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ERA OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY STARTED IN TURKEY

ANKARA (ITA) - As stressed in the preceding Bulletin, the returns of 11th December local elections in Turkey, manifesting a further shift to the left, led to governmental change.

Mr. Demirel's "Nationalist Front" Government, responsible of political violence, public corruptions, foreign policy deadlocks and economic problems, was brought down on New Year's Eve thanks to the defectors from the Justice Party (AP) and Mr. Ecevit, leader of the social democrat Republican People's Party (CHP) formed the new government.

This was Mr. Ecevit's second attempt at the premiership since elections of last June. A minority Ecevit Government failed on a first confidence vote. This time, Premier Ecevit's new coalition government won vote of confidence on January 17 and the National Assembly voted 229 to 218 to confirm the four-group coalition dominated by social-democrats.

Ecevit's government is participated by 22 deputies from its own party, two from the rightist Republican Reliance Party (CGP), the sole deputy of the rightist Democratic Party (DP) and 10 independents defected from AP who say that they were obliged to make a choice between a coup d'état and cooperation with Mr. Ecevit.

Ecevit presented to Parliament an ambitious government program which promised a wide range of future projects, from stopping political violence to land reform, from a fight against public corruption to energy conservation.

On the economy, foreign policy and national defense, the program stressed the need of reducing Turkey's dependence on foreign countries.

Ecevit complained that Turkey, which has made contributions for years to the Atlantic Alliance "beyond and above its economic means", has been having difficulties to obtain its defense requirements, even with its own money, from its allies.

Notwithstanding the main source of Turkey's troubles has been its dependence on the USA and NATO, new government's foreign policy does not have any radical changement.

Although he said his government would develop a new concept of national defense in accordance with Turkey's needs and resources, he added that under this new concept "Turkey would still honor its membership in the NATO".

Ecevit said parts of present agreements with the European Economic Community, of which Turkey is an associate member, inflicted obstacles on the development of Turkey industry and would have to be revised.

Ecevit did not make clear whether the long-standing foreign policy would necessitate further rapprochement with Turkey's northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, to the extent of a treaty of friendship.

On Cyprus he reiterated Turkey's demand for a bi-zonal, bi-communal, independent and non-aligned federal state of Cyprus, but did not disclose any detail on what moves the government planned toward a Cyprus solution.

Not a popular government, but a government of conciliation

Despite the fact that Ecevit's movement has been supported ardently by all left forces ignoring the necessity of an independent political movement of the working class of Turkey (See: Extraordinary Congress of DISK, p.3), Ecevit's Government preferred to be a conciliation and "national unity" government instead of a popular one.

For this, Ecevit exploits two excuses:

a) This is not a one-party government but a coalition government including two rightist parties and defectors from rightist Justice Party.

b) He said in the government program that all economic and foreign policy plans required a "united nation" behind them in order to succeed. Therefore, he added, his government, the parliament and the nation had the primary duty to eliminate "unconstitutional activities" aimed at establishing "a totalitarian regime of terror and coercion".

Although all the people expect the new government to halt as soon as possible the violence acts, to dismiss all the responsables of these acts from the public posts and to ask account for them, there are some suspicions that such a government, including two well-known rightists as vice-premiers, may go further to suppress also the forces at the left of the CHP under the pretext of "establishing law and order".

It is very well recalled that, actual Vice-Premier Faruk Sükan was the Interior Minister of Demirel's governments before 1970 and applied most sinister measures against the socialists of the time.

As to Vice-Premier Turhan Feyzioglu, Chairman of Republican Reliance Party, he has always maintained a staunch anti-communist attitude and defended all repressive measures practiced by the military regime between 1971-1973. The members of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe recall his assaults not only on the socialists of Turkey, but even on the social-democrat and liberal deputies of European countries who criticized the repression in Turkey.

The Left anxious, the bourgeoisie Contented

While the big bourgeoisie and the NATO circles expressed their satisfaction with the new government, the democratic organizations of Turkey manifested their disappointments concerning the structure of the government and reacted against the lack of some concrete measures in the government program regarding to eliminating anti-democratic articles of Turkish Penal Code which have always menaced propagating marxist views and existence of socialist parties.

During a demonstration organized, two weeks after Ecevit's government come to power, by democratic associations to manifest the demands of popular masses, Secretary General of the Progressive Youth Organization (Devgenç) was arrested and this measure increased anxieties of the Left.

The fact that the administration of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) was seized by social-democrats just before the formation of Ecevit's Government too leads to thinking that this most struggling mass organization of the working class will be domesticated and turned into a supporter of Ecevit's conciliatory policies.

Beside the governmental change, Ecevit made also some important changes within its own party's administration. Secretary General Eyüboğlu and his

aide Ali Topuz were nominated ministers under the condition of resigning from their party posts. Since these two persons have been known as the leaders of the right wing of the party, their dismissals were interpreted positively. But taking into consideration that the left wing is still left out of the party administration and the said posts are filled by some moderate elements, it is evident that Ecevit made this operation with the purpose of replacing the administrators who have lost their prestige by new elements who will pursue the same conciliatory policy, but will not see the same reaction from the rank-and-file of the party.

The real character of Ecevit's Government will be clearer after having the results of its operation against violence, seeing the concrete plans for the solution of economic problems and Cyprus question, and the attitude regarding the working class movement.

(O-V-M-DN-DG-20/1)

CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNIONS (DISK)

ISTANBUL (ITA) - Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) held its extraordinary convention on December 22-29, 1977 in Istanbul and elected Abdullah Bağtürk as its new chairman, replacing Kemal Türkler who has been at the head of the organization since 10 years.

Along with Türkler, his team in the administrative council and the executive committee was also excluded.

New Chairman Abdullah Bağtürk is also the head of Public Services Workers' Union (Genel İş) and a former Republican People's Party (CHP) deputy.

These changes lead to various comments on the future of progressive trade union movement of Turkey. While some commentators consider this change as a shift from left to center, some others see it as a further step towards the unity of Turkish trade union movement.

As a matter of fact, the "Declaration of DISK's Fundamental Principles" shows that the extraordinary congress decided to maintain the line of class struggle carried on since ten years.

Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of the new administrative council is formed of supporters of Republican People's Party leads to taking into consideration the possibility of a shift from the position of class struggle to the position of class conciliation.

Especially after the formation of a social-democrat government by Ecevit, one can think that the new leaders of DISK may put the confederation at the service of Ecevit who has been always the champion of "social peace" and gave many concessions to the big bourgeoisie with the purpose of assuring their tolerance, even support for a center-left government.

A short back-ground of the elimination of socialist in DISK

DISK was formed in 1967 as a reaction against the class-collaboration policy of the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ) which has always been under the influence of US trade union movement. The founders of the new confederation were four progressive trade unions in metal, rubber, food and printing sectors. The leaders of these four trade unions were also among the founders and leaders of Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP), the only socialist party between 1962-1971. DISK followed a policy based on class struggle, favoring the Workers' Party of Turkey and aiming to realize a socialist Turkey.

Thanks to the deepening class contradictions and the rising class conscience of labouring masses, DISK, in a very short time, gained a big influence especially in the private sector workers and reached an effective of 500,000 members at the beginning of 70's.

Seeing that DISK constituted a big menace for the privileges of ruling classes and for the conciliatory policy of the social-democrat movement of Ecevit, the both started to seek the possibility of eliminating socialist leaders from

the DISK and its affiliated trade unions. The 12th march 1971 military intervention gave them this chance, The Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) was closed down in 1971 and its all leaders were arrested and condemned to 15-year imprisonment.

Benefitting by this repression, the Republican People's Party acted immediately in order to place its men in the administrative and consultative bodies of the DISK.

Besides, Türkler's double-faced attitude too facilitated the CHP attempts to infiltrate into DISK and to increase the control on it. While the leaders of TIP were condemned heavy imprisonments, DISK Chairman Türkler and his team, despite the fact that they were also members of this party, succeeded to escape any condemnation and, with the purpose of avoiding any danger of further repression, decided to follow a policy in favour of social democracy.

This shift was manifested first in the various speeches and interviews of Türkler, and later at the DISK Congress in 1975. Türkler's team declared that DISK would unconditionally support the Republican People's Party. Just after the congress, some big social-democrat trade unions such as Public Services Workers' Union (Genel-İş), Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union (Oleyis) retired from the Turkish Confederation and were affiliated to DISK.

So the quantitative proportion within DISK radically changed. While the socialist oriented Metal Workers Union (Maden-İş) had 60,000 members, Genel-İş alone represented 100,000.

Revolutionary in the words, conciliatory in the deeds

Nevertheless, the rank-and-file of DISK still maintained their militancy, especially thanks to the fact that the repressive policy of "Nationalist Front" Government deepened the class contradictions in Turkey.

Turning DISK into a side-organization of Republican People's Party (CHP), Türkler's team was obliged also to take into consideration the militancy of the rank-and-file and pursued a double-faced policy with the purpose of manipulating the left forces.

This policy consisted of the elimination of socialist trade-union leaders and even the socialist-oriented trade unions themselves from DISK on the one hand, and on the other, of utilising such a phraseology which creates an image that Türkler's team represents the "nucleus of a working class party which is actually forbidden in Turkey".

When the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) was re-established in 1975 by benefitting the general amnesty, Türkler's team refused to recognize it as the socialist party of working class, saying that it was legally impossible to establish a working class party in Turkey and that the political struggle of the Turkish working class would be carried out by the DISK administration. This anarcho-syndicalist attitude led to justify the unconditional support to CHP, claiming that if CHP comes to power the "working class party which is actually forbidden in Turkey" would be officially and legally established.

Pursuing this anarcho-syndicalist policy, Türkler's team started to eliminate whoever dared to criticize the unconditional support to CHP and whoever defended the necessity of an independent working class political movement such as Workers' Party of Turkey.

This liquidation was encouraged also by the CHP and many socialist trade union leaders were replaced by CHP members. The socialist-oriented trade unions such as Petro-Chemical Workers' Trade Union, Tourism Workers' Union, Social Workers' Union were either forced to join in social democrat trade-unions or to lose their affiliation to DISK.

During the 5th June Legislative Elections, DISK administration again unconditionally supported CHP. Thanks to this support, CHP succeeded to obtain the votes of all left forces.

Social-democrats need no more the "Nucleus"

Just after the elections, Republican People's Party manifested that it could not tolerate anymore "revolutionary" phraseology and the existence of so-called "nucleus" within the DISK administration.

Türkler and his team had sufficiently served to the interests of CHP by liquidating socialist trade-union leaders and granting an absolute majority to social democrats in the DISK. Now it was the turn of this "nucleus".

But it was necessary to find a convincing pretext for liquidating them. Türkler's declaration on "National Democratic Front" gave the CHP the pretext for domesticating the DISK.

The slogan of "National Democratic Front" had been launched by Türkler without consulting the administrative council of DISK.

Türkler's appeal was strongly reacted by the majority of the Administrative Council of DISK as well as other democratic organizations, except the Metal Workers Union (Maden-İş), of which Türkler is the Chairman, and a few minor unions. Ecevit himself too openly rejected the appeal of "Front".

At the meeting of Administrative Council of DISK, an overwhelming majority, accusing Türkler of having imposed on DISK the slogan of "National Democratic Front" which had been earlier launched by a minor political fraction, decided to go on extraordinary congress and to dismiss the Secretary General and seven advisers of DISK who allegedly formed "brain trust" of Türkler.

Another burning question was also used as a very convincing pretext in the course of liquidation of Türkler's team. It was disclosed that Türkler's team had spent workers' cotisations and strike funds to finance the said minor political fraction's youth organisation and its daily newspaper, while more than 10 thousand strikers were paid each only 100 DM for a 3-month period.

From anarcho-syndicalism to social-democracy

The operation was completed at the extraordinary congress by dismissing Türkler and his team from DISK's administration and replacing them by representatives of social-democrat trade unions.

Furthermore, taking into consideration that militants of the said fraction pretend to represent DISK especially abroad and collect considerable sums under the pretext of "solidarity with DISK", the new administration decided to cut all organic and financial relations with the newspaper and the youth organisation of the said fraction and declared that nobody other than the Treasury of DISK has the authority to collect donations for the DISK.

Hence, following an anarcho-syndicalist policy, playing a double-faced game, liquidating socialist trade union leaders, spending trade union funds prodigally, Türkler's team itself gave the social democrats all pretexts and possibilities for this operation.

Now, it is the Bağtürk's team who leads the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK). Yet, in the administrative council there are some socialist trade union leaders whom Türkler's team could not liquidate. Furthermore, the rank-and-file of DISK has a militant and struggling tradition. Therefore, it is too early to accuse the new team of "having pushed the DISK to the position of class conciliation".

The class contradictions which even the CHP will never be able to solve maintain militant and struggling spirit of workers affiliated to DISK, despite all social-democratic attempts to domesticate it. (V-C-M-Y-DC-15/1)

POLITICAL VIOLENCE CONTINUES EVEN AFTER THE FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT

ANKARA (ITA) - Political violence flared throughout Turkey with new "Gray Wolves" attacks, bombings and bank robberies on the eve of the confidence vote in new Ecevit's government.

Although Ecevit claimed that the spread of anarchic incidents had stopped, the number of the victims of violence acts increased even after the formation of new government.

Within one month from 13th December to 15th January 50 persons were assassinated for political motives, 32 of them were killed until the date of the government change. 18 are the victims of the incidents happened after the formation of Ecevit's Government. /.

The total number of the victims of violence acts within 32-month period of 1st and 2nd "Nationalist Front" Governments reached 446. Within the same period, 6739 persons were wounded, 13,616 persons were detained and 1,268 persons were brought before tribunal for political motives.

This is the bloodiest period of the history of Turkish Republic.

The chronological list of political assassinations committed within one month following the local elections is below:

- DEC 13: In Bursa, Süleyman Dersimli, nephew of Republican Mayor, is shot dead during a political conflict.
- DEC 15: In Elazığ, worker Hüseyin Dogan is shot dead by unidentified persons. In Istanbul, student Sinan Hepsen is fatally shot by "Gray Wolves". In Ankara, Hüseyin Uçar going to the Justice Party center is shot dead. A time-bomb went off in a student coffee-house in Ankara and Güray İsgüden dies, 61 other students are wounded. In the city prison of Malatya, during a protest against the torture practice, detainee Cumali Ayvaz is shot dead by the police.
- DEC 16: In Istanbul, during an armed conflict between "Gray Wolves" and "Warriors", respectively para-military troops of neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party and religious National Salvation Party, Erdogan Yılmaz is shot dead. In the district of Maden of Elazığ province, during a political conflict between the supporters of Republican People Party and Justice Party, Necmi Başar is shot dead.
- DEC 18: An explosion in Ankara kills non-commissioned officer Osman Cayan. In Istanbul, a soiree organized by the CHP is raided by "Gray Wolves" and party member Salahattin Turgut is shot dead. In the district of Sarıözlü of Manisa province, new elected headman Süleyman Çakır is shot dead by his predecessor.
- DEC 22: Salih Karademir, graduate student at Middle East Technical University is found "cut to death" in the outskirts of Ankara city. Feyzi Azırcı, student of Engineering School in Istanbul dies during a clash between rivaling political groups.
- DEC 23: In Istanbul, Mustafa Sacit Saracoglu, student of Engineering School, is shot dead by unidentified persons. In Ankara, a coffee-house is destroyed with explosion and client Adnan Şahin is killed.
- DEC 26: In Edirne, Erdogan Tuna, student at a vocation school, is ambushed and shot dead.
- DEC 27: In Ankara, Uğur Torasan, student at a technical school, is shot dead. The building of Academy of Economic Sciences in Istanbul is burnt to the ground in a fire caused by arson.
- DEC 30: In the district of Nizip, Metin Karatepe, vice-director of a high-school is shot dead. In Diyarbakır, Fikret Keklik, student at a religious school, is shot dead.
- DEC 31: In Ankara, student Şeref Şahin is shot dead by an armed group. In Gaziantep, "Gray Wolves" destroy the city theater and some working places and later shoot dead Hayri Kiraz, employee at the Municipality.
- JAN 1: Teacher Haydar Karababa is shot dead at midnight in Istanbul. In Manisa, "Gray Wolves" destroy the building of National Lottery Administration with explosives and kill employee Şakir Narinler.
- JAN 2: In Istanbul, an armed group robbing a bank in the quarter of Bahçelievler shoots dead employee Adil Keçeci. In the district of Silvan of Diyarbakır province, Mehmet Hilaf is shot dead during a "Gray Wolves" raid on a coffee-house. In Antalya, Mustafa Balıkcı, a jobless progressive worker, is shot dead. In Ankara, Abdullah Gülbahar, student at a tourism school, is beaten dead. In Sinop, "Gray Wolves" fire on progressive students and shoot dead student Öner Semiz.
- JAN 4: In Ankara, during a raid on a coffee-house, Physician Haydar Kök is fatally shot.
- JAN 5: In Ankara, Zafer Üstün, student at Academy of Economic Sciences, is shot dead by unidentified persons. In Gaziantep, student İbrahim Yiğit is shot dead by "Gray Wolves". ./.

- In Manisa, Students' Union President Nejat Gökpinar who was kidnapped three days earlier by "Gray Wolves" dies in a hospital.
- JAN 6: In Adana, "Gray Wolves" attack on a bus and shoot Eyüp Gökgen to death.
- JAN 7: The house of Süleyman Genç, Izmir deputy of Republican People's Party (CHP), is destroyed with explosion in Ankara. He is also the author of a research on CIA activities in Turkey.
- JAN 10: In Diyarbakır, night-watchman Sadık Ünal is shot dead by unidentified persons.
- In Elazığ, Salahattin Öndek is stabbed dead during a political conflict.
- JAN 11: In Rize, teacher Bilgin Gergin is shot dead at the hotel he stays.
- In Elazığ, watchman of State Monopoly Administration Teslim Temel is shot dead in the street.
- In Gaziantep, Vakkas Nergis who was shot earlier by "Gray Wolves" dies in a hospital.
- JAN 12: In Bursa, Education Institute student Orhan Bilici is shot dead.
- In Zunköprü, student Saadettin Munga is shot dead in front of the school.
- JAN 13: In İstanbul, unidentified persons fire on the passers-by at the quarter of Laleli from a moving car and shot dead Gökhan Yüksel.
- Another person, Kudret Uybaş, is also wounded, and dies the next day.
- The prisoners of Ankara City Jail claim that political prisoner İsmail Akdeniz died due to the fact that his illness was not cured designately.
- JAN 14: In Ankara, student Barış Yıldırım is shot dead by "Gray Wolves".
- In Artvin, student Savaş Yetiş who was wounded earlier by "Gray Wolves" dies in a hospital.
- JAN 15: At the village of Akziyaret of Amasya province, during a political conflict between the supporters of AP and CHP, five persons are shot dead: Former mayor Adem Danış, his wife Firdevs Danış, Ünal Kabakçı, Halit Namli and Abdullah Çelebi.

New Premier Eoovit declared the government was busy taking necessary precautions at the moment and more efficient measures would be implemented very soon, saying: "Certain circles hope to establish inevitability of the anarchic escalation after the CHP has come to power. We will not give them the chance to prove such a situation."

A TEACHER CONDEMNED TO 5-YEAR IMPRISONMENT

ANKARA (ITA) - In Niğde, primary school teacher Mr. Sami Silah was condemned by a criminal court to 5-year imprisonment on the charge of "having propagated communism" in the speech he gave at a meeting of All-Teachers Union.

According to the verdict, he cannot exercise his profession for five years, after having terminated his prison term.

On the other hand, Mrs. Layla Yurdakul, Publisher of Aydınlık, and translator Meriç Özeller were brought before the criminal court in İstanbul on charges of "having propagated communism and separatism" for having translated and published Stalin's work on "Question of nationalities in the epoch of proletarian revolutions".

In Diyarbakır, the DAST Theater was forbidden by the police authorities to perform the play entitled "Aladagli Maho".

In İstanbul, the public prosecutor initiated a proceeding against the administrative council members of the Turkish Writers' Union. President Aziz Nesin, world-famous humorist of Turkey, and all the members of the council are accused of "having violated the Law on Trade Unions" by organizing a soiree of homage to Nazım Hikmet, the greatest poet of the Turkish people, and of "praising a dead person who is considered guilty by law", that is to say Nazım Hikmet. Nazım Hikmet had been condemned to 18-year prison in 1938 by the repressive regime of pre-war Turkey and released after having stayed for 13 years in prison. Following his release, seeing the menace of being victim of any plot by the rightist circles, he was obliged to flee Turkey in 1951. (O-V-DC-15/1)

COURSES OF KORAN MAINTAIN TURKISH CHILDREN IN IGNORANCE

BRUSSELS (ITA) - Almost since 3 years, in European countries where Turkish workers are employed, reactionary circles have organized the courses of Koran for Turkish children. Their number increases in an astonishing way, particularly in Belgium.

These courses escape all control of parents and the pedagogical institutes. They are organized and supported by the reactionary officials of Turkish Embassies. Some of the oil producing Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia also support the courses of Koran.

The courses are dispensed by a Imam (hodja). The method consists of learning by heart the Koran without understanding neither the contents nor the meaning. In fact, the language used in the courses is arabic.

The child who already passed all the day in the school is obliged to make a second study in the courses. This overworking-handicap the child to adapt himself to the norms of European education system.

Moreover, at the courses of Koran, the Hodjas oblige the children to respect many nonsense interdictions. For example, listening to radio or looking at TV are forbidden. If the mother is working out of her home, she is considered sinner. The sportive activities such as swimming or gymnastics too are forbidden. Children were taught that the world is in the shape of a tray and spins round and round on the top of the horns of a yellow cow. Hence, the Turkish children are puzzled between two different education systems.

If they cannot learn by heart the text of Koran, children are beaten on the head by the Hodja with a very long stick. In the daily life, this medieval education influences the attitude of children and turned them into enemies of intellectuals and non-moslem peoples. Within the family, daughters are discriminated and not allowed to have further education.

Since these courses prevent the Turkish children from comprehending their rights and liberties, they are encouraged by the exploiting circles. Because, in the near future they will turn workers, and workers without conscience are more preferable than any conscious one. (E-DG-15/1)

TWO TURKISH JOURNALISTS EXPELLED FROM GERMANY

BRUSSELS (ITA) - On December 31, 1977, two Turkish journalists were arrested at 12 a.m. in Aachen by the border police of Federal Republic of Germany while they were entering in this country for professional reasons.

Mr. Dogan Özgüden and Mrs. Inci Tuğsavul Özgüden were detained during 3 hours and 56 minutes at the police center of Aachen train station. When they were freed, Mr. Özgüden was orally informed that his entrance in the territory of FRG had been forbidden by the Ministry of Interior of FRG.

The police did not give any motive for this interdiction. They put the stamp "zurückgewiesen" on the travel document delivered to Mr. Özgüden according to the Geneva Convention and sent back them by train under the supervision of the German Police to Belgium.

Thereupon, the League of Human Rights in Belgium asked the Embassy of FRG in Brussels an explanation of this arbitrary act without any ground.

International Federation of Journalists and Professional Union of Belgian Press also intervened in the case and asked the Interior Ministry of FRG to give an explanation.

Besides, Belgian Association of Democratic Lawyers released a press communiqué on the subject.

Mr. Özgüden is actually editor at the press agency Info-Türk in Brussels. He holds an agreed press card delivered by the Belgian authorities.

It has been known that the "Nationalist Front" Government of Turkey always exercised pressures on the governments of allied countries in order to prevent his presence in their territories. (See: BULLETIN, July/August 1977).

The German authorities arrested and expelled him just the day the "Nationalist Front" Government was brought down by Parliament.