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AIMS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE IN TURKEY

BRUSSELS (ITA) - The Union for Democracy in Turkey has published the resolutions on the anti-fascist struggle in Turkey, the struggle for the Peace, the struggle for the solution of the specific problems of migrant workers abroad, adopted by the First European Congress held on February 14, 1981 in Belgium, with the participation of the delegations coming from seven European countries.



According to the Resolution No.1, the First Congress of the Union for Democracy in Turkey charges all its committees with contributing actively to the struggle of the democratic forces of Turkey aiming to create the SINGLE FRONT of anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-monopoliste and anti-chauvin forces and to urge this front in its strive to set up a REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRATIC POWER in Turkey.

"This power will:

" - put an end to the fascist military dictatorship that appears, since September 12, 1980 as a terrorist and blood-stained power of the imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the big landowners,

" - tear off the bilateral agreements by pulling out Turkey from the membership of the NATO under the hegemony of the United States,

" - nationalize the key branches of industry, banks, insurances, foreign trade and overcome through nationalizations the hegemony, at economic plan, of the monopolies depending on exterior and constituting the basic support of the present power of the Junta,

" - sack all influence of monopolies and fascist-reactionary forces on the State's organisation, and re-establish the state apparatus on democratic principles,

" - declare fascism a crime against the Humanity, ban any propaganda of this ideology, protect and develop democratic rights and freedoms,

" - put an end to the racist-chauvinist and assimilating practices in the Kurdistan of Turkey for the fulfilment of the national-democratic rights of the Kurdish people,

"In regard to the SINGLE FRONT, the European Congress of the Union for Democracy in Turkey:

" - emphasizes, for victory, the importance of the role of vanguard of the political movement of the working class of which the function and part in the society of the today's Turkey is increased and who represents the leading force of the struggle for democracy;

" - states that this front must have as main axis the worker-peasant alliance and base its action on it,

" - expresses that this front has to cover in the same time small tradesmen and handicraftsmen, intellectual workers and other petit-bourgeois layers of the cities, and asserts that the groups and organizations which defend the Kurdish People's national and democratic rights and fight against the racist-chauvinist and assimilating policies must be among the essential elements of this front,

" - recalls the roles and functions of the youth, the women's democratic movement, the intellectuals and the workers of art and culture in the organization of the front,

" - Underlining the importance of covering also the non-monopolistic layers of the capitalist class which are in contradiction with the monopolies, draws attention to the fact that the fundamental contradiction between capital and the labour is still going on and these non-monopolistic layers of the capitalist class too have the intention to conciliate with imperialism and monopolist layers, and that even in the case it would be incorporated in the front, it will be an unreliable and doubtful ally,

" - recalls once more that the working class will make firm its hegemony within the revolutionary process, not by imposing its exclusivity but by defining and applying through its scientific socialist party the most valuable strategies and tactics, fighting top ahead and guiding the democratic forces,

" - underlines the increasing importance, in the creation of the front, of the united action of the organizations of the socialist-scientific platform who can succeed in doing it by joining each other on each level and gradually, by realizing the unity of the working class's political movement,

" - draws attention to the fact that the construction of the front can be realized also by working within the different classes and elements of the front, especially within peasants, handicraftsmen and petit tradesmen, the intellectual workers, the youth, all kind of cultural people, the mass of unemployed, and by organizing all these elements,

" - precises that the organization of the front must be done by application of the principles of mutual respect and equality between organizations, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, the organizational independence; by using the methods of convincing and by respecting to the decisions taken commonly,

" - put the accent on the growing importance of the immigrant workers of Turkey abroad, the necessity of organizing them in democratic field and gaining them over the struggle against the junta,

" - underlines that this struggle is part of the world revolutionary process and the international solidarity with this struggle is of vital importance.

"From these facts and statements, the European Congress of the Union for Democracy in Turkey charges all its committees with working:

" - to benefit from all occasions to realize the largest unity of action and work, steady and based on principles, between democratic organizations abroad,

" - to transform the quantitative potential of immigrant workers abroad into a qualitative force and to gain these masses over the struggle against the junta, by informing them of the class structure of the junta, the concrete actions which it set or intends to set such as repression, tyranny and tortures, the concrete form, the characteristics, the consequences, the class aim of its political economy, its material relations with imperialism in the field of foreign policy and the orientation which these relations are taking or will take, and to gather the masses around steady objectives,

" - to inform the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism of the development of this situation in Turkey and to gain their solidarity and support to the struggle given within the country."

(Europe Committee of the Union for Democracy in Turkey:

DIB-AK, BP 1344 - 1000 Bruxelles - Belgium)

BEHICE BORAN'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The Hague (ITA) - According to the decision of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Standing Committee of this European institution examined the actual situation in Turkey at its meeting on March 27, 1981.

On this occasion, Mrs. Behice Boran, Chairwomen of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) who is actually in self-exile in Brussels, drew, in her letter addressed to the President of the Council of Europe, the attention of the Standing Committee to the application of a new intimidation measure launched against the opponents of the regime in Europe.

Mrs. Boran says:

"Taking advantage of this opportune occasion, I, an ex-deputy and former member of the Turkish-EEC Joint Parliamentary Committee, should like to call your attention to an innovation which the military junta has concocted and put into practice since February the 25th in flagrant violation of human rights and democratic freedoms.

"Persons abroad against whom legal proceedings are instituted are summoned to return home and deliver themselves to the forces of public security within one month from date of publication of the summon with the threat of deprivation of nationality at the end of this term.

"In fact, this procedure contrary to all basic principles of law is also applied to persons who are in the country but are presumed to be abroad to compel them to come out and surrender themselves. Furthermore, all the immovable property of the persons thus deprived of their nationality is seized by the government, sold out as it sees fit and the sales prices, together with all the savings, securities and bonds the person concerned may possess are blocked in a bank. His retirement or social insurance allowance to which he has contributed all his working life by cut offs from his salary or wages and which is therefore in the nature of an inalienable acquired right is likewise brought to an end. Thus the family and the dependants of the person forfeiting his citizenship also suffer losses, are even left destitute. The number of persons thus summoned has reached around three hundred within the two months since the implementation of this procedure.

"Another very important matter from the standpoint of democratic rights and freedoms is this: persons accused of "offense against the state" are subject to the abovementioned treatment. Offenses against the state for which such inquitably heavy punishments are given, include, among others, such acts as alleged libelling or defamation of the state, government or the public security forces and political propaganda considered to fall under articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, which articles were transferred in 1936 from the Mussolini's fascist law for the protection of the state and were later amended several times with their penal clauses made still severer with each amendment.

"To give an idea to what arbitrary limits has grown political oppression in Turkey I may cite my case as an example. I have been condemned under the said articles to eight years and nine months of imprisonment and more than two years of surveillance at residence by the martial law military court of Ankara simply for the two electoral speeches I made on the television as a candidate and the President of the Workers' Party of Turkey during the election campaign in the fall of 1979. I have subsequently been summoned and then deprived of my nationality for not having complied with it."

GENERAL EVREN'S PROVOCATIONS CENSORED BY THE GERMAN TELEVISION

ANKARA/BONN (ITA) - As the European institutions were debating the new intimidation measures put into practice by the military junta in Turkey, the chief of the junta, General Kenan Evren has launched a new campaign of attack on the opponents of the regime who are actually in Europe and on European democratic forces who manifested their solidarity with the latter.

At a television program, "Letter from Turkey", produced by the Turkish TV for transmitting through the ZDF (German Television) to the Turkish immigrant workers in Federal Republic of Germany, General Evren said:

"Those stateless people are now continuing their criminal activities in foreign countries. Because what is important for them is not being a Turk, but serving other countries for the sake of the perverted ideologies that they believe in."

Addressing to the Turkish citizens residing abroad, General Evren "warned" them to be careful against all statements and acts of those who "escaped from the country and started to spread their poison in other countries..."

"If they really had the noble Turkish blood running in their veins, in Ataturk's words, they would have dared to come to Turkey and account for their deeds. But they found salvage in relinquishing the country that they owe so much... Let them stay wherever they like. Each of them being a hireling, they are already condemned in the consciences of the Turkish public... Do not fall into their provocations. Do not let them survive among yourselves."

According to the Turkish pro-governmental press, the ZDF censored these parts of General Evren's speech and broadcasted only the parts concerning the specific problems of the immigrant workers and the anti-terrorist practices of the regime within Turkey.

On this censorship, considered by the Turkish pro-governmental press as "insulting the Turkish Nation", the Turkish TV requested that the "Letters from Turkey" program be totally **suppressed**. However, the ZDF authorities reportedly disregarded diplomatic initiatives in this regard.

During his another speech which he gave in Manisa, General Evren accused also the democratic European circles, manifesting their solidarity with the Turkish democrats, of being the **enemy** of the Turkish nation: "Now they (the opponents of the regime) maintain their activities against the country in European countries, by benefitting the facilities there, hand in hand with those who are not our friends... How can we consider them our citizens? We have expelled them from Turkish nationality without any remorse, that is to say, the traitors and spies deprived of the noble Turkish blood."

HISTORICAL LETTER OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT
ADDRESSED TO BULENT ECEVIT JUST THREE DAYS EARLIER THAN THE COUP D'ETAT

The chief of the military junta in Turkey, General Kenan Evren declared in his speech of 29th March in Manisa: "We have made a great advance in our fight against anarchy and terror which was our principal objective. All the organizations which aim to destroy the regime and to divide our country have been crushed and their militants have been apprehended." So, he tried to justify the fascist repression on the democratic and progressive forces of Turkey.

In his speech, he accused all forces fighting before 12th september for independence and democracy, of being subversive elements of international forces aiming to destroy the Turkish State.

At that period, among those who were fighting against social injustice and the Turkey's dependence on imperialism, were also the members and supporters of the Republican People's Party (CHP). For this reason that **hundreds** of them were assassinated by the fascist commandos.

The Republican People's Party (CHP) was founded during the years of the National Liberation War by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, of whom the hundredth anniversary of birth is being celebrated this year by the military junta. After his death in 1938, the party was led by Ismet İnönü, second president of the Republic of Turkey. And from 1972 up to the military coup d'état of 12th september 1980, the former prime minister Bulent Ecevit chaired the party. The military junta has banned the CHP along with other political parties, detained its leader and members of parliament. But on the pressure of the world opinion, it was obliged to release them a few weeks later. Nevertheless the generals have openly declared that even in the case of the re-establishment of a parliamentary regime, Ecevit and other principal leaders of the party will not be permitted to take place in political activities. Thereupon, Ecevit resigned from the post of the president of the party for protesting against this new anti-democratic restriction. (For further information on the CHP, see BULLETIN of January 1977 and May 1977).

In this issue, we present the world public opinion the open letter which the 32 left-wing members of parliament of the CHP addressed to the Chairman of the party on the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the foundation of the party, September 9, 1980, just three days earlier than the military coup d'état. This letter explains how Turkey reached at a deadlock and which solutions could assure a wayout. This historical letter is a document which makes clearer the manipulations of the junta.

"Since a certain time, fratricide strives are wide-spread throughout Turkey. Since a certain time our country, our people are passing through a period which is getting day by day harder, darker and more blood-stained.

"Whereas, every one apparently wishes the end of these bloody troubles and the immediate stop of this flow of blood. Seemingly each one aspires for peace, tranquility, security of life accordingly to his ideas.

"However blood is flowing and the number of victims instead of diminishing is growing up. Although nobody defends openly fascism, it turns into a wide-spread menace all over the country. Face to omnipresent death, purposely propagated, people are in such a blue funk that they forget the daily concerns as bread and liberty.

"How is that possible, though every one is apparently against it, that this blood-stained stream is still able to seize our country and that the quarrel continues?

"To understand that situation, one must remote just a while from the bloody-stained streets and turn towards the hidden realities, towards the whole country, its economic problems, its social constitution, its national defence, its foreign policy, its place in the world and specially in the Near East.

The dependency circle

"Today Near East has the peculiarity to be an area where political strives are increasing and taking an importance on the world chess board, due to its strategical position, its markets and may be especially due to its petrol of which the price continues to gallop.

"The fact that Iran, after the Shah's fall, had openly made over its role as guard of the American interests in that part of the world and started an anti-American policy; the new political regime in Afghanistan and the impulse given to the Palestinian movement lead to a struggle of interests from which a new balance in this region will come out.

"For the installation of these new balances of power, Turkey is forced to assume the task of the devoted protector to defend the US interests, dangerous role that Iran threw away.

"The political power in Turkey which does not want to see that "IT IS DANGEROUS TO BIND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY TO ONE SOURCE OF PROTECTION AND TO EXTERNAL MEANS BEYOND A CERTAIN LEVEL" (Program of the CHP, p.267), leads our country, under the pretext of national security, to a no return point. This situation results from agreements as the Turco-American Defense Cooperation Accord that hits our independence.

"Now, they try to hide the fact that "A NATION WHOSE SECURITY IS BASED ON EXTERNAL PROTECTION WILL NOT BE ABLE TO KEEP A REAL INDEPENDENCE. THAT MEANS THAT OUR SECURITY IS FAKE." (CHP Program, p.267)

"Demirel's Government, which is the worst example of political power, does not protect our total independence, on the contrary, pushes our country to such a circle of dependency that our people could not accept that situation.

"That is how blood started to be shed, and the victims of this policy of dependency are lying on the ground: the youth of our country.

II

Economic prescription of the monopolies

On the other hand, Turkey since many years is struggling within the frame of an economic conception which is not based on the respect of the labor, the needs of our people and the sources of our country. The outcome of such a conception is patent: Foreign debts that even our children will be obliged to repay...

A Turkish Lira which loses its value... Misery, unemployment, inflation and our 'national honour' stained by the World Bank, the EEC, the IMF, the OECD and perhaps the most unjust distribution of income in the world.

"Despite all these negative results, those who want to follow this economic plan at the risk of increasing again the inequities are still governing our country. Demirel's government is trying to enhance the monopolistic development in Turkey through its economic measures and its decrees on the interest rates since January 24. On the economic plan, it applies obediently the plans imposed by international bodies which aims to reinforce the position of monopolies, supported by the banks and bankers and foreign capital; all of this in an absolute dependency to other countries. This plan envisages the suspension or suppression of all acquisitions of workers.

"It is for this reason that Demirel suspends strikes and tries to suspend workers' rights, all this as never seen before. On the other hand, he tries to stir up the unemployed against the strikers. The peasants are oppressed by the usurers, the shopkeepers by big retailers, the artisans by manufacturer. The state employee is condemned to misery and poverty. Demirel strives for his own social class through awful processes.

"Completely dependent, Turkey is collapsing on the economic and moral plans at the risk of imposing price inflation, misery and countless difficulties to satisfy the appetite of the monopolistic capital.

"This type of economic development cannot be imposed in a democratic regime. Moreover the CHP's Program says it clearly:

"THE CAPITALIST REGIMES IN THE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES ALWAYS ARE IN DIFFICULTY TO FOLLOW AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY TO BE ENOUGH DEMOCRATIC AND TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOMS. BECAUSE SUPRA-NATIONAL CAPITALISM IS DISTURBED BY THE DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS THAT BRING IN THOSE COUNTRIES A PRESSURE FROM THE PUBLIC OPINION. A COUNTRY WHERE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS ARE MUZZLED GIVES THE OPPORTUNITY TO THE SUPRA-NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO LEAD THE WHEEL OF ECONOMY AND TO HAVE A GREATER PROFIT." (CHP Program, p.279)

Does terror find its origin in the power?

"By reason of all these facts the masters of the Turkish economy and their representatives do not want the end of terror. For them, terror is an excellent way to suppress the trade unions' political and constitutional rights and freedoms and to set up new oppressions.

"As a matter of fact this power seemingly fights terror, strives only to abrogate the trade unions' freedoms through bills so that strikes are suspended, salaries frozen, and Martial Law could be perpetrated by "exceptional law". Under the pretext of "fight against terrorism", torture, oppressions and tyranny are so usual for our people and "state terror" is growing.

"To establish a 'South American type' of economy -as CHP's Chairman says- that could stand with an authoritarian and oppressive regime, there is no better excuse than terror and confusion spread abroad by the fascist aggression.

III

"The anti-fascist struggle" is not only an abstract slogan!

"This flow of blood, this merciless fight do not find their origin in the street. Terror and fascism do not start and finish in the street.

"In the gloom of confusion, they want to to make Turkey dependent on the West in economic, cultural, military and diplomatic fields. The exploiters need guarantee inside and outside of the country at the risk of impoverishing even more the people, blinded by terror.

"All this blood shed is thus only a way to hide the realities. And the fascist movement in our country is only a mask and a mean used to avoid the problems of exploitation inside the country, the merger with the Western World and its dependency.

"Therefore the anti-fascist strive is not an empty word. This strive against fascism means a hard struggle that necessarily applies to be against foreign dependency and against this system of exploitation.

IV

The CHP, the 9th September 1980

"The CHP, already 57 years old, aware of being the party of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the party of the leaders who led and won honourably our war of independence, must once again leads the fight against all threats that hit our national independence. The CHP has the obligation too -being the party that founded our democracy- to have a coherent attitude face to the danger that threatens our democracy.

"Basically, independence and democracy mean a **conscious, organized and resisting people.** It is a reason for the CHP to be the democratic consciousness and the strength of our people against fascism, being against any attempt

any attempt trying to diminish the influence, the strength, the resistance of our people and fighting against the economic, social and political pressures.

"The CHP must be the defender of an economic system giving the priority to the world of labour, the CHP must guarantee our independence and our democracy.

"To answer all these requirements, the CHP must be the leader concerning the people's claims about peace and democracy. This would be possible only if the party is renewed and the democratic conception updated, true to needs and claims of the population, which change and evolve. On the other hand, populism could not be an empty word and must be applied as well in power as in opposition.

Union and harmony

"If the CHP stays backward compared to the people and the time, if it has a rightist orientation and stands back from its basic principles, it cannot fulfil the task of leading the people. A CHP that turns to the right by excluding the democratic work of its own instruments and which becomes a centralist party by liquidating, through fishy practices, organisations which have carried during the difficult periods all the burden of the party, will lose the right and the occasion to defend peace, democracy and independence of our people.

"To remain the leader of the nation, union and harmony must be established inside the CHP.

"The CHP's unity does not only mean the defence of our six undeniable principles (Republicanism, Nationalism, Secularism, Reformism, Etatism, Populism), but the defence of the six fundamental rules of the program too (Freedom, Equality, Solidarity, Supremacy of the Labour, Collectivity of the development, Self-management). It is the only way to give a solution to the problems of Turkey through democracy and independence.

V

"This is why the CHP has to quit as soon as possible its undefined and conciliatory attitude it has since the time when the party was in power. The CHP must assume a coherent position in this social conflict, in the ranks of democracy, the independence and reacts stubbornly against this despair which affects our country.

"The domestic and foreign traps set for Turkey may be thwarted only if the CHP heads the solidarity thorough democratic rules of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and anti-fascist forces.

"This is the only way to thwart the sinister fascist plans -aiming at exploiting much more the working class.

"Democracy could be saved, peace settled and prosperity will come back in our country.

"The leaders of the party on 9th September 1980 must review their attitudes and must without delay uphold the imperatives that derive from the fact of being the party of Atatürk.

"That gives the importance, the superiority and the sense of being a party created on 9th September 1923."