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# APPEAL TO EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS



"The fascism which threatens again today the democracies of European countries has already been in power in Turkey since the military coup d'état of 12th september 1980.

"-The Parliament has been dissolved; all legislative, executive and juridical powers have been accumulated in the bloody hands of a fascist junta composed of five army generals.

"-More than 50.000 persons have been arrested by the military. The leaders of the Confederation of the Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) have been in military prisons since 2.5 months. Every day a new wave of arrestation is launched against the leaders and members of political and democratic organizations.

"-Although the junta has came to power with the claim of putting an end to political terrorism, the execution squads of the Armed Forces themselves carry on the same terror by assassinating 5 to 10 persons at each operation.

"-Already three political activists have been hanged, and about 150 political detainees wait their turns at military tribunals. ./.

"-The torture has turned into a daily practice, many progressive detainees have committed suicide" at police centers during their interrogations.

"-The press, radio and television, the cinema are censored, all progressive newspapers and periodicals have been forbidden.

"-The right to collective bargaining, to strike and to trade union activities have been abolished. The workers have been forced to work with the wages of three years ago while the inflation rate reached 300% within the same period.

"-The tyranny on the Kurdish people at the east of the country has gone beyond all bounds; Kurdish villages are shelled by military aircrafts.

"-The 5-general junta, suspending the constitutional control mechanisms, decrees every day new anti-democratic laws for institutionalizing the fascist regime.

"-The European Convention on Human Rights are violated under the boots of the military.

"Considering all these facts, how can it be possible that a country under the yoke of fascism keeps its place at the Council of Europe?

"How can the European Community maintain its relations of associate member-ship with a fascist regime?

"We call on all democratic and anti-fascist forces of Europe, and above all the Council of Europe and the European Parliament to manifest their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Turkey for re-establishment of democracy. It is the time to condemn and to isolate the fascist junta at international arena."

This is the appeal of the Committee of the Unity for Democracy in Turkey issued on November 24, 1980.

The detailed information about the violation of human rights by the military junta was already given in the preceding issue of the BULLETIN (October 1980) and it was reminded that, if the European institutions do not act energetically on this subject, it would be too late to-morrow.

# Amnesty International's New Report on Torture in Turkey

In fact, the month of november witnessed talks on the situation of Turkey at various international platforms.

At the Madrid conference of the Socialist International, bringing together some 500 representatives of 42 member parties, the re-elected chairman Willy Brandt expressed his regrets over the inability of "his friends from the Turkish Republican People's Party" to participate in the meeting and hoped that "they would soon be in a position to contribute actively to the return to democracy" and that "the generals would be wise enough to make that possible".

Then, the Council of Europe, talking about the means of preventing terrorism without compromising the democratic institutions, debated the situation in Turkey though no resolution was adopted.

The 26th annual meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly, in its resolution on "the crisis in Turkey", "urged the National Security Council of Turkey and the interim government to implement rapidly their pledge to restore democracy by taking positive steps toward this goal," and also "urged the member governments of the North Atlantic Alliance to express the strong interest they have in a rapid return to democratic institutions in Turkey and in Turkey's succesful resolution of its crises".

As for the European Parliament, the question of Turkey was discussed at the session of November 21, 1980. M. Enrico Berlinguer, on behalf of the Communist Group, proposed to cut off the relations with Turkey. The Chairman of the Socialist Group, Nr. Ernest Glinne said that the existence of a constitutional and democratic regime in Turkey is a prerequisite of maintaing bilateral relations. In spite of these interventions, the majority of the Parliament did not take any decision on three projects of resolution and transferred them to the concerned commissions.

While the parliamentary bodies of European institutions did not yet take a decisive stand on the Turkish question, the French and Belgian sections of Amnesty International issued on November 27, 1980 a press release and denounced the torture practice by the police of the military regime.

Amnesty International declared that at least 8 persons had been killed under surveillance in Turkey since the military coup d'état. Four out of 8 suspected deaths have occurred following torture; for two other cases, the policemen are accused of having murdered the victims. (For the details of these cases, see: BULLETIN of October 1980).

In addition to the cases mentioned in the preceding issue, on November 12, 1980, the daily Hürriyet informed that publisher İlhan Erdost, while being taken from military police center to the Mamak Military Prison, was killed by a soldier by hitting the butt end of his rifle on the head.

The newspapers of the same date made public that a political detainee in the Mamak Military Prison, Bekir Bağ, had committed "suicide" after having written a letter to his parents.

On November 16, 1980, the daily Hürriyet informed that a progressive university student, Ibrahim Eski died by falling down in darkness during an investigation carried out by the police at the place where the alleged crime had been committed. A police shief and 11 policemen are accused of having killed the detained under torture at the Ankara Police Center and later having left the body at the investigation place as if he died there.

#### New mass trials and death sentences

Following the execution of the three young political activists (See: Bulletin of October 1980), the military prosecutors have continued to open new mass trials with the demand of capital punishment for many detainees.

## EXECUTIONS:

October 9, 1980: Necdet Adalı and Mustafa Pehlivanoglu (in Ankara) October 27, 1980: Serdar Soyergin (Adana)

### DEATH SENTENCES:

Kemal Ergin (left - fugitive), Isa Armagan (right - fugitive), Mehmet Ali Agca (right - fugitive), Kadir Tandogan (left), Ahmet Saner (left), Recep Sariaslan (left) and Erdal Eren (left).

All of these 7 condemnations have been ratified by the Military Court of Cassation and following the approval of the National Security Council, those of Tandogan, Saner, Sariaslan and Eren will be executed.

Other condemnations to death:

Ibrahim Çiftçi (right - by the Military Tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Head-quarters)

Fikri Arıkan, Kemal Özdemir, Eyüp Özmen (right - by the MT of Ankara MLH) Nervan Sebanu, Mustafa Seseyviş, Hüseyin Abdullah and Muhammed Dip Ebuzerrat (Palestinian gerillas - by the MT of Ankara MLH)

Mehmet Ertürk (left - by the MT of Adana MLH)

Congiz Ayhan (right - by the MT of Istanbul MLH)

22 persons (right - condemned by the MT of Adana MLH for the Kahramanmaras Massacre at the end of 1978).

Ahmet Erhan (left - by the MT of Istanbul MLH)

Ismail Arıcı (right - by the MT of Adama MLH)

Imam Yılmazer (by the High Criminal Court of Antalya)

Ismet Sahin (by the MT of Istanbul MLH)

Orhan Aydın (by the MT of Diyarbakır MLH)

#### DEMANDS OF DEATH SENTENCES:

In addition to 32 political activists whose trials had already started before the military coup d'état, the following trials have been brought recontly before military tribunals:

ll out of 20 defendants of the "Trial of the Partisan Group" are under the menace of death sentence. They are tried by the MT of Ankara MLH since November 7.

30 out of 74 defendants of the "Trial of the Dev-Yol Group" who are tried by the NT of Ankara MLH since November 19.

6 out of 41 defendants of the "Trial of the Dev-Sol Group" who are tried by the MT of Istanbul MLH since November 19.

- 8 rightist activists are tried with the demand of death sentence by the MT of Ankara MLH since November 22.
- 10 leftist activists are tried with the same demand by the Military Tribunal of Aegean Martial Law Headquarters in two separate cases since November 23. So, until the end of November 1980:
  - 3 persons were executed,
  - 7 death sentences were ratified by the Military Court of Cassation,
- 37 persons have been sentenced to death, but their condemnation have not been yet ratified by the higher court.
- 97 political detainees are still being tried by military courts under the menace of death sentence.

#### OTHER MASS TRIALS AGAINST PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE

The majority of the demands of death sentences take as target the progressive people, especially after the 12th September Military Coup d'état. Partisan, Dev-Yol, Dev-Sol, all of them are leftist groups.

Besides, the military prosecutors continue to open other mass trials against progressive organisations with the demand of heavy imprisonment:

ASSOCIATION OF ALL-TEACHERS (TÖB-DER): President Gültekin Gazioglu and 63 other leaders of this professional organization will be tried under arrest by the Military Tribunal of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. They are accused of having violated the Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code which put them under the menace of a prison term up to 15 years.

ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE CULTURE OF EASTERN TURKEY (DDKD): 64 members of this cultural organization will be tried under arrest by the military court of Diyarbakır Martial Law Headquarters. They are accused of having led separatist activities.

WORKERS AND PEASANTS' PARTY OF TURKEY (TIKP): President Dogu crincek and 41 other administrators of this pro-chinese party will be tried under arrest by the military court of Ankara MLH according to Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Military prosecutors are charged with preparing other mass trials for all progressive organizations. The Ministry of Interior informed that from 12th september to the end of November, 5,850 wanted persons had been arrested and they would be brought before military tribunals when the files of their cases are completed.

Also 66 parliamentarians are being tried at civil or military tribunals for their acts or statements. 34 of these parliamentarians are still under arrest. Among them are also Alparslan Türkeş, president of the Nationalist Action Party (MMP) and Necmettin Erbakan, president of the National Salvation Party (MSP).

As for the leaders of two other parties which had been represented at Parliament, Bülent Ecevit and Süleyman Demirel, former premier ministers and respectively presidents of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP) too are tried, without arrest, for several accusations.

All the cases brought against Ecevit and Demirel are clearly intended at preventing them from re-assuming prominent roles in running Turkey if democracy is restored. Besides these discrediting law suits, the military junta announced that it was considering to pass legislation to prevent politicians from serving as party chairmen for more than limited periods of time. On this announcement, Ecevit resigned as chairman of the social democratic CHP. "I decided to make this departure, which would seemingly be inevitable in any case, now," he said in a written statement of which the publication in daily newspapers is forbidden by the military junta.

## INTERDICT OF A KEMALIST NEWSPAPER BY THE SO-CALLED "KEMALIST" JUNTA

In addition to the ban on more than 50 progressive newspapers and periodicals and a very strict censorship on the pro-government press, the publication of the daily Cumhuriyet was suspended on November 11, 1980, by the Martial Law ./.

Command. A brief communiqué accused the newspaper of having slandered Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Republic, and also of publishing "erroneous and exaggerated information".

In fact, the interdict of the Cumhuriyet on the ground of slandering Mustafa Kemal was very far from being convincing, because this newspaper is the oldest daily of Turkey which was founded under the orientation of Mustafa Kemal himself. Since then, Cumhuriyet has always been considered the main written medium for propagating Kemalism. The real reason behind this interdict was the information on the deteriorating economic and social situation in Turkey which was published by the Cumhuriyet on November 10 and 11. (See: Page 6)

On the other hand, certain circles which have organized and encouraged political terrorism in Turkey have been annoyed with the revelations of Cumhuriyet about arm smuggling and the activities of the Department of Counter-Guerilla at the Headquarters of the Chief of Staff (See: BULLETIN of September 1980). A few days earlier, one of the important arm dealers of Turkey had brought a suit at law against Cumhuriyet with the demand of an indemnity of 35 million Turkish Liras.

Another significant step taken on the road of the violation of press liberty was the death of Ilhan Erdost, publisher of the Sol Yayinlari. <sup>n</sup>e and his brother Muzaffer Erdost, who is also publisher of the Sol Yayinlari, were taken into custody by the military for having published marxist classics on November 8, 1980. After their interrogation, when they were taken to the <sup>M</sup>amak Military Prison, İlhan Erdost was killed by a soldier by beating on the head with butt of rifle. Later on, his brother disclosed that, during their interrogation, İlhan Erdost had been brutally tortured.

The condemnations of progressive intellectuals too have gained acceleration after the military coup d'état. Mr. Sadi Ozansu who had translated Ernest Mandel's "Introduction to Marxism" was condemned to 7.5-year prison term on the ground of "having propagated the hegemony of a class over other classes". Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code which had been borrowed in 1936 from the Penal Code of Mussolini is being applied by military courts in each political process.

Although some tribunals had applied to the Constitutional Court with the demand of annulling this anti-democratic article, after the military coup d'état, under the pressure of the Junta, the said supreme court decided on November 29, 1980 that the article was quite "democratic and constitutional".

The same article is applied also for condemning the Kurdish intellectuals who defend fundamental human rights of the Kurdish people. Even, a former minister of Public Works, Mr. Scrafettin Elci was arrested on October 26, 1980 by the military court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters for "propaganda for separatism". The mayor of the most important city of Eastern Anatolia, Mr. Mehdi Zana too is searched by military authorities on the same charge.

# PRINCIPAL TARGET: THE LEFT

Notwithstanding the leaders of the neo-fascist party (MHP) are still in military prisons, the Junta carries out a campaign of liquidation against the left forces of the country.

The chief of the military junta, Kenan Evren unmasked his real face during his trip to Izmir and Istanbul in November and said: "We are accused of fighting only against the Right. It should be borne in mind that, everyday, hundreds, even thousands of the people of the Left are apprehended either by shooting or by hunting at operations. If there are also those whom we cannot be aware of their activities, you should help us for apprehending them and achieving this liquidation operation."

The new mass arrests and trials (See: Pages 3-4) show clearly that the directive of General Evren is being fulfilled by army units and para-military terror groups of fascist organizations. Despite the fact that their leaders are in prison for the time-being for some tactical reasons, the para-military "Grey Wolves" militia acts under the command of the military junta for "fighting against communism!"

In his speechs, General Evren repeatedly declared that the time was not yet ripe for the setting up of the constituent assembly and it is not possible for the time-being to present a calendar for returning to civilian rule.

Another general, Haydar Saltık who is the secretary general of the National Security Council and known as the "brain" of the military junta, said: "The Turkish Armed Forces have taken over the administration for: a) Preservation of the existence and independence of the Turkish state, b) Preservation of the territorial integrity and national unity, c) Establishment of the unity and solidarity of the Turkish people, d) Liquidating destructive and separatist movements, e) Ensuring kemalist principles over the entire public administration, f) Re-establishment of the state authority that diminished or was even completely lost. "And the junta chief stated that the National Security Council would not return to the barracks without accomplishing these tasks.

Acting as the legislative body, the NSC adopted new "laws" for increasing the powers of martial law commanders, putting civilian prosecutors under the authority of martial law commands, empowering governors to act as martial law commanders during civil rule, establishing military tribunals with only one military judge to try political offenses, authorizing martial law commanders to detain anybody up to 90 days without court warrant, etc.

On the other hand, the puppet government of the military junta disclosed on November 7, 1980 that, 58 fundamental laws concerning political, economic and social life of the country would be amended either by the National Security Council itself or by the "Constituent Assembly" to be appointed by the NSC. Among them are also the laws on Political Parties, Associations, Trade Unions, Electoral system, the Turkish Penal Code, etc.

After all these changements, the generals may accept one day returning to civilian rule, but it is evident that this will be a presidential system under the authority of a "ex-general" with few centrist and rightist parties and a so-called parliament acting as rubber-stamp. The generals cannot tolerate even a social democrat party under the leadership of Ecevit, let alone the socialist parties of the working class.

## LIQUIDATION OF PROGRESSIVE TRADE-UNIONS

Since 2.5 months, all leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade-Unions of Turkey (DISK) have been in military prisons. All progressive trade unions have been closed, only those which are affiliated to the pro-governmental confederation (TÜRK-IS) are allowed to carry on administrative activities.

Collective bargaining and strikes are completely forbidden. More than 300 thousand workers are forced to work with the salaries of three year ago, while the inflation rate within the same period passed over 300%. The military junta intends to apply a 70% wage increase for all workers instead of 300%. With a new decree of the junta, the right to seniority compensation was limited. The Ministry of Finance prepares a new law project envisaging to freeze salaries for a certain period.

Even the President of the untouched trade-union confederation, Mr. Ibrahim Denizeier was obliged to voice complaints about the attitude of some "business quarters" who tried to exploit the delicate political atmosphere.

While the leaders of the DISK are being tried at a criminal court according to Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, the military authorities closed down also an important trade union affiliated to the TURK-IS: The Union of Petroleum Workers was banned for a statement of his president which was not even published by newspapers.

Notwithstanding its president complains of the attitude of some "business quarters", the administration of the TURK-IS maintains its pro-government policy. On November 21, 1980, the daily Tercüman informed that the TURK-IS promised the junta to support all decrees to destroy the influence of socialist minded trade-unionists on the working class.

As a reward of this submission to the anti-worker rule, the TURK-IS is promised to open a Workers' Bank which will be authorized also to transact in the savings of immigrant workers abroad.

### PRESSURES ON INHIGRANT WORKERS

Although the savings of Turkish immigrant workers represent an important resource of foreign exchange equal to the exportation incomes, the military junta has not hesitated to bring repressive measures also against them.

On November 11, 1980, Chief of the Junta sent a message to the Director General of the Turkish Trade Bank which set up its first branch in Frankfurt for speeding up foreign currency transfers of the Turkish immigrant workers. A few days later, the government disclosed a new law project envisaging to deprive the Turkish workers who lead anti-government activities abroad of the Turkish nationality and of national passport.

While thousands and thousands Turkish immigrant workers are suffering from the obligation of visa imposed by the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Benelux countries, this new anti-democratic measure envisaged by the military junta has become a new blow on them.

In order to follow anti-governmental activities abroad, the National Security Council decided to establish a special department within its own apparatus.

Another reward to the Turkish immigrant workers for their financial help to Turkish economy has been the decision to imrease by 11.000 DM to 21.000 DM the sum to be paid by young immigrant workers in lieu of a certain part of the military service.

Considering the possibility of growing of reaction against the military junta for these anti-worker decisions the government has already started to install new agents in foreign missions to collect information about opposition centers among immigrant workers and to transfer it to the special department established within the National Security Council.

## REPRESSIVE MEASURES CANNOT PREVENT PROCESS OF BANKRUPTCY

All these repressive measures cannot bring a solution to the chronic problems of Turkey such as inflation, unemployment and foreign currency deficit... Especially after the adoption of the economic policy imposed by the IMF, the process of bankruptcy has been accelerated.

The stabilisation package of January 25 announced by the overthrown Demircl's Government and adopted also by the military junta has already gone much further than being merely the "bitter pill" as called by its implementors and their mentors. (For the details of these measures, see the earlier BULLETINS).

The consequences of this policy was revealed by the daily Cumhuriyet on November 11, 1980 as follows:

- 1. Despite the encouragement measures, the investments have decreased by 20% within a year.
  - 2. The rate of economic growth is 2.2% lower than that of the last year.
- 3. The rate of inflation will pass over 100% in 1980 despite drastic measures.
  - 4. The number of the unemployed has increased by 50% within one year.
  - 5. Average real wages have come out at TL92 down from TL 151 within one year.
- 6. Per capita income, which surpassed US \$ 1000 in 1979 has gone down below this figure now, to US \$ 990 for the time being.
- 7. And finally, Turkey's foreign currency deficit during first nine months of the year reached US \$ 1,200 million according to Central Bank data. The figure is US \$ 314.3 million above last year's level.

As we mentioned it on page 5, the daily Cumhuriyet, solo Kemalist newspaper of Turkey, was forbidden by the so-called "kemalist" junta for having published these facts in its issue of November 11, just a day later than the 42nd anniversary of the death of Mustafa Kemal.

This is not only the sign of the bankruptcy of an economic policy imposed by international finance institutions, but also the sign of the bankruptcy of the attempts to establish a fascist regime in Turkey under the cover of 'Kemalism'.

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