of the Constitution, as explained in our *Bulletins* appeared after the referendum, the violation of human rights are being carried on, even by a more brutal way, under the iron-fist of General Evren.

In the legislative field, new initiatives of the military regime seem to be very far from justifying the optimism of the Council of Europe.

The Consultative Assembly began on February 14, 1983 to debate the draft of the new Political Parties Act presented by the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly.

The draft is, in fact, a detailed second edition of the Constitution's provisions on political parties.

A profound analysis of the new law will be given in following BULLETINS after it is adopted by the National Security Council who has the last say on the legislative matters.

The members of the Consultative Assembly debate on some formal matters such as the number of the founders of a political party, the way of determining the candidates, the powers of the party chairman or the structure of the party organization, but one point remains out of discussion:

"Political parties cannot preach a doctrine other than Atatürk's." That is to say, the foundation of political parties on an ideological basis other than that of the Junta will be banned. In other words, there will not be a real pluralism in Turkey.

In addition, "the judges and prosecutors, members of higher courts, teaching staff members of the higher educational institutions, State civil servants and those of public institutions and establishments except for those who are regarded as workers, students and members of the armed forces cannot join political parties."

An important part of Turkey's dynamic and enlightened citizens, except for the workers, are deprived of the right to take place in political life. But the workers too are deprived of the right to found their proper class parties and obliged to act within the parties which preach the doctrine of Atatürk: "Neither the working class nor the Kurdish people, only a Turkish nation without classes and without ethnical and linguistic differences..."

Besides, trade union organizations will not be able to take part in political life since they have already been deprived of the right to participate in political meetings or to establish ties with political parties or to support any political party or to have elected one of their officials to a political or parliamentary post.

At a glance, the draft on Political Parties Act is a further step, not in the way of the restoration of dem-

ocracy, but in the way of the institutionalization of the dictatorship of ruling classes in Turkey.

## "FREE ZONES" IN TURKEY

On the directive of General Evren, with the purpose of encouraging foreign investments in Turkey, the Turkish Government announced that free zones would be set up in the region of Izmir in the West and in the regions of Antalya and Iskenderun in the South.

Impressed by the experience of some Far-East countries which he recently visited, General Evren, as the absolute ruler of the country, declared that he would not give heed to the critics drawing the attention to the danger of creating free trade zones in the country and charged the government to prepare the project as soon as possible.

Business circles are in the belief of that Turkey has a lot to gain from free zones provided that certain problems are solved. First Turkey's chronic problem of inadequate infrastructure is a serious threat for the chances of success of free zones. Improvement of communications, transportation, banking and insurance among others are of top priority in this regard.

Secondly the fact that the Turkish Lira is not a convertible currency may prove to be a real drawback. An inconvertible Turkish currency may leave the prospective free zones merely as exclusive areas limited to re-export functions.

In fact, the establishment of free trade zones in Turkey will serve to intensification of exploitation and the progressive impoverishment of the working people of the country. The bulk of the capital to be invested in the "zones" will belong to the transnational corporations which hold undivided sway in the management of the area. According to the International Labour Organization, at present there exist about 800 free trade zones while another 40 are in the process of being established. Roughly half of them are in operation in countries of South and Southeast Asia. The transnational monopolies are attracted to these zones by the fact that the wages there are only one tenth of those in Western Europe, the duration of the workday is 50 percent greater, while spending on social needs is only one fourth of that in the developed countries. In these foreign enclaves there are normally no laws limiting the omnipotence of monopolies; trade unions and strikes are banned and there is no collective bargaining. Thus the expected "industrial oases" and "enclaves of industrial development" become zones of poverty with lack of rights and rampant exploitation of the working people, and outposts of new-colonialism.

## LAND FORCES FOUNDATION

General Meeting of the Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Land Forces (KKGV) was held on January 27 in Ankara. In his opening speech, General Nurettin Ersin, Commander of the Land Forces and member of the 5-man military junta, said that the Foundation had made important improvements during 1982 and its assets reached 5,310 million LT (27 million dollars). Half of this amount was reportedly donated by Turkish workers abroad. Those donations have been collected at Turkish consulates and border check points either by exploiting nationalist sentiments of the Turkish workers or by forcing them to pay it. (See: *BULLETIN INFO-TURK of June 1982, "Golden Years of the Military-Industrial Complex"*)

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 STATE TERROR
 

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According to the official numbers announced by the military authorities, 29,404 persons have been condemned by military courts since the proclamation of the martial law in 1978 till the end of 1982 and 15,205 persons were under arrest on December 31.

One can easily realize the orientation of the regime by reading the list of the prisoners: indeed, less than 1,500 "extreme right activists" are detained for 8,646 left and 4,318 Kurdish militants.

As for the number of the suspects detained by the police, it shows the same disproportion: out of a total of 630 only 19 are from the extreme right, 345 from the left, 99 Kurds and 167 from unknown political trends.

During the 4-year period 59,430 files have been examined by the military prosecutors.

#### PRESSURE ON LAWYERS

The military regime started to apply a new method of pressure to let the political prisoners helpless in their defence in martial law courts.

82 lawyers from the Bar Association of Istanbul have recently received an official order calling them to inform the Ministry of Finance about the names and addresses of their clients whom they had defended without payment in the years 1980-81. Thus, it is aimed to exercise a financial pressure on lawyers by taxing gratis work as if they were paid.

On the other hand, on January 28, it was brought a suit at law against the members of the Administrative Board of the Bar Association of Istanbul, on the directive of the Ministry of Justice, for not having banned Mr. Orhan Apaydin, president of the Bar who was arrested for a period of time connected with the Peace-lovers trial, from exercising the profession.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENT DEMANDS: 5,475

In January 1983, military prosecutors brought law-suits against trade unions, political and democratic organizations in diverse departments of Turkey.

Capital punishments were required for 6 rightist activists tried in Ankara on Jan. 15, for 4 persons in the drug traffickers' trial in Ankara on Jan. 29, for one defendant out of 48 in the "Liberation" trial on Jan. 16 in Istanbul. So, the total number of defendants for whom the death penalty is demanded rose to 5,475.

#### OTHER CASES

16.1: A law-suit was brought against 6 members of the Socialist Fatherland Party (SVP) with the demand for 15-year imprisonment.

In Istanbul, another suit was brought against 14 leaders of the Transport Workers' Union, affiliated to the DISK, with the request of 20-year's imprisonment.

Again in Istanbul, a suit at law was brought against 11 leaders of the United Food Workers' Union -of rightist tendency- with the request of 3-year prison term for each.

20.1: In Istanbul, another law suit was brought against 12 leaders of the Independent Labour Union.

27.1: In Istanbul, suits at law were brought against 18 persons on the claim that they were members of the TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/

marxist-leninist) with the demand of 24-year prison term and against 8 others on the claim that they were members of the "Liberation" with the request for imprisonment up to 36 years.

29.1: In Adana, a suit at law was brought against 28 persons on the claim that they were members of the TKP/ML. In Istanbul, the military prosecutor brought a suit at law against 7 Iranian students for propaganda demeaning the Turkish Government and requested 15-year prison term for each.

#### EXECUTIONS ACCELERATED

On the contrary to all expectations based on the argument that the military junta would be more "moderate" in the execution of the death penalties after the adoption of the constitution, it became more cruel and has made 11 persons executed only in January:

- 14.1: Hilseyin Cayli, condemned of simple offence, in Afyon; Adem Ozkan in Balikesir;

- 15.1: Osman Demiroglu, condemned of simple offence, in Isparta;

- 22.1: A. Ahmet Ulugbay, condemned of simple offence, in Aksehir;

- 24.1: Left activist Ali Aktas in Adana, Duran Bican, condemned of simple offence, in Denizli;

- 29.1: Armenian militant who was seized by the security forces in the course of the Armenian raid to the Ankara Airport, in Ankara;

- 30.1: 4 militants of the People's Revolutionary Road, were executed in local prisons.

Besides, the military courts have condemned 6 persons to capital punishment in the course of the month of January:

- 21.1: Two rightist activists were condemned to capital punishment in Ankara.

- 22.1: At the trial of the "Revolutionary Liberation" in Izmir, 3 persons were condemned to the capital punishment; one to life sentence and 13 others to the prison terms up to 30 years.

- 29.1: In Izmir, a Dev-Yol member was condemned to capital punishment while 18 others were sentenced to prison terms up to 16 years.

According to a statement made on January 28, the Consultative Assembly ratified 44 death sentences till that date.

While the Turkish military junta continues to execute condemned persons, an additional protocol to the European Convention on Human Rights which asserts the abolition of the death penalty, will be open to the signature of the member states on April 28, 1983. To come into force, the Protocol No.6 must be ratified by five of the member states.

The capital punishment had been already abolished *de jure* in 15 European countries. It exists in the law of five countries: Belgium, Cyprus, Greece, Ireland and Liechtenstein, but it fell into abeyance.

Turkey is the only country which keeps the death penalty in her laws and still practices it.

#### OTHER CONDEMNATIONS

6.1: It was reported that 283 left militants have been condemned to divers sentences of imprisonment by the martial law courts of Istanbul in one month.

9/1: In Ankara, 28 prisoners who have been tried for resistance to ill-treatments and tortures in the

Mamak military prison were sentenced to cellular detention for 15 days.

13/1: The Military court of Izmir condemned 4 persons to life-sentence and 20 workers to prison terms from 4 months up to 15 years connected with the workers' resistance which had taken place in the TARIS plants in 1980.

In Adana, 12 persons accused of being members of an illegal organization were sentenced to prison terms up to 36 years.

In Istanbul, a person was sentenced to 6-year and 11-month prison under the pretext of having led a "No to the Constitution" campaign.

15/1: In Konya, 7 Dev-Yol members were sentenced to imprisonment up to 23 years.

21/1: In Gölcük, 9 persons were sentenced to prison terms from 2 up to 36 years.

22/9: In Erzurum, 22 persons were sentenced for divers accusations to prison terms from 5 months up to 11.5 years.

28/1: In Istanbul, 6 persons from divers organizations were sentenced to prison terms up to 8 years.

29/1: In Erzurum, a left activist was sentenced to 25-year imprisonment.

## ARRESTS

In the course of January, 11 members of the Revolutionary People's Union in Istanbul; 6 TKP-ML members, 5 Dev-Yol members and 5 members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) in Izmir, 9 Dev-Yol members in Manisa and 20 members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) in Adana were arrested. Besides, 19 persons from divers left organizations were kept under detention in Izmir.

## TORTURES

As pointed out by the members of the Council of Europe (See: page 7), the practice of torture is, despite warning of European institutions, still carried on in detention-houses and military prisons.

In the Mamak military prison in Ankara, 32 detained women were enclosed in coffins to constrain them to own up their anti-governmental activities, revealed by Turkish lawyers who preferred to retain their anonymity.

According to them, 32 women had been placed in coffins made of wood with dimensions of 1.75 x 75 x 75 cms, on January 3. All of them are accused of being members of divers left organizations.

Besides, the military junta claims on the one hand that it pursues the responsables of the torture, on the other hand the decisions of "non-liability to prosecution" follow one another in the trials of the policemen accused of torturing the detainees.

Omer Zafer Müctebaoglu, detained connected to the trial of the Central Committee of the Dev-Yol and tried with the demand for capital punishment, had died at military hospital on October 8, 1982 because of tortures that he had undergone in the prison. The military prosecutor pronounced a "non-liability to prosecution", for it was, according to him, a natural dead which was in question.

Nasuh Mitap who is tried in the same trial with request of death penalty could not attend the sitting of the court on January 10 on account of ill health.

The military prosecutor of Ankara pronounced a "non-liability to prosecution" for two police superintendents and 15 policemen against whom a charge had been brought for having exercised torture on Süleyman Baba Aslan who is actually in the prison of Ankara.

## LIQUIDATION AT THE UNIVERSITIES

While the liquidation operation carried out by the YOK (Higher Education Council) at the universities of Turkey, a second attack was directly launched by martial law authorities.

In a period of one month (Jan. 12 - Feb. 12) the university professors and assistant professors whose names are indicated below have been dismissed on the orders of martial law commanders:

Professors: Bahri Savci, Cevat Geray, Tuncer Eulutay, and assistant professors: Korkut Boratav and Mete Tuncay from the Faculty of Political Sciences of the Ankara University;

Professors: Aliye Erkokak and Ziya Güner from the Faculty of Medicine of the Ankara University;

Prof. Burhan Cahit Unal from the Faculty of Sciences of the Ankara University;

Assist. Prof. Yalcin Küçük from the Ankara Gazi University;

Assist. Prof. Arif Eilgen from the Middle East Technical University;

Prof. Nuri Karacan from the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the Istanbul University;

Profs: Bülent Tanör, Server Tanilli -who had been shot and paralysed by the fascist commandos in 1978-, Rona Serozan, Yücel Sayman and Servet Arman from the Faculty of Law of the Istanbul University;

Prof. Abdülkadir Karahan from the Faculty of Letters of the Istanbul University;

Profs: Aydin Aybay and Murat Sarica from the Faculty of Political Sciences of the Istanbul University;

Prof. Kivanc Ertop from the Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences of the Marmara University;

Profs: Hayrullah Kocaoglu, Ahmet Terek and Tahsin Yilmaz from the Aegean University;

Profs: Özgönül and Erdem Aksoy from the University of Black Sea.

Besides, the YOK dismissed "on the necessity arisen" from office Prof. Nurettin Sözen who had been named as the Dean of the Cerrahpasa Faculty of Medicine of the Istanbul University by the same YOK about five months ago.

According to another decision taken by the YOK, the barracks' disciplin is to be applied at the universities with the beginning of 1983. On January 10, all bearded students were driven back at the doors of their universities for the disobedience of the YOK's rules on the clothing and the outer appearance of the students.

While the YOK liquidates the progressive professors at universities, it is also choosing the text-books for the Turkish courses at the universities among the works of well-known extreme-rightist writers such as Arif Nihat Asya, Emine Isinsu, Peyami Safa, Mumtaz Turhan, Mehmet Kaplan and Tarik Bugra.

On the other hand, the Ministry of National Education forbade by a written order introducing into schools about 50 publications in Turkish which are printed abroad.

## OTHER PRESSURES ON INTELLECTUALS

2.1: The martial law court of Ankara sentenced Cevat Baltı to 25-day imprisonment for having in his possession some forbidden publications. This punishment was later on commuted to the prohibition from frequenting leisure places for 25 days.

6.1: 60 experts of the State Statistics Institute were transferred to other posts in the last two months.

59 officials of the Turkish Radio-TV Corporation were also transferred to the posts without having any connection with their professions.

7.1: The Court of Cassation ratified the sentence of the writer Osman Sahin who had been condemned to 18-month prison term for one of his literary criticisms.

Besides, the press prosecutor of Istanbul seized a novel of Yashar Kemal, "The Sea is offended" with the purpose of determining whether its contents constitutes a misdemeanour or not.

11.1: The writer and journalist Emil Galip Sandalci was taken into custody by martial law authorities.

12.1: A suit at law was brought against the former deputy of the People's Republican Party (CHP) Veli Zeren for "offence to the Government's honour" in his telegram of sympathy addressed to Eccevit in the course of his detention.

14.1: The editor of the daily Demokrat, closed down since the coup d'Etat, Mr. Arslan Easer Kafaoglu was arrested.

16.1: One of the lawyers of the Peace-Lovers' Trial, Prof. Cetin Ozek was indicted for "insulting the judge".

18.1: The press prosecutor charged the Director General of the Sport-Toto, Mr. Aydin Karasüleymanoglu of "having advertised the leftist ideas" in the books for children that he had edited in 1979.

26.1: Two daily newspapers, Cumhuriyet and Milli Gazete were suspended by martial law authorities.

28.1: Journalist Oktay Akbal and the editor of the daily Cumhuriyet Okay Gönensin were sentenced to 3-month prison each for an article of the former criticizing the Constitution.

31.1: The poet Arif Damar was indicted for his poem anthology entitled "The steps of the Sounds".

#### DEMAND FOR EXTRADITION OF Y.GÜNEY

Turkish Junta had recourse, once again, to Greek Government for the extradition of the movie-maker Yilmaz Güney who came to Athens for the gala night of his prize-winner film "Yol" on January 17.

Turkish authorities had already requested the extradition of Güney when he came for the first time to Greece to participate in an international conference in last May.

Greek Government refused the request of the Turkish Junta once again.

On the other hand, British Government did not allow Güney to come in Britain even though he was invited to the gala night of "Yol" in London on January 13.

The movie "Yol" has lately won the Critics' Prize in Paris.

Besides, Güney has already finished the shooting of his last film "Duvar" (the Wall) of which the theme is the detention of children in Turkey, and started to dub it.

#### ACTRESS DISMISSED

Mrs. Isik Yenersu, actress at the Turkish State Theatres, who has been in Paris for researches, was called back to Turkey by a written order of Prime Minister Uluşu although the term of her studies was not yet completed.

Yenersu had taken part in an evening performance organized in Paris under the protection of the French Minister of Culture Jacques Lange on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Nazim Hikmet and read his poems there.

Following her return to Turkey, Yenersu was dismissed from the State Theatres by a governmental order.

#### CASE AGAINST DEMIRAG

A suit at law was brought against Mrs. Melike Demirag, singer and the star of Yilmaz Güney's film "Sürü" (the Herd), and her husband composer Sanar Yurdatapan, for "activities demeaning Turkey abroad".

Turkish authorities had already announced that two artists -who are actually in the Federal Republic of Germany- would loose the Turkish citizenship if they refused to return to Turkey and to surrender to the military authorities.

#### BAN ON THE TRAVEL OF 400,000 PERSONS

According to a recent declaration of the Ministry of Interior, 400 thousand persons of which the majority are the indebted taxpayers are actually banned from travelling abroad.

On the other hand, 3 thousand of them are not allowed to travel abroad for political reasons.

#### FRG DRIVES BACK REFUGEES

Turkish newspapers reported that ten thousand out of 80 thousand requests for refuge made by Turkish citizens in FRG were rejected by the German authorities in last year. Following the decision of the German Supreme Administrative Court providing that "having been prosecutor in Turkey for communist organization or separatism shall not constitute a reason for taking refuge" the other requests are expected to be refused in this year.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

#### TURKEY-EUROPE

The Socialist Group of the European Parliament organized a colloquy on the situation in Turkey on February 3. Although considering this country as an important European partner, it insisted on the Resolution adopted on January 27, 1983 by the Council of Europe which asserts that Turkey's membership would not continue at European institutions if all political rights and freedoms are not restored. Thus,

the socialist members of the Parliament seriously contemplate to recommend the Committee of Ministers the application of the article 8 of the Council's statute related to the expulsion of a member State.

#### EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S CALL

At its meeting on February 11 in Strasbourg, the European Parliament called on all member governments to examine "with great care" extradition re-  
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quests from Turkey. Reminding that since the military coup d'Etat many Turkish citizens have been obliged to request the status of political refugee in the European countries, the Parliament suggested not to send back those who might be in danger if they return to Turkey.

#### JUNTA'S ANSWER TO THE COUNCIL

Answering the question of a journalist related to the Resolution of the Council of Europe, the spokesman of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared: "The adoption of a definite position of the Assembly can only be qualified as an unfortunate contradiction. This decision does not have any suggestive character and does not entail any enterprise of the Turkish Government."

On the other hand, the Turkish Junta delivered its official response to the European Commission of Human Rights related to the complaint lodged by five member countries: France, Switzerland, Norway, the Netherlands and Denmark against the Turkish regime.

"In its report of 70 pages, the Turkish Government replied the claims of the five countries and contradicted the groundless assertions," declared the spokesman.

#### GERMAN SUPPORT TO THE JUNTA

The German Foreign Secretary Mr. Hans Dietrich Genscher who has assumed the presidency of the Council of the European Community for a 6-month term from Jan 1. on, carries on his efforts to change the attitude of Europe vis-a-vis Turkey.

In the course of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Community in Brussels at the end of January, Mr. Genscher declared that "it is the time to solve the problems between the Community and Turkey". He also suggested "taking necessary steps for the application of the 4th financial protocol which had been suspended by the Commission and which envisages a credit of 600 million dollars for Turkey".

Besides, the report of the German Government to the German Parliament concerning the situation in Turkey was published in the newspapers of January 23. The report, underlining the fact that "the German Government cannot remain indifferent face to the economic and political developments in Turkey and expects the democratic application of the recently adopted Constitution, proposes "the augmentation of the German aid to this country, the poorest of Europe."

#### BELGIAN SOLIDARITY

The Belgian Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in Turkey and the Belgian Ligue for the Defence of the Human Rights called on the Western countries to react upon the actual situation in Turkey, in the course of a press conference organized in Brussels on January 24.

#### TURKEY-USA

The report of the Commission of the US Congress on Security and Cooperation in Europe was made public by the Turkish press on January 27.

In the part concerning the situation in Turkey, the report describes the impressions of the US Congress mission which had visited Turkey as follows:

"The persons that the mission interviewed admitted that the military takeover of September 12, 1980 was unavoidable... Nevertheless, the opinions diver-

sify on the prolongation of the martial law regime and its utility. Some among them, lawyers, journalists, teachers, argue that the prolongation of the martial law regime would result in a political terror in a form different than the one which had been the pretext of the military intervention. Other persons to whom the mission talked to declare that they deem bitter the attitude of the military against some trade unionists, although they accept the necessity of the suspension of certain freedoms... Meanwhile, the businessmen were particularly opposed to these arguments and defended the prolongation of the martial law taking into consideration the actual situation in Turkey".

At the end of the report, the commission arrives at the following conclusion:

"There is no doubt that human rights are violated in Turkey. According to the conviction of the mission having visited Turkey, the actual internal crisis is not on a level justifying the bitter attitudes of the martial law authorities. The political situation in Turkey is so complicated that it cannot be overcome by simple solutions or usual remedies. Serious corrections must be made, from the point of view of human rights. In order that Turkey becomes the main axis of NATO and a really efficient and stable ally, she must return to the entire democratic order."

#### TURKEY-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A delegation led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Ivan Timofeevic Grishin visited Turkey at the end of January and held a series of talks with officials and businessmen.

Turkey had announced previously that starting from 1983 it would introduce a free currency system in trade with the Soviet Union. During the talks the Soviet delegation offered to build a natural gas pipeline to Turkey, but this proposal has reportedly received a cool reception from the Turkish side who plans to build such a pipeline in cooperation with Iran instead.

The Soviet side disclosed also their intention to open a bank in Turkey under the name of "Moscow-Istanbul Bank".

In 1981 the Soviet-Turkish trade volume was 250 million dollars with the balance in Turkey's favor. In the first ten months of last year Turkish exports to the Soviet Union stood at 101 million dollars and imports at 84 million dollars.

There was also talk that Turkey may opt to purchase Soviet steel on a credit basis to substitute some of the steel being imported from the EEC.

In the course of the month of January, Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Socrat Plaka visited Turkey while the Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Türkmen was visiting Romania. During the visit of the latter, Romanian Chief of State Chavuseskou repeated his proposal to hold a summit meeting between Balkan countries for furthering cooperation and solidarity among them.

#### TURKEY - GREECE

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu said he would only agree to the continued presence of American military bases in Greece if Washington guaranteed his country's security against the "Turkish menace". "Why should Greece accept the presence of a foreign force on its soil? We have come to the conclusion that the bases serve only the interests of the United States. They do not even indirectly serve those of NATO. Greece could accept their presence if they guaranteed our security, essentially vis a vis Turkey, which claims a part of the Aegean Sea," he said.

Earlier, Turkish Defence Minister Haluk Bayülken had declared that if Greece extends its territorial waters beyond the 6-mile limit, the Aegean would be closed to Turkey and this would be entirely to the advantage of Greece and added: "Turkey will never accept such unilateral decisions."

Beside the Aegean conflict, the Cyprus question still maintains the tension between two neighbour countries. On January 19, the Turkish Daily News

published a telephone interview of Rauf Denktaş, chief of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus", claiming that the proclamation of the independence of the Turkish part was on agenda.

Denktaş who has full support of the Turkish military junta said: "The Turkish Cypriot administration is considering to declare its independence if Kyprianou and Papandreu continue their intransigent and unyielding attitudes"

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS' CRITICISMS ON TURKEY

We had published in the latest issue of *Bulletin* the full text of the Resolution adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe as well as the explanatory memorandum of Mr. Steiner, rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee.

In this issue, we publish the outlines of the criticisms of the members of the Assembly on the situation in Turkey, during the sittings of January 26-27, 1983.

**RICHARD MULLER** (Switzerland): "The regime that had been established in Turkey on 12 September 1980 did not fulfil the conditions necessary for remaining a member. The many concerns expressed by the Assembly about violations of human rights in Turkey had been ignored; hundreds had been imprisoned and killed, and the press had been muzzled... The constitution itself could not be reconciled with the European Convention on Human Rights. The autumn elections would not be truly democratic because so many would be prevented from voting. The constitution did nothing except reinforce an authoritarian government."

**M. ALEMYR** (Sweden): "The shortcomings of the constitution, particularly as regards the safeguarding of human rights, are well known. The impossibility of former members of parliament and other politicians engaging in political life in the Turkey of tomorrow is, to say the least, difficult to understand. Neither the form of government practiced today nor the one portrayed in the constitution meets the requirements of the Statute of the Council of Europe or of the European Convention on Human Rights. What is at stake is not Turkey or its relations with the Council of Europe but the credibility of the Council itself."

**M. BUDTZ** (Denmark): "Democracy has not yet been established in Turkey and the human rights outlined by the Council of Europe are violated every day - I dare to say every hour in Turkey. The terrible truth is that the generals are even proud of it. Therefore we are forced to act. We must, for obvious reasons, give serious consideration to making a recommendation to the Committee of Ministers aiming at the application of Article 8 of the Statute of the Council of Europe. We should put all necessary pressure on the so-called Turkish Government to return to true democracy, and at the same time we should tell them that if they do not do so, they must of course leave this organisation."

**M. HESELE** (Austria): "There were serious flaws in the way in which the referendum had been conducted and the Constitution imposed limitations on human rights."

**LADY FLEMING** (Greece): "Since the Turkish coup d'Etat of 1980, there have been numerous atrocious abuses of human rights. The new draft Constitution conferred mainly illusory freedoms on the Turkish people. There has been no free campaign before the referendum to endorse the Constitution, and its most significant effect has been to confirm the existing President in power for seven years. There are still political executions and imprisonment, strict limits on free speech, and brutal reprisal against acts of dissidence and rebellion. The duty of democrats is

to defend fellow democrats in Turkey. It is in the interests of Greece to see an enlightened and a progressive Turkey; and the Council of Europe will lose its credibility if it is misled by the 92 p.c. support in a bogus referendum into believing that such a Turkey is in prospect. I call on the Council of Europe to live up to its own principles, express its solidarity with Turkey's suppressed democratic politicians and expel Turkey immediately from its ranks."

**M. van den BERGH** (Netherlands): "I should be happiest of Assembly members if Turkey would return to democracy. Unfortunately, although this Assembly has shown patience in relation to the problems in Turkey, the situation there remains very bad. The Dutch Labour Party, after considering a number of dilemmas, came to the conclusion that the Council of Europe has no alternative but to start the procedure for the suspension of Turkey from the Council of Europe. On the two occasions when I was in Turkey I began to admire that country. The sense of democracy is deeply rooted in the population. It would be tragic if we had to exclude Turkey from the Council of Europe. However, I think that in the end we should stick to the unshakeable principles of this body."

**M. GUTERRES** (Portugal): "The position of Portuguese socialists on Turkey had already been stated; only a country where all human rights were respected could belong to the Council of Europe. I did not believe that the referendum, constitution or the elections were satisfactory, and hence I had tabled certain amendments on behalf of Portuguese socialists, whose patience was now exhausted."

**M. EASTHAM** (United Kingdom): "We are given to understand that the proposed new Constitution was overwhelmingly accepted by the Turkish people. I seriously question that. Frankly, I think that the whole thing is quite bogus, I am always very suspicious when people from outside a country who are invited to be witness of certain things come back and report that everything is better and that we can be optimistic. That kind of report is rather irritating. Turkish politicians should be free to come and address people like us and tell us at first hand about the current situation. Trade unionists are also entitled to voice. We have on occasions been critical about activities in Poland and delegates have quite rightly expressed their concern for the freedom and the rights of the Polish people. The situation is no different in Turkey. The whole situation of the current regime is a complete sham. To me it stands condemned."

**M. SENES** (France): "Although terrorism has been eradicated, this is because the dictatorship has used terrorist type activities against trade unionists

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and others, and dissenters of the Left are being denied their basic rights. The Turkish referendum solved nothing. Had the result been less of a landslide, observers would not have queried the circumstances before the vote was taken. The United States welcomed the result because she was more concerned with law and order than with democracy, especially where defence was involved."

**M. VOYATZIS** (Greece): "The Council now needed to ask itself whether its own moral standing could be retained if it continued to have within its membership a country which was violating democratic principles so blatantly. There can be no compromise on such basic principles and Turkey's breach of those principles amply documented and scarcely denied by Turkish authorities made her continuing membership difficult to justify. Although the Turkish Constitution laid the way open for legislative elections, the continuation of rule by decree is, in effect, still possible. A cautious approach is wise but I believe that Turkey should be expelled from the Council of Europe for the period before she could send legislative representatives to the Council."

**M. DEJARDIN** (Belgium) said that nobody denied that Turkey was failing to conform to the European Declaration on Human Rights. He enumerated the many articles of the new Turkish Constitution which did not conform to the requirements of the European Declaration on Human Rights. He pointed out that the requirement of conformity to the doctrines of Kemal Atatürk was as antidemocratic as the demand for conformity to the doctrines of Marxism would be. He also pointed out that the new Constitution failed to recognise the rights of minorities, particularly the Kurds (See: *Bulletin Info-Türk*, No. 74, December 1982).

**M. VECCHIETTI** (Italy): "I assure the members of the Assembly that if you had witnessed Italian fascist elections, you would have found them regular in form and if the results were a landslide, that was because of the prestige of Mussolini. It is not right to fight terrorism by means of state terrorism. Italy showed that terrorism could be overcome by democratic means."

**M. BLAAUW** (Netherlands): "There is no guarantee of democracy in the new constitution although its adoption by the electorate was technically correct. Many people believed that the military takeover might help Turkey back on to the road to democracy but we must now recognise that that has not been the result. If Turkey wished to remain a full and honourable member of the Council of Europe, it must abide by the rules."

**M. BARTHE** (France) said that the need for an-

other debate on Turkey showed in itself that democratic conditions did not yet prevail there and raised fundamental questions about Turkey's continuing membership of the Council of Europe. He believed that the conditions of repression in which the referendum had been held made it invalid as an endorsement of the constitution.

**M. ANASTASSAKOS** (Greece) said that nothing had changed in Turkey. The only positive thing to emerge from the invalid referendum was its hint of popular opposition to the junta. Since the Council of Europe's statute did not allow it to embrace a country with such a constitution, he urged the expulsion of Turkey, saying that what the Turkish people most wanted has a signal of condemnation from the Council of the Turkish Government's conduct.

**M. FERNANDO MARQUES** (Portugal) said that the Portuguese delegation would defend the rights of the Turkish people. They could not accept as democratic either the Turkish Constitution, or the referendum or the techniques of terror employed by the Turkish Government - the mass arrests, the summary executions and the unexplained disappearances of dissidents. For historical reasons the people of Portugal could not passively allow a military dictatorship to continue and the delegation would therefore support the amendment No.9

**M. KAZAZIS** (Greece): "The constitution of the Turkish military proved it to be more autocratic than that of the Greek colonels now in gaol.. For those of us who suffered under milder regimes than that in Turkey, there is a limit to our courage and to the disappointment we can bear."

**M. EDWARDS** (United Kingdom): "As the chairman of an international trade union I addressed many trade union meetings in Turkey, helping to build up trade unions. Many of my trade union colleagues are in prison in Turkey and are subject to some of the most undignified torture imaginable. Their heads are shaved and they are compelled to sing patriotic songs under pressure of torture."

**M. HARDY** (United Kingdom): "If democracy is terminated within a member state, no matter what Conservative members may argue, that must mean the cessation of the country's membership. A state cannot continue in membership unless and until there is a guarantee of democracy."

**M. BEIX** (France): "Many essential freedoms were restricted in Turkey, human rights abuses are increasing and the referendum has been a misleading record of public opinion. The very modest request being made, that Turkey should forego her voting rights in the Committee of Ministers, is a sensible one."

## IMMIGRATION

4.1: Eight Rockers attacked a Turkish pub-house in Köln on Christmas Eve and wounded four persons.

6.1: In 1982, 2,336 foreign workers, of which 867 Turks, were sent back to their countries only in Northern Rhein Westfalia, in the Federal Republic of Germany.

11.1: A building in which live 50 Turks was criminally set on fire in Stuttgart.

16.1: A Turkish worker, 44 years old and father of 3 children, committed suicide in West Berlin. Habib Dagdelen was complaining of pressures on himself in his last days.

The political group "Alternative List" designated a Turkish architect, Dr. Cihan Arin, as candidate for the legislative elections in FRG. Arin who obtained 477 out of 626 votes has been menaced by neo-nazies for several times on his designation. On the other hand, his candidacy was rendered void by the Presidency of the Departmental Assembly which is of the opinion that the German Constitution would not allow foreigners to stand for the parliament at legislative elections.

21.1: The rate of affiliation to the German Trade Unions Center (DGB) among Turkish workers diminished from 50 p.c. in 1980 to 48 p.c. in 1982. This decline would be due to the weakness of the reactions of the DGB upon anti-foreigner measures.

22.1: The Danish Parliament adopted a new law on foreigners which grant them the right to have recourse to courts in the case of extradition.

23.1: A successful Turkish student, Can Akalin, 12, was attacked by about ten German students in Glussen (FRG).

25.1: In Leidsplein, leisure district of Amsterdam, 25 racists aggressed foreigners and then attacked Turkish pubs in the region.

26.1: In Mönchengladbach (FRG), the direction of a textile factory, Reedyt Stöhr Kammgarnspinnerei, dismissed three Turkish women on the pretext that one was too small (1m52), the other was too tall (1m89) and the last one was too fat (77Kg.).