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THE ONLY EUROPEAN COUNTRY UNDER FASCIST DICTATORSHIP: TURKEY

ANKARA (ITA) - On the occasion of the first anniversary of the military coup d'état of September 12, 1980, democratic organizations held many meetings of protest against the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Turkey.

The Belgian Committee for Defending Human Rights in Turkey held a press conference in Brussels on September 10, 1981 and presented the world press a report on Turkey. This press conference was headed by the former Belgian minister Piet Vermeylen and attended by the socialist Belgian deputy Claude Dejardin.

On the other hand, on September 12, 1981, different Turkish and Kurdish organizations made demonstrations in Duisburg, Dortmund and Köln in Germany, in Brussels and Liège in Belgium as well as in London, Paris, Stockholm, Kopenhagen, Amsterdam, etc.

On the same occasion, the Union for Democracy in Turkey issued a detailed report entitled "The Only European Country under fascist dictatorship: Turkey".

We publish the full text of the introduction of this report. /.



One year has passed since the military takeover of 12 September 1980.

For one year, the peoples of Turkey have undergone a bloody repression with mass arrests, manhunts, hangings, tortures, sentences to life imprisonment...

The "legal" structure of a fascist state, against all basic Human Rights and Liberties, has been set up by decrees enacted by the five putschist generals. Now, they are going to open the door to a parliamentary fascism by way of a constitution commissioned from a 160-person assembly which acts as a rubber-stamp.

The fascist Junta has made daily life unbearable for the workers by carrying out the "24th January decisions", imposed on the social and economic levels by international financial institutions such as the IMF, the OCED or the World Bank. Wages have been blocked, progressive trade unions banned, collective negotiation and the right to strike have been suppressed and all legal resistance to the growing exploitation by the employers made impossible.

All the resources of the soil and the sub-soil of the country and the workforce are offered to the greed of foreign capital and its local collaborators.

On the international level, the fascist Junta, by applying word for word the military and bellicose concepts of the NATO and the Pentagon, has made of Turkey an outpost of American hegemony in the Middle-East. By ratifying the Agreement for Defence Cooperation with the United States, it has turned the Turkish land into a springboard on which the American flag waves.

From an ideological point of view, under the cover of a "revival of Atatürkism", all the educational institutions, all cultural life and the mass media are being restructured according to fascist conceptions. Everywhere, in day-nurseries, universities, newspapers, cinema, theatre or television, a militarist, chauvinist and fascist brainwashing is being carried out in all fields.

In brief, the obscurity of a fascist military dictatorship has settled on the east flank of the European family.

From the first day of the takeover, the democratic forces have protested against the transformation of Turkey into a 777.000 km² large prison, they have led an obstinate struggle in order to condemn and isolate the fascist Junta in the international forums, they have shown their solidarity with the democratic forces in Turkey.

The European Parliament, in its decision of April 10, 1981, asked the European Community to cut off all links with the military regime in Turkey if "they didn't go over to democracy within two months".

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, with its 14 May 1981 decision, has driven out the representatives of the Junta. But Evren's Junta, disregarding protests of the European democratic forces, continues to trample on Human Rights.

I. THE POLITICAL LEVEL

From the very first day, the Parliament was dissolved, the Constitution suspended, the work of political parties forbidden and the main political leaders arrested. Though most of them were released in the following days, they are forbidden to make political statements, to take part in the "Constituent Assembly"'s work and to travel abroad. Evren, the Junta's chief has stated, several times, that the politicians who were in the dissolved Parliament won't any longer have the right to take part in politics even after a passage to a "parliamentary regime".

As far as parties and political groups which are not represented in Parliament are concerned, their leaders and members have been arrested en masse and are being tried in military Courts which request death sentences or life imprisonment. They are accused of an attempt to overthrow the constitutional order by force or of "communist organisation".

If the attempt to "overthrow the constitutional order by force" is a crime punishable by the death sentence, the five putschist generals and their collaborators should be tried and capital punishment requested since they did

indeed commit that crime in September, 12, 1980 and they have no right to send young militants to the gallows under this pretext.

As for the accusation of "communist organisation", it is the material proof of a flagrant hypocrisy. The military Junta has always announced its intentions of joining the European Community. But communist parties are legal in all the countries of this community and are even strongly represented in their Parliaments. As for Turkey, those who are considered as "communist" are arrested and condemned to life imprisonment.

At present, the whole legislative power in Turkey is held by a five-person Junta and fundamental laws concerning social and political life are promulgated one after the other. Even if, as a consequence of the pressure of the European public opinion, they have announced the foundation of a "Constituent Assembly" whose work would be to prepare the new constitution and some fundamental laws, the very law which rules the foundation of this assembly shows that it will be only a puppet legislator. The Constituent Assembly will be made up of the 5-general Junta and a 160-person "Consultative Assembly". The members of that assembly will not even be elected by the people. They will be appointed by the Junta... Moreover, its only work will be to make some technical alterations to the bills prepared by the Junta's experts. Anyway the Junta will have the last word on laws and constitution.

The Junta, besides the legislative power, holds the judicial and executive powers too...

A so-called civilian government, ruled by a retired Admiral Bülent Ulusu and made up of technocrats and retired officers, deals with day-to-day matters in conformity with the instructions of the Junta.

All prefects, mayors and leaders of public institutions have been replaced by generals and colonels.

Besides, a Higher Commission for State Control has been formed, directly linked to the Junta's leader. This Commission is empowered to control directly all state institutions, all public economic concerns, all trade union organisations or associations.

Still, according to the Junta's decrees, any law adopted by them or any governmental decision will not be referred to the Constitutional Court or the State Council. Even laws or decrees in flagrant contradiction with the Constitution will be considered as "constitutional articles".

The appointment of all juridical posts, judges and Supreme Courts Attorneys included, is the prerogative of the Head of State.

A presidential system has been provided for in the draft for a new constitution which will be studied by the Constituent Assembly whose legislative, executive and judicial bodies the future President of the Republic will control, and in that manner, in a few years' time, they will set up for the first time a parliamentary fascism ruled by a general who has become "a civilian".

II. THE FREEDOM OF ORGANISATION

Just as for the political parties, the progressive trade unions and democratic mass organisations, they were suspended from the first day of the takeover. First and foremost among the suspended organisations are the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) and the affiliated trade unions. Whereas the leaders and delegates of the DISK and affiliated trade unions are arrested en masse, the pro-American Confederation of Trade Unions Türk-İş, which backs the Junta by giving its Secretary-General as Minister to the puppet government, is maintained to keep up appearances.

The Chairman of the DISK Abdullah Bastürk and his comrades have been tortured in military prisons.

The Istanbul military attorney has announced the imminent opening of the trial of 2,000 leaders and members of the DISK and affiliated trade unions, during which death sentence will be requested for 52 leaders of the DISK. Whereas the leaders of the DISK are imprisoned in the dark cells of the Junta and are threatened with hanging, the leaders of the Confederation of Nationa-

list Trade Unions (MISK) have been released after having been under police custody for a few weeks. As has been repeatedly demonstrated, the MISK was one of the hiding places and arsenals of the "Grey Wolves", the para-military commandos of the fascist movement. This fact proves convincingly that the purpose of the Junta is to eliminate the progressive trade union movement.

Besides progressive trade unions, here is a list of a few democratic mass organisations which have been banned by the Junta:

The Association of Teachers (TÖB-DER), the Association of Civil Servants (TÜM-DER), the Association of technical Workers (TÜTED), the Association of University Tutors (TÜMAS), the Association of Public Health Sector (TÜS-DER), the Association of Police Officers (POL-DER), the Union of Peasant Cooperatives (KÖY-KOOP), youth organisations such as the Young Vanguard (GENC-ÖNCÜ), the Progressive Youth (IGD), the Socialist Youth (SGÖ), the Revolutionary Youth (DEV-GENC and DEV-GÖR) or organisations of the Kurdish movement such as the Eastern Progressive Cultural Organisation (DDKD) and the Progressive Organisation for Popular Culture (DHKD). Some of these organisations had already been forbidden all activity "temporarily" under Martial Law before the coup.

With the modification of laws concerning Martial Law and public order, the creation of any new democratic organisation has been made impossible. The new laws on Association and on the powers of the police place all organisations under the arbitrary and absolute control of the President of the Republic and his prefects.

III. THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The press was also placed under censorship from the very first day. All progressive newspapers and periodicals were banned, including three dailies: Demokrat, Aydinlik and Hergün. It is necessary to bear in mind that even before the military coup hundreds of progressive publications had been banned by the Martial Law in force since 1979.

All directors of Radio and Television were dismissed and replaced by generals and colonels.

Even the oldest daily in Turkey, Cumhuriyet, of Kemalist tendency, has several times been closed temporarily because of news which displeases the Junta.

Because of threats of closure uttered by the Martial Law, the "questioning" and "police custody" of editors in charge, the whole of the press has been applying a self-censorship ever since the coup.

At the beginning, the Junta did not effect large-scale arrests of journalists and intellectuals, this in order to spread the image of a "democratic Junta" which is "respectful of the freedom of opinion" and which "only fights against terrorism". However, and this particularly after "the warning to go over to democracy within a period of two months" issued by the European Parliament, a campaign of arrests and repression against intellectuals has been waged on a very large scale.

This is a list of journalists and intellectuals arrested or placed under "provisional" police custody:

İlhami Soysal, Salim Bayar, Erol Türegün, Ergin Ünal, Süheyla Taşçılar, Bülent Erandaç, Seçkin Türesay, Emil Galip Sandalca, Yaşar Mıraç, Necmi Onur, Lütfi Oflaz, Salih Aydoğan, Taner Kayaş, Ahmet Taştan, Yusuf Hasan Çebı, Muzaffer Erdost, Yalçın Lüçük, Kurtul Altug, Ataul Behramoglu, Mehmed Kemal, Okay Gönensin, Güngör Yerdeş, Hikmet Çetinkaya, Rifat Ilgaz, Tekin Sönmez.

The young progressive publisher İlhan Erdost was murdered under torture in full view of his brother, in the military prison of Mamak, Ankara.

Furthermore, the journalists and writers listed below are being tried by various courts, with heavy prison sentences requested against them, and several have already been sentenced:

Sadi Ozansu, Tamer Kayas, Aydın Engin, Mehmet Çerik, Saban Bilgin, Enis Rıza Sakızlı, Erihan Tuksan, Candemir Özden, Hasan Baki Kurtoglu, Haluk Berberoglu, Ertugrul Okuyan, İhsan Fatih Yıldız, Yasar Rıza Zelyut, Adalet Agaoglu, Talip Apaydın, Seydali Gönen, Abdullah Gelgeç, Fettah Ayhan Erkan

Necati Sag, Esref Tutak, Ömer Faruk Oba, Oktay Akbal, Okay Gönensin, Örsan Öymen, Y. Dinçberk, Metin Münir, Nahit Duru, Mehmet Kazım Kara.

According to a new decree by the Junta, sentences for political crimes up to 3 years of imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Appeal and the condemned person is gaoled immediately. The first victim of this decree is the journalist Lütfi Oflaz who was imprisoned on August 21, 1981 in Ankara for his sentence to 18 months' imprisonment.

The artists, singers, composers and theatre or cinema actors have not escaped repression. Here are some progressive artists prosecuted or arrested by the Junta:

Melike Demirag, Sanar Yurdatapan, Genco Erkal, Tarık Akan, Selda Bağcan, Cem Karaca...

Even caricatures upset the generals in Ankara. The humoristic weekly "Gırgır" has been banned for the caricature which adorned the cover of the paper, the editor and the cartoonist are being prosecuted.

The Junta, not content with having suppressed "de facto" all scientific and administrative autonomy of universities, subjects universities to the direct control of the "Head of State" through the new higher education law.

Moreover, progressive university teachers are being arrested and prosecuted before military courts. Here is the list:

Prof. Sadun Aren, Dr. Alparslan Işıklı, Dr. Osman Nuri Koçtürk, the President of the Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences of Adana., the Prof. Mülkrinin Altıntaş and 6 of his colleagues, Ercan Eyüboğlu of the University of Hacettepe, the Prof. Veli Lök, the Prof. Cumhuri Ertekin, the Prof. A. Kayhan, 2 doctors and 18 tutors of the University of Izmir, the Dr. Necmiye Bekel of the University of Ankara.

A university teacher at the METU in Ankara, Bilgen Arif Bilgin is even threatened with the death sentence for his "collaboration with extremist organisations".

Moreover, it has been stated that more than 4,000 secondary school teachers have been prosecuted since 12 September "for having been involved in ideological actions". The Association of Teachers (TÖB-DER) has been one of the choice targets of the Junta. Its chairman Gültekin Gazioglu and his 15 comrades have been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment and another trial has been started against 55 leaders of the TÖB-DER with requests to prison sentences up to 15 years.

IV. STATE TERROR, HANGINGS AND TORTURE

According to official statements dating from April 10, 1981, in the space of 7 months of dictatorship, 122,609 persons have been placed under "provisional" police custody. 1,469 of them have been sentenced, 20,678 have been arrested in order to be tried. Since then, as large-scale arrests have gone on and have even become more widespread, it is estimated that the number of those who have had to spend some time in the goals of the Junta exceeds 200,000...

The Junta has declared the Martial Law in the whole country the better to effect its manhunting operations. A partial curfew is still in force. The legislation on the Martial Law has been altered 6 times by the Junta in order to answer more efficiently the arbitrary demands of the commanders of the state of siege. The maximum time allowed for the provisional police custody of suspects without a decision by one or another court has been brought up to 90 days. The right to appeal has been suppressed for sentences to less than 3 years imprisonment.

The police have from now on the right to shoot on sight without warning every "suspect" person. According to the official statement of August 15, 1981, 404 Resistance fighters have been killed "during confrontations with the police" from 12 September 1980.

Lately Kenan Budak, chairman of the progressive Trade Union of Tanners (İLERİCI DERİ-İS), affiliated to the DISK, was murdered while "trying to escape the police".

The Junta, which does not appear to have had enough, does not content itself with existing police forces which it considers insufficient for man-

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The Junta, which does not appear to have had enough, does not content itself with existing police forces which it considers insufficient for man-

hunts and announces the creation of "Fast-moving Forces" composed of teams of 12 sharpshooters. Moreover, in order to make immediate repression possible against any workers' resistance in the factories, the National Security Council, alias Evren's Junta, has ratified a law that gives the employers the right to train "special security forces".

Death sentences: 10 have been already carried out, 2,700 are requested

The inhuman capital punishment is once again enforced in Turkey by the Junta, and this for the first time since the repressive regime of 1971-72, whereas France is about to suppress it.

So far, ten youths have been hanged, two of them being extreme-right militants and the other 8 progressive ones.

28 death sentences are awaiting the approval of the Cassation Military Court.

Among the prisoners tried in military prisons, the number of whom exceeds 20,000, the military attorneys have requested the death sentence for 2,700 of them. Among them are the 52 leaders of the DISK.

Here is the list of the organisations to which belong those who are in danger of being executed:

DEV-YOL (Revolutionary Way) 562, DEV-SOL (Revolutionary Left) 199, PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) 385, THKP/C (Party/Front for the Popular Liberation of Turkey) 350, TDKP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey) 110, TKP-ML (Communist Party of Turkey- Marxist-Leninist) 90, TIKB (Union of the Revolutionary Communists of Turkey) 17, KURTULUS (Liberation) 41, KAWA (a Kurdish organisation) 49, SGB (Union of Young Socialists) 2, ISCININ SESI (Workers' Voice) 18, RIZGARI and ALA RIZGARI (Kurdish organisations) 13, TEKOSIN (a Kurdish organisation) 11, TKEP (Labour Communist Party of Turkey) 3.

For the right-wing 445, among whom 220 belong to the MHP (Nationalist Action Party) of Turkey.

We can easily notice that the requests for death sentences against the progressives are six times more numerous than those against the right. It is also apparent that the Junta's terror has as its main target the left-wing activists.

During the last month, the military attorneys have started a large-scale wave of arrests against the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) which has been clandestine for 60 years. The number of arrests up to the end of August exceeds 2,000.

Parties which were carrying on legal activities till 12 September 1980, such as the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP), the Labour Party of Turkey (TEP), the Fatherland Party (VP) or organisations of the Kurdish movement among them legal ones (DDKD and DHKD) and a clandestine one the Socialist Party of Kurdistan of Turkey (TKSP) are undergoing repression. Their leaders and militants are being hunted down, arrested, tortured and file one after the other in military courts.

Dead under torture : 20

Most of the prisoners are subjected to torture. Among them are Abdullah Bastürk (Chairman of the DISK) and his comrades, Ahmet Isvan (the Mayor of Istanbul) and Mehdi Zana (the Mayor of Diyarbakir).

20 political prisoners died under torture during the first six months of the dictatorship. Here is the list of the tortured victims :

The trade unionist Ahmet Feyzioglu, Ahmet Karlangac, Rafet Demir, Zeynel Abidin Ceylan, Sadan Gazeteci, Hasan Özmen, Bekir Bag, Ibrahim Eksi, Mehmet Baydas, Ercan Koca, Ali Inan, Mehmet Cizreli, Ali Altıok, Sırrı Çopur, Osman Taştekin, Abdullah Peksoylu, Mehmet Ali Kılıc, Sahin Dokuyucu, Zeki Yumartacı, Hasan Hüseyin Damar.

The Junta states that it is very watchful about these "few isolated cases which may not be considered in any way as a general practice"... Furthermore official investigations have been opened against torturers involved in 57 cases. But these investigations only focus on the known cases

and only on the deaths that occurred under torture... However we know that death is nothing but an "accident in the course of torture" and thousands of nonfatal cases of torture are passed over in silence. Besides most of these "investigations" end in withdrawal of case.

Amnesty International's representative Anne Burley stated on April 28, 1981, at the Council of Europe that it was no longer possible to ignore the existence of torture in Turkey. Torture can be carried out commonly and on a large scale without its being necessary that the orders should have been issued by the Higher Authorities...

As for the investigations against torturers, she said "I remain absolutely convinced that the actions undertaken until now are far from having resulted in a decline in torture".

V. THE REPRESSION AGAINST THE KURDISH PEOPLE

The national repression which has been applied unceasingly since the beginning of the history of the Turkish Republic has reached unimaginable proportions in Kurdistan of Turkey since the 12 September 1980 takeover.

According to information given by the Kurdish organisation TEKOŞER, "more than a third of the political prisoners of Turkey are Kurdish militants guilty of claiming for their people cultural and national rights. For, in this latter part of the 20th Century, Turkey which occupies an important part of the Cypriot land in the name of the defence of the rights of the Turkish minority on this island, Turkey which demands a teaching in the Turkish language for Turkish workers' children in Europe, refuses to recognize any cultural right to the Kurdish people which constitutes one fourth of its population. It even denies the existence of the Kurds as a people having its own language, its own culture and its own history.

"Today, a former minister, Serafettin Elci, a deputy, Serafettin Yılmaz, mayors, academics, teachers are imprisoned in the dark cells of the military dictatorship for having mentioned the existence of Kurds in Turkey.

"Besides they do not fail to accompany this exemplary cultural genocide with a large-scale and violent physical repression. Two thirds of the total strength of the Turkish Armed Forces keep under close control the Kurdish Provinces where they regularly indulge in combing operations. The evidence which we have received concerning the killings perpetrated in the Kurdish departments of Siverek (5 deaths on 18 September 1980), of Urfa (7 deaths on 18/08/80), of Mardin (5 deaths on 26/09/80), of Hakkari (12 deaths on 13/10/80) shows that these are assassinations. This is perfectly obvious in the case of the slaughter perpetrated by a Turkish military commando in a Syrian border village where a few young Kurdish people from Turkey, unarmed, had found refuge. During the nightly raid by the Turkish commando, 16 persons were murdered (the photos of the slaughter were published in the Swedish Daily "AFTONBLADET" of 17/03/81).

VI. THE REPRESSION AGAINST THE OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME ABROAD

Because it is extremely worried by the resistance activities of the Turkish democrats abroad and by the reaction of the European democratic circles, the Junta has set up a series of measures against "these traitors deprived of noble Turkish blood" according to General Kenan Evren's very phrase.

Firstly, "those who act against the State Security (the Junta) abroad" will be enjoined to come back home and to surrender to the military authorities within a month. If they do not, they will be deprived of their Turkish nationality and their property will be confiscated.

This measure was first applied to the leaders of the Workers' Party of Turkey, to its chairwoman Behice Boran, 71 years old, to the leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey, of the Association of Teachers of Turkey as well as to democratic artists.

Another kind of repression applied to Turkish democrats living abroad is the refusal by the consulates to extend their passports.

At the border posts used by more than 500,000 immigrant Turkish workers when they come back home each year for their holidays, "Denunciation Offices" have been set up in order to find those who "are waging activities against the regime abroad".

Young immigrants who come back home temporarily for their military service, are obliged to fill in documents in which they denounce any opponents that they happen to know among their relations.

For some time, several Turkish Security Agents have been sent abroad under cover of being "members of a Diplomatic Delegation" or "school teachers". They lead an intimidation campaign against the immigrant Turkish workers, hand in hand with the "Grey Wolves" organisations in Europe.

CONCLUSION

The balance of one year of fascist dictatorship in Turkey, which we have tried to sum up above, is sufficient to demonstrate that the Junta of the "National Security Council" which has ruled Turkey ever since the military takeover of September 12, 1980, has trampled on all fundamental rights and liberties which are listed in the European Convention on Human Rights, and that it keeps on doing it.

The "Constituent Assembly" which they try to make out to be "the beginning of a passage to democracy" is nothing but a "rubber-stamp parliament" which has been set up to deceive the European democratic forces and whose only duty is to systematize fascist laws that have been decreed by the Junta so far and thereby to draft out a "constitution" of parliamentary fascism.

In view of these developments, the European democratic forces have often reacted and vigorously protested. But this is not enough.

The Junta's representatives were driven out, in May 1981, of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The Junta's regime must not have a seat in any organ of the Council of Europe, not even in the Council of Ministers.

The European Parliament had given the Junta a period of two months to go over to democracy, this on April 10, 1981. While 5 months have already passed since that decision and while no serious step forward has been made in the direction of democracy, the European Community Commission and Council have not carried out any of the measures recommended by the European Parliament.

Be it the Commission or the governments of the member countries, everybody speaks of good relations with the Turkish government. Moreover all the Junta's needs on the economic, financial or military levels are satisfied without hesitation in the name of assistance to Turkey.

IT MUST BE KNOWN THAT EVERY PENNY GIVEN TO THE JUNTA OF TURKEY, SERVES THE ENTRENCHMENT OF A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN TURKEY AND THE INCREASE OF THE REPRESSION ON THE PEOPLES OF TURKEY.

If we want to display a genuine solidarity with the peoples of Turkey which are fighting to put an end to the fascist regime that has settled on the East flank of the European family and if we want to set up a true democracy:

- THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DECISION MUST BE IMMEDIATELY IMPLEMENTED AND ALL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND TURKEY MUST BE CUT OFF.

- ALL ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE TURKISH REGIME MUST CEASE.

- THE PUTSCHISTS' REGIME MUST BE DRIVEN OUT OF ALL THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

- THE REINSTATEMENT OF TURKEY IN ALL THE EUROPEAN FORUMS AS A DEMOCRATIC EUROPEAN STATE MUST BE LINKED TO THE "SINE QUA NON" CONDITION THAT IT SHALL APPLY WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTION ALL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.